BEITRÄGE ZUR SÜDASIEN-FORSCHUNG
SÜDASIEN-INSTITUT
UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG

55

THE STŪPA
ITS RELIGIOUS, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

EDITED BY
ANNA LIBERA DALLAPICCOLA
IN COLLABORATION WITH
STEPHANIE ZINGEL-AVÉ LALLEMANT

FRANZ STEINER VERLAG · WIESBADEN

ANNA LIBERA DALLAPICCOLA – STEPHANIE ZINGEL-AVÉ LALLEMANT

THE STŪPA – ITS RELIGIOUS, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

BEITRÄGE ZUR SÜDASIENFORSCHUNG
SÜDASIEN - INSTITUT
UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG

BAND 55

FRANZ STEINER VERLAG · WIESBADEN
1980

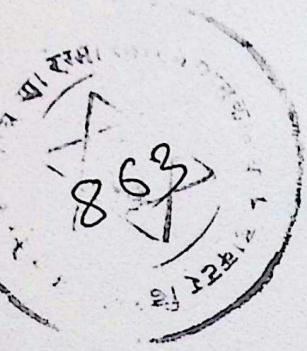
THE STŪPA
ITS RELIGIOUS, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

EDITED BY

ANNA LIBERA DALLAPICCOLA
IN COLLABORATION WITH
STEPHANIE ZINGEL-AVÉ LALLEMANT

FRANZ STEINER VERLAG · WIESBADEN
1980

294.35
D 161 s



CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

The stūpa:
its religious, histor., and architectural significance / ed. by Anna Libera Dallapiccola in collaboration with Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemant. – Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980.
(Beiträge zur Südasienforschung; Bd. 55)
ISBN 3-515-03294-0
NE : Dallapiccola, Anna Libera [Hrsg.]

Alle Rechte vorbehalten
Ohne ausdrückliche Genehmigung des Verlages ist es auch nicht gestattet, das Werk oder einzelne Teile daraus nachzudrucken oder auf photomechanischem Wege (Photokopie, Mikrokopie usw.) zu vervielfältigen. Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung. © 1980 by Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden. Satz und Druck: Druckerei Wolf, Heppenheim. Printed in Germany

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Preface	VII
	Editorial Note	IX
Brijinder Nath Goswamy	Introductory Speech: The Stūpa - Some uninformed questions about terminological equivalents	1
John Irwin	The axial symbolism of the early stūpa: An exegesis	12
Heinrich Gerhard Franz	Stūpa and stūpa-temple in the Gandhāran regions and in Central Asia	39
George Michell	Pilastered walls on Indian stūpas and temples	59
Gritli von Mitterwallner	Two stūpa basements of Mathurā of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.	72
Klaus Fischer	Hidden Symbolism in stūpa-railing reliefs: Coincidentia Oppositorum of Māra and Kāma	90
Gouriswar Bhattacharya	Stūpa as Maitreya's emblem	100
Elisabeth S. Rosen	Buddhist architecture and lay patronage at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	112
Jan Pieper	Stūpa architecture of the Upper Indus Valley	127
Niels Gutschow	The urban context of the stūpa in Bhaktapur/Nepal	137
Frank Raymond Allchin	A note on the 'Asokan' stūpas of Pāṭan	147
Mary Shepherd Slusser	Nepalese caityas as mirrors of mediaeval architecture	157
Ulrich Wiesner	Nepalese votive stūpas of the Licchavi period: The empty niche	166
Philip Denwood	Stūpas of the Tibetan Bonpos	175
Gustav Roth	Symbolism of the Buddhist stūpa	183
Julian Sherrier	Iconography of the Mahāparinirvāṇa	210
Jorinde Ebert	Parinirvāṇa and stūpa	219
Hans-Joachim Klimkeit	Stūpa and parinirvāṇa as Manichaean Motifs	229
Lothar Ledderose	Chinese prototypes of the pagoda	238
Dietricn Seckel	Stūpa elements surviving in East Asian pagodas	249

Adalbert Gail — Cosmical symbolism in the spire of the Ceylon dagoba 260

Hans Ruelius — The stūpas of the Śilpaśastras and the rituals of the Sinhalese 267

Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw — The stūpa in Indonesia 277

Lokesh Chandra — Borobudur: A new interpretation 301

Farewell speech and vote of thanks 320

Biodata of the authors 322

Addresses of the participants of the seminar 326

Index of the works cited 329

Index of geographical names, persons, gods and monuments 344

List of photographs 352

Photographs

PREFACE

In May 1976, Mr. John C. Irwin came to the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg, for a second time in order to deliver a new series of lectures on his research on the so-called 'aśokan' pillar. All of us, who were there at that time, were taken up with his views and we were animately discussing some of the issues of Mr. Irwin's stimulating talk, when he said he had collected some material on the origin and symbolism of the *stūpa*, which he wanted to discuss with friends and colleagues.

This casual remark of Mr. Irwin gave us the idea of organising a meeting. We felt that though there are quite a few books, articles, and essays on the *stūpa* theme, they are not only very difficult to locate, scattered as they are in journals and old publications, and for this very reason they are perhaps unknown or forgotten, but we also felt the need for a fresh approach to this 'core' problem of Indian and South East Asian civilisation and art.

For this we decided to try to investigate the *stūpa*, not only from the point of view of art historical or historical research, but also to see the problem from the architect's, the philologist's, the ethnologist's point of view. Our aim was to provide the scholarly world, as well as the interested general public with a 'stock-taking' of the latest research on the *stūpa* and the problems connected with it.

This ambitious wish of ours was to come true thank to the generous help of the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung, Düsseldorf, which has taken a great interest in, and has been at our side since the very beginning of our planning this meeting. We would like, therefore, to thank the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung for not only covering the expenses involved in such an undertaking, but also for having taken such an active interest in the organisation and realisation of this seminar on "THE STŪPA, ITS SYMBOLISM, ITS RELIGIOUS, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL RELEVANCE", which took place from July 3rd to 7th, 1978 at the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany.

Moreover we wish to express our deep sense of gratitude to the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung for also granting us the funds for the publication of the present volume.

Prof. Dr. H.J. Diesfeld
Director
South Asia Institute

Dr. A.L. Dallapiccola
Dept. of History. History of Art

Heidelberg, September 1979

EDITORIAL NOTE

The task of editing such a volume surely is a very rewarding and most stimulating one. There are, however, many problems which the editors have to come to terms with.

The first one which presented itself to us was: in which way should we order the papers? Should we arrange them alphabetically, or should we have them in the order in which they were delivered? But, finally, we decided to arrange them so to speak regionally. The papers by B.N. Goswamy, Chandigarh, and by John C. Irwin, London, both being of a general character and establishing so to speak the frame of the seminar are of course exempted from this rule. Then we proceed from Gandhāra to the East and the South East, ending with Sri Lanka and South East Asia.

For the sake of simplicity we decided to enclose the figures pertaining to each paper at the end of the text, and the list of the drawings and diagrams is to be found after the footnotes of each of the articles.

The plates are placed at the end of the book, each plate being numbered (Roman numbers) according to the order of the article, and the arabic number refers to the individual photograph.

We have tried to come to terms with the difficult job of unifying the spelling of Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese words, but this has proved at times not possible. We would, therefore, like to apologize to the reader for this shortcoming.

The Editors

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH : THE STŪPA - SOME UNINFORMED QUESTIONS ABOUT TERMINOLOGICAL EQUIVALENTS

Brijinder Nath Goswamy

In any symposium around a well-defined theme, especially a large and international symposium like the present one, those present tend to fall into two clear categories: the insiders and the outsiders; those that know, and those that do not; the Knowers and the Innocents. The Innocents seek, for the most part, information, and using, like me, the courage that comes from ignorance, raise occasional questions. I only hope that the questions I have are simply uninformed, not really irrelevant.

The *stūpa*, as a term describing a monument, we know a fair deal of: the uncertainties belong only to the slow manner in which it seems to have gained currency, or to the root from which it is derived. It occurs in the Ṛgveda, in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, in the Pañchaviṁśata Brāhmaṇa, and the Monier-Williams Dictionary[1] says it is used in the sense of "a knot or tuft of hair, the upper part of head, crest, top, summit"; also, " a heap or pile of earth, or bricks etc.". There is difference of opinion about the root from which it derives. Among others, the root *stūp* is mentioned, but that, we learn, is possibly only a late invention to explain the word *stūpa*. In any case, " to heap up, pile, erect" is what the root *stūp* means in the dhātupāṭhas. We notice further that the *stūpa* came especially, with time, to mean, "a Buddhist monument, dagoba (generally of a pyramidal or dome-like form and erected over sacred relics of the great Buddha or on spots consecrated as the scenes of his acts)". Apart from its Buddhist association, the *stūpa* is also defined as "any relic-shrine or relic-casket (made of various materials, such as terra cotta, clay, elaborately formed brick or carved stone; often very small and portable and enclosing a fragment of bone or a hair of some saint or deceased relative, or inscribed with a sacred formula; these are carried long distances and deposited in hallowed spots such as Buddha-Gaya)." Broadening this description further, the Dictionary says that it is "any heap, pile mound, tope" etc.

Stūpa is by no means the only term used in earlier times to describe the Buddhist monument that we understand it today to be, and writing on the subject has often had to negotiate the task of finding equivalents of the term. It is often asserted in this context that the *stūpa* is virtually the same thing as a *caitya* (Pāli *cetiya*) although there are perhaps two differences: *caitya* is often used in a more extended sense, and even when it is equated with the *stūpa*, it signifies more the religious, 'observance' aspect, while *stūpa* does the structural or architectural. Etymologically, *caitya* is said to come from the root *citā*, "a funeral pile", *caitya* thus becomes a word "relating to a funeral pile or mound,"[2] and

comes to stand for "a funeral monument or Stūpa". The earliest use of the term in Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina literature points to its being connected with a tumulus raised over the ashes of a dead person, or a tree marking the spot.[3] Another word that enters the equations of the word *stūpa* is *dhātugarbha*, relic-holder, for the word *dhātu*, at least in Buddhist usage, connotes a relic, generally the mortal remains of a person. *Dhātugarbha* thus means that which holds 'in its womb' a relic. From *dhātugarbha* comes, it is generally believed, the word *dāgoba* in Sinhalese usage. *Dāgoba*, through a curious distortion, becomes a *pagodā*, a term of wide currency in the Far East and in southeastern Asia. Another word that is taken to be an equivalent of *stūpa* is *dharmadhātu*: here, taking *dhātu* to represent 'the essence', the idea is to describe a structure that contains the essence of *dharma*, thus a *stūpa*. Pal[4] points to the extensive use of this term to denote a *stūpa* in Mahayana texts such as Nagarjuna's works, and in Nepali works like the Svayaṁbhūpurāna. When we move into the Tibetan region, *chorten* or *dungsten* is the term heard of. Once again, it is clearly taken to be the same as the *stūpa* as far as meaning and significance goes.

Terminological equations such as these are widely believed in, and rarely questioned, and one wonders if it is not fruitful to ask whether the equivalences are exact or only approximate. Is it possible that repeated usage has resulted in fixing our ideas and led us to ignore the difference which might originally have existed, thus leading to the invention and use of these different terms in earlier times? Since important issues with regard to the meaning and the symbolism of the *stūpa* are in question, would it not be appropriate, I wonder, to begin by examining whether we have been right in taking one term to be synonymous with another in this context? Popular and repeated usage often does strange things. In the context of the *stūpa* itself, thus, we find ourselves linking the word almost always with Buddhism, without justification. While it is demonstrable that the largest and the most well-preserved of the *stūpas* are structures with clear Buddhist affiliations, it is with some effort that we have to remind ourselves that, originally, the *stūpa* was by no means an exclusively Buddhist structure. Jain *stūpas* are known to have existed and there is that curious but popular story which tells of King Kanishka having paid homage to a heretical *stūpa* "by mistake".[5] The story points out thus not only to the fact of the existence of *stūpas* other than Buddhist, but also to the similarity in their structures which alone would explain the *bhrānti* that Kanishka inadvertently fell into. There is thus clear need for caution.

One of the more interesting and controversial elements in the *stūpa*-equation is the term *aiḍūka* around which there has been some speculation. The etymology of this curious term has attracted the attention of some scholars, including Allchin;[6] the precise form and symbolism of the *aiḍūka*

has also received detailed treatment from Priyabala Shah[7] and, more recently, from Pratapaditya Pal.[8] The *aiḍūka* as a term comes up suddenly in an often-quoted passage from the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata where, in the description of the degenerate Kali age, it is said:[9]

viparitaś ca loko'yaṃ bhaviṣyaty adharottaraḥ
eḍūkān pūjayiṣyanti varjayiṣyanti devatāḥ
śudrāḥ paricariṣyanti na dvijān yuga-saṃkṣaya (64)
āśrameṣu maharṣīṇāṃ brāhmaṇāvasatheṣu ca
deva-sthāneṣu caityeṣu nāgānām ālayeṣu ca (65)
eḍūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-gṛha-bhūṣitā.

Of interest to us from the passage is the 'prediction' that in the age of Kali men will turn away from the gods and worship the *eḍūkas*; that the earth will become dotted with *eḍūka* (monuments), not with the temples of the gods.

In purely etymological terms, the word *eḍūka* with its variants *aiḍūka*, Pāli *eḷuka*, presents a major problem, and even though several Sanskrit lexicons give its meaning as "a relic-chamber", it is apparent that their compilers ran into genuine difficulties with explaining the word and tracing its root. Allchin was among the first scholars to discuss at some length the possible derivations of the term, and he has suggested, with much plausibility, that the term may come either from dravidian *elu*, 'bone', or Tamil *itu*, 'lay down, bury'. It is as a loan-word from the South Indian group of languages that *eḍūka*, he says, is likely to have entered Sanskrit. This would explain much of the unease with which it is sought to be elaborated in Sanskrit lexicons. Our problem does not, however, end here, for the use of the word in the Mahābhārata passage raises other questions. As Allchin points out:[10] "Since Lassen it has been generally accepted that this description of the *Kali yuga* refers to the spread of Buddhist practices and the popular desertion of Brahmanical temples. The worship of *eḍūkas* or relic chambers has been taken to allude to that of Buddhist *stūpas*. Hence the passage has been taken as indicating the equation *eḍūka*-relic chamber-*stūpa*."

While Allchin, after stating this, moves on to the problem of tracing the etymology of the term *eḍūka*, Pal accepts the Lassen position about the Buddhist allusion explicitly. Postulating that "the *aiḍūka* originally was a bone-chamber which probably had only a funerary rather than a secarian significance", he goes on to add:[11] "In course of time, certainly by the time the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata was composed, the *aiḍūka* came distinctively to be associated with the Buddhists, just as the *stūpa* or *caitya*, although Buddhist shrines (sic), was later regarded exclusively as a Buddhist symbol".

At least two questions arise from the Mahābhārata reference to the *eḍūkas*: One, whether the *eḍūka* or *aiḍūka* is the same thing as the *stūpa* in its meaning and structure; and, second, whether the passage does indeed refer in its own fashion to Buddhist monuments and thus to the spread

of Buddhism. Addressing himself to the first question, Pal has examined at great length the evidence of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa on the *aiḍūka*, pointing out visual parallels and disagreeing with some of the conclusions of Priyabala Shah on the nature of the structure. A whole chapter is devoted to the *aiḍūka* in VDP, chapter 84 of the 3rd *khaṇḍa* of the work, something that stands out as an unusual inclusion in the Pratimālakṣaṇa part of the work. While most of the Pratimālakṣaṇa is devoted to icons of Hindu deities, generally of Vaiṣṇava affiliation, there are some chapters which are devoted to non-anthropomorphic forms. Chapter 74, thus, is devoted to the *liṅga*, and chapter 75 to *vyoman*, a structure with a quadrangular base on which certain tiers are placed, "rising like the Meru". It is in this part of the work that the chapter concerned with *aiḍūka*, consisiting of 15 verses, is fitted in.

Analysing the elements of the *aiḍūka* as described in VDP, the three super-imposed *bhadrapīṭhas*, the long staff or *yaṣṭi*, the *bhūmīkas*, the *amalasāraka*, the symbols of the sun and the moon etc., Pal has attempted to do something that had not been done before, to demonstrate "with visual evidence that the *aiḍūka*, in fact, is basically a Buddhist *stūpa*." To make his point, he compares a drawing based on the description given in the VDP of the *aiḍūka* with a votive miniature *stūpa* from Kashmir and the comparison is telling. Pal also draws emphatic attention to the mention of the figures of the Lokapalas which are mentioned as a part of the *aiḍūka* structure and have seeming Buddhist associations: the four figures of Virūḍha, Dhṛtarāṣtra, Virūpākṣa and Kubera.

All this is of undoubted interest but questions continue to persist. The *aiḍūka* described in chapter 84 of the VDP, we find, belongs to a particular type, the *prajāhita*.[12] In the description of the *liṅga* or the *vyoman*, no types are mentioned, in contrast to this. The implication thus seems to be that there are *aiḍūkas* of other types to which detailed attention has not been drawn. If this assumption is correct, what, one wonders, were the other types of *aiḍūkas*? Less elaborate? Basically similar, but differing in detail? Is it possible perhaps that *aiḍūka* is a generic term, and that what we know as a Buddhist *stūpa* is but a member of the *aiḍūka* family? A family which might have accommodated not only somewhat different forms, but also been put to use by different religious groups?

The assumption that the Mahābhārata passage quoted earlier refers to Buddhism and its spread, is not unrelated to the question of what the *aiḍūka* is. Pal says that "the oft-quoted Mahābhārata passage, where we find the earliest occurrence of the word, (in the form of *Eḍūka*), undoubtedly indicates its Buddhist implications as an object of veneration". He goes on to say that: "Both the context and the use of the word in association with *caitya* must point to its Buddhist usage".[13] With regard to the *aiḍūka* it has been suggested, both by V.S. Agrawal[14] and Priyabala Shah[15], that it might have been basically a Śaivite structure. Shah's whole discussion of the *aiḍūka* tends in that direction, and Agrawal had

suggested that the Śaivite structure discovered at Ahicchatra might have been the base of an *eḍūka*. But, as far as I am aware, the suggestion that the Mahābhārata is referring to Buddhist *eḍuka* monuments has not been seriously countered. The idea that the Mahābhārata is making an indirect reference to the spread of Buddhism in this passage describing the *Kali yuga* seems to be an attractive one. There are other associations, such as that with the word *caitya*, which are further suggestive of this and it has seemed reasonable to maintain that Buddhism was too widespread a phenomenon at the time that this Mahābhārata passage came to be composed, for it to have been conveniently ignored.

In the consideration of this passage and its meaning, the assumption throughout seems to be that the 'writer' of the Mahābhārata somehow could not bring himself to refer to Buddhism directly, or to use the word *stūpa*. Notice of Buddhism and its monuments, thus, was taken in this indirect, circumlocutory way. The assumption need not, however, necessarily be true and can be questioned. For one thing, the assumed 'taboo', if there was one, on describing the Buddhists and others directly, at least the reluctance to refer to them, does not seem to apply uniformly. It certainly does not apply to the Viṣṇudharma, a Purāṇa composed around the third century somewhere in northwest India, for in a passage quoted from it by Pal,[16] the references to Buddhists and other sects, once again in the context of the *Kali yuga*, are explicit. Here, it is stated that the people will not practice their own *dharma*.

> "Then this earth, turning heretical to a very great extent and (consequently) growing uncultured, will be made difficult (for residence) by the Pseudo-ascetics.
>
> "...
>
> "Some will become Utkocas (?), Saugatas, Mahāyānists, and the heretical Kapilas and Bhikṣus,
>
> "While other wicked Śudras will turn Śākyas, Śrāvakas, Nirgranthas and Siddhaputras in the Kali age".

Had the composer of the Mahābhārata wanted to, perhaps, a direct reference to Buddhism would have been made. Surely, the names of the sects of the Buddhists were known widely at the time that the Mahābhārata was composed, and, like them, the word *stūpa* must have been of extended currency. There is no inevitability, therefore, in the suggestion that the Mahābhārata passage dealing with heretical developments in the *Kali yuga* makes a reference to Buddhism alone, to its adherents and its monuments like the *stūpa* under the name of *eḍūka*.

It might be useful, at any rate, to consider a different possibility. Could it be that at the time of this composition, shrines commemorating the dead, especially the saintly, were gaining in popularity, and claiming from the general population a measure of attention that was large enough to attract notice? And the need was felt to disparage this devia-

tion from orthodoxy? Ordinarily, of course, worship was expected to be offered at temples, *devasthānas*, but if a part of the worship was now being diverted to the shrines raised over the ashes of the saintly dead, the circumstance could easily have caused concern. One's experience of religion at the popular level everywhere in India shows how widely the holy man is revered and how frequent are monuments raised over his remains, becoming objects of widespread veneration. The point hardly needs to be emphasized, but in this context one thinks of those countless tumuli which dot the countryside all over India, structures without any images of deities etc., but held in great esteem and resorted to by millions. These simple structures, raised in honour of 'Babas', 'Sadhus', 'Fakirs' and the like today are ubiquitous, and one wonders if the practice does not go back to very early days. If it does, could it be *these* structures that are being referred to as *eḍūkas* in the Mahābhārata passage? Most of the unpretentious funerary shrines - the equivalents of which among the Muslims, naturally in much later times, are the *mazārs* and the *āsitānas* - do contain the remains of the dead. In fact, in the case of many Śaiva Jogis, they contain the entire body of the dead Jogi or *mahant* who is buried in a seated fashion and over whose 'grave', so to speak, a simple structure is raised.[17] Not far from Chandigarh, thus, around the temple at Mansa Devi, one finds countless little brick structures commemorating the spot where the remains of former *sādhus* lie buried. One notices similar structures in Pinjore in Haryana, standing in the middle of a field and still the recipient of worship from the local populace. The *mahants* of Pindori, the Vaiṣṇava shrine in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, and the Śaiva *mahants* of the Kanphaṭā order at Jakhbar, also in the same district, have *samādhs* commemorating them, structures which the devout visit and pay their homage to every time that they are in the establishment.[18] Far away from these parts, in the Saurashtra area, James Burgess noticed, in the 19th century, old shrines raised over the remains of Atit Sanyasis at Kanthkot, and drew pointed attention to them.[19] Obviously the phenomenon is pan-Indian, and there seems to be no dearth of evidence pointing to homage offered at shrines honouring the dead saints. The only question is about how far back the practice goes. This is not easy to determine, but roots of things tend here sometimes to be unexpectedly long.

Practice apart, what is interesting about these popular funerary shrines is their form, for there seems to be some kind of a broad similarity in the basic structure of many of these. At least one popular form appears to be a base consisting of a quadrangular platform upon which other similar tiers are raised, frequently three in number, resulting in a stepped shape. This stepped base is topped, then, by a circular member, the verticality of which varies from region to region, sometimes from tumulus to tumulus. While in the Punjab and Haryana examples cited here, it corresponds roughly to the *kuṁbha* or *aṅḍa* shape, the memorials of the

Atit Sanyasis, as described by Burgess, are topped clearly by a *liṅga* form without, it is to be noted, any sign of lines on the *liṅga*. Could this, one wonders, then, be the basic, the simplest, form of a structure raised to commemorate the dead[20]: a tiered or stepped *bhadrapīṭha* topped by a domical or *liṅga*-shaped member? Is this the Ur-type of what was elaborated and varied from period to period or from sect to sect? Finally, is this what the *eḍūka*, *aiḍūka*, in its essence is?

If one were to assume this for a moment roughly to be the position, and if one were to divest the Mahābhārata passage of its generally-believed Buddhist association, we might be close to the description of a situation in which what is being lamented in the Mahābhārata is the turning away by a part of the populace from the actual worship of the gods and their images, and offering of homage at shrines such as the ones we have briefly looked at.

The VDP description of the *prajāhita* type apart, we have little indication about the symbolism that might have belonged to the basic *aiḍūka* form. Is it possible, one wonders once again, that each faith or sect elaborated upon the basic structure and proceeded to add its own symbolic meaning to the various parts of the structure thus elaborated? The meaning attached in the VDP description of the *aiḍūka* to the *pīṭhas*, the *liṅga* or the *aṅda*, the *yaṣṭi*, the thirteen *bhūmis*, the *amalasāraka*, the symbols of the sun and the moon, might well represent attempts at adding to the significance of the structure, giving it profundity, a universal character. The VDP emphasises the Hindu, or, as Shah interprets it, Śaivite symbolism;[21] Buddhist practice would tend to fit the elaborated parts into a scheme of belief that is in consonance with Buddhist doctrine. Is it possible, in this manner, to suggest that there is no exact equivalence between *aiḍūka* and *stūpa*? That the *stūpa* is a variety of *aiḍūka* and not necessarily identical with it?

Questions do not necessarily end here. The reference in the VDP to the four Lokapalas and the attempt to equate them with Hindu deities would still remain unexplained. An even greater problem attaches to the fact that neither the Mahābhārata nor the VDP make any explicit reference to relics or remains in connection with the *aiḍūka*. Etymological considerations notwithstanding, then, are we back to square one as far as *aiḍūka* is concerned?

Even if we are, the questions perhaps remain worth posing.

Notes and references

1 A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Indian Reprint, 1974, p. 1260.

2 Ibid., p. 402. Also see James Hastings (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edinburgh, 6th Imp. 1967. Attention is drawn here to the representation of a Brahmanical hermitage with a *stūpa* among the sculptured reliefs at Sāñcī and Amarāvati.

3 Apart from the *caityas*, Pāli *cetiyas*, we hear in Buddhist literature of *mahācetiyas*, like the one at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa.

4 Pratapaditya Pal, The *Aiḍūka* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and certain aspects of Stūpa symbolism. In: Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol. IV, part i, pp. 49-62.

5 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 11, pp. 900-902.

6 F.R. Allchin, Sanskrit *Eḍūka* - Pāli *Eḷūka*. In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XX, 1957, pp. 1-4.

7 Priyabala Shah (ed.), Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III Khanda. Gaekwar Oriental Series, Baroda, 1961, vol. II, pp. 168-175. Shah draws attention to Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, and to her consultations with Dr. Helmer Smith in the course of her discussion of *aiḍūka*. She herself wrote on the *aiḍūka* separately in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. I, No. 3, March, 1952.

8 Pal's conclusions, at the end of his lively discussion of *aiḍūka-stūpa*, and the symbolism of the *stūpa* are worth quoting in extenso:
"To sum up. (a) The *aiḍūka* was primarily a Buddhist monument and was applied synonymously to the *stūpa*. (b) The word was probably a loan word from the Dravidian languages into Sanskrit. (c) It probably denoted a bone-chamber in general, and, so far as evidence goes, did not have a specifically Śaiva bias. (d) It was included in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* as a concession to Buddhism and given a universal symbolism. (e) Its slight Śaiva bias was perhaps determined by its closer physical resemblance to a *liṅga* rather than any Vaiṣṇava monument and may also reflect a hesitation on the part of a Vaiṣṇava author to characterize it as a purely Vaiṣṇava monument." Op. cit., p. 60.

9 Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, III, 188.64-66.

10 Op. cit., p. 1.

11 Op. cit., p. 55. Pal seems to entertain little doubt about the equation of *stūpa-eḍūka*."The internal evidence of the VDP as well as a comparison with the Kriyāsaṁgrahapāñjikā indubitably establishes that architecturally the *aiḍūka* is primarily a *stūpa*."

12 Whether the *prajāhita* is one of the types of *aiḍūka* is also discussed by Shah, VDP, vol. II, p. 170. "Is it suggested by this way of expression that there are other Aiḍūka forms, this one is known as Prajahita?"

13 Pal, op. cit., p. 53.

14 In Ancient India, No. 4, 1947-48, p. 167.

15 Shah, op. cit., p. 175. faces certain problems in reconciling the mention of the Buddhist Lokapalas in what she believes was a Śaiva structure, and seeks to resolve this by suggesting that there could be a possible Tāntrika interpretation of the *aiḍūka*, as given in VDP, bringing together Śaivism and Buddhism.

16 Cited in Pal, op. cit., p. 58-59.

17 I learnt of this practice of the Jogis from the late Baba Brahm Nath of Jakhbar during my work on his establishment in 1960-61. George W. Briggs, Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Jogis, Calcutta, 1938, also gives a detailed description of Jogi 'burials' such as this.

18 To these *samādhs* in particular, attention is drawn in B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar. Simla, 1967; and The Mughals and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori. Simla, 1969.

19 James Burgess, A Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kachh, being the result of the second season's operation of the archaeological survey of Western India, 1874-75. Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. [2]. Western India. 2. Repr.: 1876.

20 My colleague, Dr. D.C. Bhattacharyya, has kindly drawn my attention to the practice, still current in Bengal, of the temporary erection of *sthūnas*, in the course of the *śrāddha* ceremonies, offerings made to the departed ancestors, which consist of a tiered platform made of clay in the centre of which a staff is inserted. This recalls strongly the basic form of the monument raised in honour of the dead.

21 Shah, op. cit., suggests that Śaiva *aiḍūkas* were possibly structures that originally were set up in cremation grounds from where they gradually moved into towns and villages, a suggestion that is strongly discounted by Pal.

List of figures

1 Shrine raised over the remains of the Atīt Sannyāsīs of Kaṇṭukot (Drawing: Burgess, James, Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kacch. Archaeological Survey of India 1876).

2 Drawing showing a type of structure raised over the remains of Śaiva Jogis in the Punjab.

3 Drawing based on a tumulus raised over the remains of a holy man near Mansā Devi, close to Chandigarh.

4 Drawing based on a tumulus raised over the remains of a holy man near Pinjore. Haryānā.

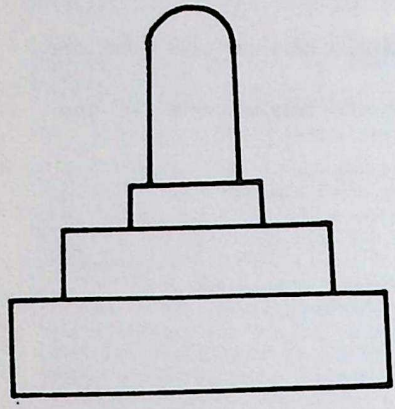


fig. 1

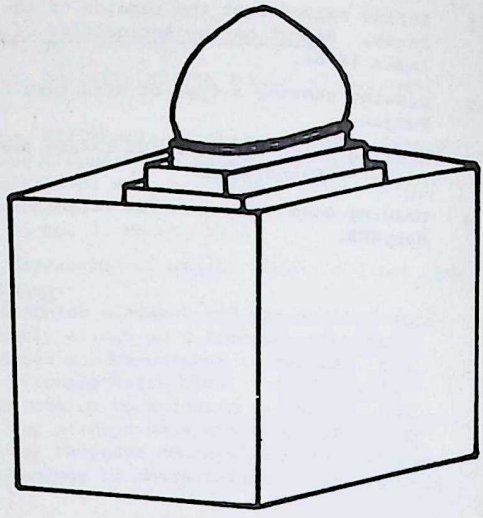


fig. 2

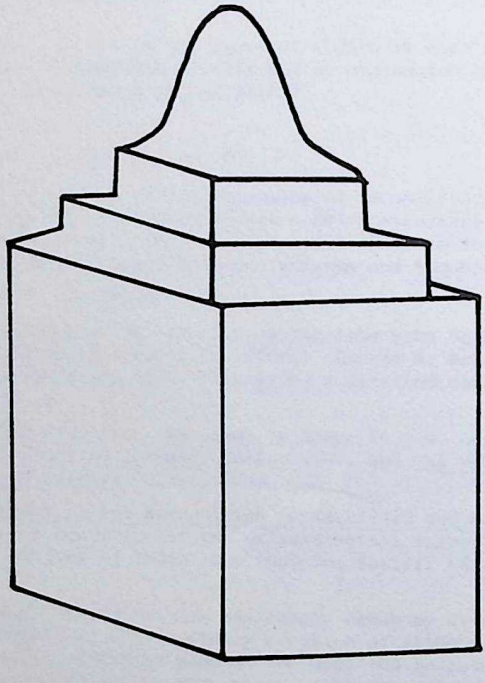


fig. 3

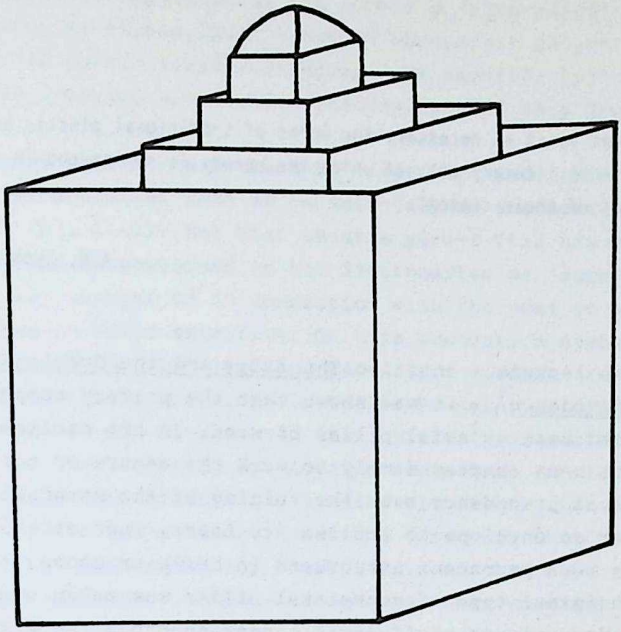


fig. 4

THE AXIAL SYMBOLISM OF THE EARLY STŪPA: AN EXEGESIS

John Irwin

"An exegesis is at least as necessary for works of traditional plastic art as it is for works of traditional literary art, of which the beauty is not an end in itself but the attractive aspect of their content."

A.K. Coomaraswamy, 1938

In my first lecture - entitled The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis: the archaeological evidence[1] - it was shown that the primary component of the early *stūpa* had been an axial pillar of wood. In the earliest stage, this pillar had not been erected simply to mark the centre of the mound: it had taken structural precedence over the raising of the mound itself, the latter serving as an envelope to enclose it. Later, when earthen *stūpas* were superseded by more permanent structures in brick or stone, the axial function of the original type of monumental pillar was taken over by a comparatively slender pole or staff (*yaṣṭi*) bearing one or more umbrellas at its summit.

In this lecture we shall test the second half of our hypothesis: that the historical religions like Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism inherited the religious meaning of the axial pillar, together with the *stūpa*-cult itself, from older cosmic religion. In the process, they adapted the meaning to their own doctrines, but without entirely disguising the older associations. Central to this older meaning was the function of the pillar as World Axis or Axis Mundi, supreme link between the human and the divine worlds and the channel through which cosmic order was imposed on our terrestrial sphere. This interpretation had been advanced by Paul Mus nearly half a century ago;[2] yet it was largely ignored by those who had most influence on the course of thinking about the history and meaning of the *stūpa*. Mus claimed to have derived his theory from a critical analysis of texts in the light of archaeology; but neither his archaeological evidence nor his textual research was adequate to convince anybody not already open to his ideas - hence his neglect. In the first lecture we showed that he had in fact overlooked much archaeological evidence that would have strengthened his case. We shall now show that there was also important textual evidence that he either overlooked or misunderstood, and that this, likewise, would have greatly reinforced his argument. We shall consider first a passage he misunderstood. It occurs in the Divyāvadāna,[3] in the well-known story about a rich merchant who gave money for enlargement of a *stūpa* (the text refers to it as a '*caitya*') built in honour of the former Buddha, Kṣemamkara. It describes in detail the stages of enlargement and says

that in the final stage, after a new dome had been built to encompass the old one, the builders implanted at its summit a '*yūpa-yaṣṭi*':

tathāvidhaṃ ca bhūpasyāṇḍam kṛtam sā yūpayaṣṭir abhyantare pratipāditā paścāt tasyātinavāṇḍasyopari harmikā kṛtānupūrveṇa yaṣṭyāropaṇaṃ varṣasthāle mahāmaṇiratnāni tāny āropitāni

Everyone knows what is meant here by *-yaṣṭi*. It denoted a slender pole or staff bearing umbrellas such as we see today on the summit of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī (pl. I, 1). But what about a *yūpa-*? This has caused a lot of confusion. *Yūpa* is explained in the dictionaries as 'sacrificial post', and it is usually thought of in connection with the post to which the victim was tethered at Vedic sacrifice. On this account, a number of leading scholars have concluded that its appearance in a Buddhist text must be the result of a scribe's error. De la Vallée Poussin, L. Alsdorf, H. Lommel, F.B.J. Kuiper - all have shared this opinion[4]. It was also followed by Paul Mus, and more recently by Mireille Bénisti in her important paper on the *stūpa*[5]. However, after I had studied all the arguments, I was left with two reasons for being unconvinced. The first was that most of the scholars concerned were primarily Sanskritists and had made no reference to Pāli sources; the second, that although they were unanimous in assuming the word to have entered the text as a copyist's error, there was no agreement about what the correct reading should be. These observations encouraged me to make my own investigation into Pāli sources on the *stūpa*, and soon I was rewarded by discovery of the word *yūpa* in the most important of all Buddhist texts on the building of a *stūpa*. In Mahāvaṃsa, chapter 15, line 173, we read that when King Devānaṃpiyatissa (c. 250-210 B.C.) had selected an auspicious site for the future construction of the *Mahā-stūpa*, his first action was to mark the spot by erection of a stone *yūpa*[6]. In my opinion, the use of the word *yūpa* in this particular context removes the likelihood of this word being a corruption in the Divyāvadāna[7]. On the contrary, I believe that the use of the term *yūpa* to describe the axial pillar of a Buddhist *stūpa* was both deliberate and meaningful, and that it will become increasingly plausible as this thesis develops.

The equation of *yūpa* with 'sacrificial post' so readily taken for granted by Sanskritists raises issues that are urgently in need of re-examination, and in my opinion they are very often incorrect in their translations of passages where this word occurs.

In Vedic texts, the word most commonly used for 'sacrificial post' is not *yūpa* but *śvaru*. In the whole of the Ṛgveda where sacrificial posts are frequently mentioned, there are only four passages in which the word *yūpa* is used instead of *śvaru*[8]. We shall return to this point presently, but in the meantime let us consider the ritual significance of the sacrificial post itself[9].

The ritual texts specify that the post must be carved from the trunk of a sacred tree. For this reason, none of the original Vedic sacrificial

posts survives intact. But at later periods, when Vedic sacrifice was revived under Hindu patronage, there was a custom of commemorating the site of sacrifice (now a sacred spot in its own right) by erecting a copy of the sacrificial post in stone. The example at fig. 2 belongs to the first or second century A.D. and was found near Mathurā[10]. There are a number of important details to be noted. For instance, the lower portion, which was originally invisible below ground, is square and left rough. The middle section is octagonal and shows clearly the rope with noose with which the victim was tethered. This rope is wound three times round the shaft exactly as specified in the texts[11]. The top is curved; attached to it for the Vajapeya sacrifice was a wheel or ring called *caṣāla* which according to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa V. 2. 1. 6. was made of wheat, and was clearly a sun-symbol, as we shall see. (It is surprising that this link between pillar, wheel, sun symbolism, and wheat has not so far caught the attention of comparative religionists, since the same combination can be recognized in rituals in many parts of the world.[12]) Finally, the post was draped in white cloth[13] and hung with fruit and flowers and other offerings symbolic of the bounty of nature.

The ritual texts are explicit about the symbolism of each part of the sacrificial post[14]. The square section below ground is said to enable the sacrificer to gain the world of the ancestors whose remains are in the earth; the octagonal section represents the spatial sphere; the uppermost section, the heavens. Whoever understands these things, says the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, reaches the most blessed of the gods, Prajāpati, who is mystically identified with the sun[15].

The cosmic nature of this symbolism is further illustrated by rites of carving and erecting the post - including the actual felling of the sacred tree from which it is to be fashioned. For instance, priests accompany the woodcutter into the forest to select the tree, whence they address it as *vanaspate deva*, 'the god who is lord of the forest'. The priest then declaims in front of it: 'With thy summit do not rend the heavens [in other words, do not damage the heavenly vault which it is a function of the cosmic tree to sustain]. With thy trunk, do not wound the atmosphere [do not damage the upper sky, region of precious rain-bearing clouds]. After felling, the trunk of the tree is then fashioned into the sacrificial post; and during its erection at the eastern edge of the sacrificial compound (not within the compound), the priest recites the words: 'With thy top thou hast touched the heavens; with thy middle thou hast filled the air; with thy foot thou hast steadied the earth', and so on. There could hardly be a clearer picture of the sacrificial post as substitute for the cosmic tree mystically located at the world's axis, metaphysical link between the terrestrial and the celestial spheres.

We have mentioned that there are only four places in the Ṛgveda where *yūpa* is used in the sense of 'sacrifical post'. In none of these is there any indication that the sacrificial post was execution post. In one of them

the sacrificial post as *yūpa* is described as 'patron of the sacrifice'. In another (X. 70. 9-10) it is clearly stated that the animal was tied to the *yūpa* specifically for the rite of its anointment, the purpose of which was to ensure smooth passage of the sacrifice to the gods[16]. All this makes clear sense when one recognizes the *yūpa* as first and foremost a reduced form of the World Tree: in other words, as the Axis Mundi which is the channel of communication between earth and heaven.

In this light, the term '*yūpa*' in Vedic usage apparently had a meaning wider than 'sacrificial post'. In other words, although every sacrificial post (*śvaru*) could be called '*yūpa*' by virtue of its mythical identification with the World Tree (from which is was ritually fashioned), not every Vedic mention of '*yūpa*' implied the meaning 'sacrificial post'. It was only later, in the technical literature of the *sūtras*, that '*yūpa*' and '*śvaru*' came to be used as synonymous and interchangeable terms, by which time the earlier and wider meaning of '*yūpa*' was either neglected or forgotten.

In support of the hypothesis that Vedic *yūpa* had a meaning wider than *śvaru* I would cite Ṛgveda I. 51. 14 where *yūpa* is used for door-post (*yūpa dúrya*). It is even more significant, as we shall presently come to see, that in this particular passage, door-post is used as an image of 'stability' and equated with Indra and his rôle of 'stabilizing the universe', a rôle about which we shall also have more to learn presently. On the strength of the Ṛgveda alone, there is no evidence that the sacrificial post in its *yūpa*-designation was actually associated with slaughter. Indeed, since its patron deity is said to have been Viṣṇu, to whom blood sacrifice was never made, we must leave open the possibility that the poets did not think of the *yūpa* in any specific association with execution post - not, at any rate, before the period of the ritual texts, by which time *yūpa* seems to have become a substitute term for *śvaru*.

Even more relevant to our *stūpa*-context, we should perhaps be asking if *yūpa* was really a Vedic concept, or whether the Vedic Aryans might have taken it over from non-Aryan or even pre-Aryan tradition? After all, it is well known that the Vedic Aryans, who ostensibly treated the sacrificial stake as a sort of holy of holies, did not allow it to be erected inside their sacrificial compound. What is more, philologists have independently claimed that some of the terms used for parts of the sacrificial stake - such as *caṣāla*, *tūpara*, and *kumbā* - are probably of non-Aryan origin. So, finally, this leaves us with a question that will have to be left open, at least until there is time to deal with it properly: is it possible that when the Buddhists used the term *yūpa* for the axial pillar of their *stūpas*, they were borrowing it independently from non-Aryan tradition, and not from Vedic tradition at all? What we can say with absolute certainty, even at this stage, is that both the *yūpa* of Vedic sacrifice, and the *yūpa* of the Buddhist *stūpa* were mythically

identified with the World Tree of still older cosmic religion - the first in the name of Vanaspati, 'Lord of the Forest'; the second in the name of the Bodhi Tree, which was already under worship as a sacred tree (according to Buddhist legend), before Śākyamūni sat beneath it to meditate and to achieve Enlightenment.

After this, it is no surprise that in many early depictions of the Buddhist *stūpa*, the axial pillar breaks out of the summit in the actual form of a tree, with foliage resembling parasols (pl. I, 2 and 3). The latter feature should serve as a reminder that *chattra* (Sanskrit for umbrella) derives from the root *chad-*, 'shade, shelter'. It should also remind us that the umbrella as a religio-magic symbol especially associated with the person of a king was ultimately identified with the shading branches of the sacred tree, image of the sacred centre or Axis Mundi from which the king derived cosmic power as 'ruler of the universe'. Recently, Dr. Jan Pieper has extended the evidence by drawing attention to a *stūpa* in Nepāl which, in place of the usual *yaṣṭi*, has a living tree growing out of its top (pl. I, 3)[17].

The Tibetan term for the axial pillar of a *stūpa* is *srog-shing*, literally 'life-wood', corresponding in our own language to 'Tree of Life'.[18] In all traditions of the ancient world, there seems to have been an intrinsic connection between the different kinds of sacred trees - Tree of Life, Wishing Tree, Tree of Paradise, and so on - because each had its ultimate point of reference in the archetypal tree, mythically located at the navel of the earth where the universe was 'born' - in other words, at the mythical spot where heaven and earth were separated at the creation. Thus, in a mediaeval Burmese inscription at Bodhgayā, we even find the Bodhi Tree equated with the Wishing Tree in its Hindu name, *kalpa-vṛkṣa*[19]. An interesting parallel is provided by the Christian Cross and its frequent identification with the archetypal cosmic tree[20].

How are we to explain this world-wide manifestation of precisely the same notions? The arguments that raged until quite recently between diffusionists and anti-diffusionists now seem quaintly old-fashioned and irrelevant, because certain fallacies are inherent in the question itself. The truth seems to be that in the ancient world, ideas travelled only to the extent that the ground was already prepared for them by the prior existence of parallel notions in the receiving culture. India and its cultural indebtedness to Western Asia provides countless illustrations of this. For instance, there is no reason to suppose that the worship of sacred mountains in India started with influences diffused from Mesopotamia. On the other hand, there is good reason to think that Western notions of the sacred mountain exercised much influence on the Indian Meru (= Sumeru?) myth when the worship of sacred eminences was already important in Indian religion.

In this lecture, we shall have frequent occasion to talk about early Indian cosmogony as Vedic cosmogony. This is only because the Vedic texts provide the earliest evidence of Indian cosmogonic belief known to us. But there is no reason to suppose that the basic features of the Vedic cosmogony were not already familiar to inhabitants of the river valleys long before the first Aryan-speaking peoples entered the Indian sub-continent. What we call 'Vedic religion' is already Indo-Aryan rather than 'Aryan'. In other words, by the time the Ṛgvedic hymns had taken the form by which they are known to us, a fusion between 'Aryan' and non-Aryan traditions had already taken place and matured. Absence of other records may mean that we shall never know precisely how much was contributed by pre-Aryan cultures. What we do know - and in my opinion its importance in our context cannot be over-emphasised - is that many of the 'Aryan' invaders bore their children by non-Aryan mothers, and that in traditional, non-literate societies, the mother-child relationship was the principle agency for the conveyance of mythic lore. Euripides made this point in some memorable lines expressed through Melanippe (fragment 484):

> 'It is not my word, but my mother's word, how heaven and earth were originally one, and how, when separated, they gave birth to all things ...'

It is perhaps equally significant that during the much later period of Islamic rule in India, when foreign invaders were again marrying indigenous women, cosmogonic ideas of a kind most heretical to orthodox Muslims were likewise perpetuated in Indo-Islamic culture - and often in illogical association with the most extreme form of bigotry[21].

The identification, earlier mentioned, between *stūpa* and cosmic tree recalls a well-known passage in Mahāvaṃsa XXX. 63. where King Duṭṭhagāmiṇi is described as having inserted in the relic chamber of the Mahāstūpa a Bodhi Tree (*bodhi-rukha*) measuring eighteen *ratanas* in height. If lexicographers are correct in equating a *ratana* with a cubit, this would have meant a tree nine to twelve metres tall in a chamber of less than that height. One should not attach too much significance to a text which includes many confusions, apparently deriving from misunderstandings of information taken from earlier sources. But in this case there are grounds for thinking that the description may have been faithful to an early source, and that confusion arises only when we read *bodhi-rukha* as literally 'tree', instead of synonym for a tree. We are familiar with the Vedic sacrificial post being called Vanaspati ('Lord of the Forest'), and with the Indra-pillar being called *Indravṛkṣa* ('Indra-tree'): using the same logic in reverse, is there not a case for thinking that *bodhi-rukha* might not have referred to a sacred pillar identified with the sacred tree from which it was fashioned? However that may be, the really important point for us is that in this most informative of all Buddhist

texts discussing the building of a *stūpa*, the core (axis ?) of a *stūpa* is identified with the Bodhi tree.

In my opinion this prepares us for solution of another problem, much disputed among scholars, and about which they have so far failed to reach agreement - that is, the origin and meaning of the so-called '*harmikā*'. This term is now in general use for the summital structure of the *stūpa* everywhere. However, in early Buddhist literature it appears only once as far as I have been able to discover - in Divyāvadāna 244. 11. - where it is said to be a Sanskritization of Pāli *hammiya*. In the opinion of Prof. Kuiper, *hammiya* is historically identical with Vedic *harmya*, a very early Indo-Iranian word denoting 'stone house'[22]. Its Pāli and Sanskrit forms cannot be proved to go back earlier than our present era, so for this reason it cannot be used in discussion of *stūpas* of earlier periods. In my opinion, it may be misleading to do so. The plain fact is that the earliest type of summital structure seems to have been, not a 'stone house', but a simple threshold railing (*vedikā*), exactly like the threshold railings commonly associated with ancient tree-shrines (see fig. 1). According to my conjecture, the transfer of *vedikā*-railing to the summit of a *stūpa* had the purpose of reinforcing the sacred-tree symbolism of the axial pillar or *yūpa-yaṣṭi*. However, already in the second century B.C. we see the beginnings of a new development (fig, 7). The original simple threshold railing is now being superseded by a kind of pavilion, with roof in the form of an overhanging platform. In the following centuries, this pavilion becomes more and more elaborated, eventually having the appearance of a palatial building of several floors, each with its own windows, doors and balconies, such as we see depicted at Bhājā (fig. 9). This is a long way from the simple threshold railing, yet even at this late stage the latter survives decoratively as a vestige in the design.

How did this transformation come about, and what is its significance? The debate was opened a century ago by Senart who argued that the '*harmikā*' derived from the fire-altar, citing in particular the crenellations or castellations which are a feature of many West Asian fire-altars. Fergusson opposed this with the theory that the '*harmikā*' was a container for relics; and Przyluski, that it was a kind of 'tomb' in its own right. Paul Mus and A.K. Coomaraswamy both argued that the '*harmikā*' symbolized the 'citadel of the gods', basing this claim on the use of the term '*devata kotuwa*' of Singhalese *stūpa* texts (but overlooking the fact that such evidence appears only in very late texts, never in early ones).

Who is correct? In my opinion, none! I believe that the truth about the origin and development of the '*harmikā*' can be understood only in light of our interpretation of *yūpa-yaṣṭi* and its identification as symbol of the Bodhi Tree. These ideas are in turn linked with the hypothesis that the Bodhi Tree, not the *stūpa*, was the principle shrine of Buddhism, at least until the third century B.C.

There is no firm archaeological or textual proof that the later Buddhist canon was recording historical fact in its account of the enshrinement of the Buddha's relics. In the well-known dialogue between the Buddha and Ānanda in Mahā-parinibbāna suttanta XVI, the latter twice asks exactly the same question about what should be done with the Tathāgata's physical body. The first time, the Buddha replies that he should not be diverted by rites irrelevant to the pursuit of his own salvation, and that he should leave such matters to the warrior caste, learned brāhmaṇs, and learned householders. However, this question and answer are immediately followed by repetition of exactly the same question, and this time an entirely different answer is given. The Buddha now tells Ānanda that the mortal remains of a Tathāgata should be honoured just as they honour the remains of a *cakravārtin* - that is, in my interpretation, a ruler vested with cosmic power. The reply further specifies that the remains should be cremated and then buried in a *stūpa* at a crossroads. As I have argued elsewhere[23], it seems to me logical to infer that the first question and answer represent early doctrine, whereas the second have been interpolated at a later date to justify the fact that by that time *stūpa*-worship was already an established Buddhist rite, wedded to the kingship cult, that it was useless to try to oppose. The fact that this had not been so at an earlier stage is proved by the rules of early Nikāya Buddhism which forbid the building of *stūpas* within monastic compounds[24]. On the other hand, we know that the tree-worship had been associated with Buddhism as early as we have any evidence of a Buddhist cult at all[25].

We know, moreover, that the simplest and earliest type of tree-shrine was enclosed only by a railing (*vedikā*) at ground level (fig. B). The principle rites of tree-worship were circumambulation and lustration. The relief at Fig. D (i) shows worshippers approaching a tree with vases of water which they are about to empty at the base of the tree. What happened when Buddhism became a mass religion and large numbers of people visited the holy shrines? According to the Aśokāvadāna, Aśoka poured the contents of no less than 4,000 vases at a single visit[26]. Are we to imagine worshippers trampling around the Bodhi tree in a sea of mud? The Aśokāvadāna saves us from any such imagining, because it states clearly that Aśoka - and by implication, other worshippers as well - mounted a structure built around the tree and poured down the water from above[27]. We need hardly doubt that the enclosing structure was the type of 'tree-temple' known as *bodhi-ghara*. As Coomaraswamy demonstrated in a pioneer study[28], the *bodhi-ghara* was in its essentials an overhanging platform or gallery built around the tree, and left open at the centre, so that worshippers, after mounting steps to the top, could pour down water into the centre from branch-level. In this way, all essential needs were met: worshippers could circumambulate (at gallery level) and also lustrate without inconvenience to fellow-worshippers.

As the popularity and prestige of Buddhism increased, so the *bodhi-ghara* itself grew in size and grandeur. At fig. 3 we see a relief depicting Aśoka himself visiting the Bodhi Tree surrounded by *bodhi-ghara*: the king approaches from the left, accompanied by a retinue, each member carrying a vase and ready to mount the steps to an overhanging gallery where the water will be poured down. Eventually, some of the *bodhi-gharas* grew to the size of palaces, as shown at figs. 5 and 6.

By this time, however, a new problem must have arisen. It is immediately suggested by asking what happened when a *Bodhi* tree died - as every tree must do soon or later, sacred or otherwise? I was once told by a tree-specialist that by Indian standards the *Pipul* tree (ficus religiosa) is not a particularly long-living tree, and that its average life-span is probably about two hundred years. If this is correct, then any *Pipul* tree already mature in the Buddha's lifetime is likely to have been either dead or somewhat decrepit by the third century B.C. when Aśoka came to the throne and Buddhism became a mass religion. Of course, with skillful attention, the life of any tree might be extended far beyond the average; yet, when all allowances are made, it is likely that many of the Bodhi trees struck as cuttings from the original tree at Bodhgayā, beneath which the Buddha-to-be had sat to meditate in 531 B.C. (if that date is to be accepted and not a later one), are likely to have been dying by the second century B.C.. So what happened then? The wish of the faithful would have been to propagate a new tree by striking a cutting from the old one on the same spot. But to do this successfully within the sunless enclosure of a *bodhi-ghara* would in most cases have been impossible. Those of you who are gardeners know very well that the first requirement of a sapling is light, without which it will certainly wither and die. How could sufficient light have penetrated the types of enclosure you see at fig. 6? Impossible! So it is not surprising to find that decline in the number and importance of *bodhi-gharas* apparently dates from this period, and that it corresponded with the growth in the importance of the *stūpa* and its gradual replacement of the *Bodhi* tree as the principle shrine of the Buddhist cult.

As part of this development, the so-called *harmikā*, which had originally consisted of a simple threshold-railing or *vedikā* surrounding the projecting *yūpa* or *yūpa-yaṣṭi*, was now superceded by a conventional structure copying features of the *bodhi-ghara* (cf. figs. 7, 8 and 9).

Leaving the subject of the so-called *harmikā*, this is now the moment to take into account some important observations on the axial structure of Singhalese *stūpas* made by the late S. Paranavitana, former Director of Archaeology in Sri Lanka, in his monograph, The Stūpa in Ceylon, published in 1946[29]. Paranavitana does not seem to have been familiar with the Indian evidence relating to axial pillars discussed in the previous lecture, and this makes it all the more significant from our point of view that he arrived independently at the conclusion that the earliest Buddhist

stūpas had once had monumental pillars running through their centres. These, he claimed, had originally been wooden, just as we have already discovered from analysis of Indian evidence. However, he gives us reason to think that the Singhalese axial pillars may have been copied in stone from an earlier period than in India. He could not point to examples of these stone pillars still in situ in the centres of any surviving *stūpas* for the simple reason that all early Singhalese *stūpas* had been superimposed at the time of enlargement with vast, schematized umbrella-shafts, of which the Kiri Vehera at Polonnaruva provides a typical example (plate I, 6). The proof he offered of the former existence of stone axial pillars was twofold. First, he pointed to the sketch of the Mahānāga *stūpa* made in 1883, reproduced here at plate I, 7. This was the last of the very early *stūpas* to be entirely encompassed by enlargement. The importance of this unpretentious little sketch is that it was known to have been made when enlargement was actually in progress and just before the summit had been completely transformed by superimposition of an umbrella-shaft. It can be seen that protruding from the top is a plain, stumpy pillar surrounded by simple, square *vedikā*-railing, both of which are familiar from depictions in many Amarāvatī reliefs such as we see at plate I, 2. Paranavitana claimed that all early Singhalese *stūpas*, now enlarged and superimposed, must originally have had inside their domes a monumental pillar of this kind, otherwise the masonry of the domes would have been too weak to have sustained such heavy superstructures. As second proof, he pointed to discovery of actual fragments of such stone axial pillars lying among the ruins of early *stūpas* in Sri Lanka that had never been either enlarged or effectively restored. Typical of these fragments is the example shown at plate I, 8, which he published in his monograph. It had been discovered on the mound of a ruined *stūpa*, too high to have served any purpose other than that of axial pillar. Features common to all such pillars, he noted, was that they were square at the base, octagonal in the middle section, and rounded at the top - exactly as in the case of the Brahmanical *yūpa* (fig. 2), already discussed. He did not offer any explanation of these features, and we shall be returning to this subject with our own explanation presently.

Paranavitana recognized that these axial pillars had no weight-bearing functions and therefore inferred that their meaning must be purely religious. Anxious to find out what that meaning was, he consulted the pundits. However, they were unable to tell him anything except the name by which they were traditionally known in local Buddhist *stūpa*-terminology. This information surprised him and left him even more puzzled: it was not '*yūpa*', as we found in the north Indian Divyāvadāna text, but *Indra-kīla* (Pāli, *Indha-khīla*), literally 'Indra's Peg' or 'Nail of Indra'. Why? Again, nobody could tell him.

Today, thanks to recent advances in Vedic scholarship, nobody who has kept apace with research is likely to feel much doubt: *Indra-kīla* is a cosmogonic term, and it has its ultimate point of reference in the 'peg' or 'nail' used by Indra to 'fix' or 'stabilize' the universe at the creation.

Although it is mainly from Indo-Aryan sources that scholars have reconstructed early Indian cosmogony, there is no reason to think that the basic features were exclusively 'Aryan' or 'Indo-Aryan'. On the contrary, there is good reason to think that Indo-Aryan cosmogonic ideas, as embodied in the Vedas and later ritual texts, had many points of contact and similarity with a broader tradition to which Vedic religion certainly contributed, but from which it also drew. There is no reason to think that the principle sources of this cosmogony are not extremely archaic and that they cannot be pinpointed within any firm framework of geography or chronology. The bare facts of this cosmogony as revealed to us (mainly since 1946) are as follows[30]:

Before the world began there was only Chaos, without life or any of the dualities which constitute our organized universe (such as heaven and earth, good and evil, fire and water, male and female, and so on). This Chaos was visualized as Water, constituting the Cosmic Ocean. The first stage in the creation was when a clod of earth floated to the surface of the Waters as the Primordial Mound, to be tossed about on the waves. The second stage began with the birth of Indra, when heaven and earth were still compacted within the Primordial Mound, guarded by Vṛtra - a kind of serpent-personification of the idea of 'obstruction' or 'resistance'. Whereas Vṛtra's role was to obstruct or lock up the waters of fertility within the Mound, Indra's demiurgic act was to kill the serpent and to release the waters. At the same time as he killed Vṛtra, he separated heaven and earth (hitherto compacted within the Mound), thus creating the first of the dualities from which all others followed. In the same process, the sun was released from the cosmic ocean to bring light into the world and to create time and the seasons. As heaven and earth were separated, space, atmosphere and wind filled the vacuum between them, and the Four Quarters were born.

The instrument used by Indra to separate heaven and earth was the World Pillar, synonymous with the World Tree (from which the pillar was ritually fashioned), and mythical archetype of every kind of sacred post, pole or standard known to ancient religion.

Of special significance in our present context is the fact that the pillar used to separate heaven and earth was conceived as mythically synonymous with the peg or nail Indra used in the simultaneous function of fixing the Primordial Mound to the bottom of the cosmic ocean. All cosmogonies of the ancient world make a great feature of this act of stabilizing the world at the creation, reminding us of passages in the Hebrew Old

Testament where God is praised for 'setting the earth on its foundations so that it should never be shaken' (Psalm 104. 3). Sayings of this kind recur in countless early religious texts. Nowadays, nobody worries about the danger of the heavens collapsing and the universe falling apart; but this was once a real and dominating fear, equated in imagination with return to primeval chaos. The only security felt against this catastrophe was re-enactment of the act of creation, because what happened 'in the beginning' was deemed to have exemplary value for the present. The Ṛgveda, in common with other cosmogonic sources, is abundant with such evidence. Its hymns embody the fundamental notion of a shaking earth that lacked foundation or support (*pratiṣṭhā*) until Indra pierced and rooted it to the bottom of the Waters.

'Who made the widespread earth when quaking steadfast, Who set at rest the agitated mountains, Who measured out the air's middle space more widely, Who gave the sky support: he, men, is Indra'.' (Ṛgveda II.12.2, as translated by A.A. Macdonnell). And again: 'The shaking mountains and the plains he (Indra) fixed'.' (ibid., X.44.8). Again, the actual instrument used for the act of stabilizing is very widely conceived as a 'nail' or 'peg'. Among the Sumerians it was *DIM.GAL*, translated by E. Burrows in a pioneer study as the 'great binding-post'[31]; in Rabbinic Hebrew it was *mismar*, 'the nail'[32]; in Icelandic, *veraldarnagli*, 'world peg'[33]; in Chinese the same concept recurs and is rendered by translators as 'pivot of the Four Quarters'[34]; among the Estens of Finland, *pohja nael*, 'peg of the foundations'[35]. Coming nearer to India, we find in Tibetan cosmogony *sa-yi phur-bu*, 'peg of the earth'[36]. The same concept is common in early Indian texts. Although the actual term *Indra-kīla* does not appear in the Vedas, we find frequent reference to the world being made 'firm and steady' (*dhruvā, áśithilā*), which in turn enabled the Primordial Mound to swell into our universe. Thus, the word for earth, *pṛthivī*, means literally 'the wide one', from the verb *prath-*, 'to widen, extend'[37]. (This notion of extension or 'swelling' is very important to the rites surrounding *stūpa*-worship, as we shall learn in the third lecture). From all this it follows that 'Indra's peg' was the sacred model or prototype of every instrument or device used to ensure 'security', 'permanence', 'protection'. For instance, at the mundane level, it was sacred archetype of every padlock, bolt, gatepost, door-stopper - in fact, of every object used to 'fix' or 'secure', or to 'make safe the threshold'. Numerous examples are to be found in the literature of Buddhism. At the social and political level, *Indra-kīla* was synonymous with 'stable order', 'lawfulness'; and by reverse logic, its opposite (Pāli *dassukhīla*) is used in Dīghanikāya 1. 135 in the sense of 'disorder' or 'collapse of justice'[38].

Professor Kuiper has pointed out how, in post-Vedic traditions, the concept *Indrakīla* - originally the nail or peg used by Indra to stabilize the Primordial Mound, thus enabling the latter to expand into our universe

- became one with the Mound/Hill/Mountain itself [39]. Thus in later Hindu legends like the Churning of the Ocean of Milk, the churning stick used by the *devas* and *asuras* is termed interchangeably Indrakīla and Mt. Mandara. Yet, when the story is told in sculpture or painting, the 'Mt. Mandara' is commonly depicted in the form of a pillar (= *kīla*) [40]. A similar identification is to be found in Buddhist literature where the term *kīlādri* (literally, 'peg-hill') occurs [41]. Likewise, in neighbouring Buddhist cultures such as the Tibetan we are not suprised to find that sacred mountains are called 'pegs of the earth' (*sa-yi phur bu*) [42]; and that the hill Tidar overlooking the Borobudur in Central Java is called *paku-buwana*, 'peg of the world' [43]. In my opinion, this equation of peg (*kīla*) with a hill or mountain was linked with the change from solar to polar orientation in cosmological thinking - a change perhaps precipitated in India by the influence of Mesopotamian astrology. An important result of this change was that the zenith of the cosmic axis, earlier equated with the midday sun, was henceforth commonly identified with the pole-star, theoretically located above the summit of the cosmic mountain, and around which the firmament was conceived as revolving. The same change can be traced in other cultures. [44] We shall have more to say in this connection in the third lecture.

In view of the well-known links between *stūpa*-worship and the kingship-cult, abundantly confirmed in the Mahā-parinibbāna suttanta and other parts of the Buddhist canon, we should note the frequent recurrence of nail- or peg-imagery in rites of royal consecration in many different parts of the world, especially in descriptions of the king being firmly fixed on his throne. Thus, in the Hebrew Old Testament (Isaiah 22. 23) a king in the line of David is likened to 'a peg in a sure place', while in Atharvaveda 6. 87 the king is said to owe his fixity to Indra who is not merely identified with the cosmic axis but said to be synonymous with it ('Indra is *skambha* and *skambha* is Indra' according to Atharvaveda X. 7. 29-30). The same line of thought recurs in countless traditional cultures [45] and it does not surprise us to know that when Bodhisattvas achieved Buddhahood they had to sit on a diamond-throne lest the world should suddenly lose equilibrium, its stability being assured only at the world's axis. This identification of king with axis resolves what one scholar has called an 'opposition' between the identiy of the *stūpa* as a royal being on the one hand, and as cosmic axis on the other [46]. This apparent opposition disappears once we learn to recognize that the terrestrial king becomes, by virtue of his consecration, an actual personification of the cosmic pillar, as demonstrated in Professor J.C. Heesterman's study of the ancient Indian rite of royal consecration [47]. Likewise, Professor Tucci has shown that the king participating in the construction of a royal *stūpa* unites himself with the axis of the monument, which is conceived as the metyphysical centre around which his kingdom revolves [48]. Similarly, in the making of an an-

thropomorphic image of the Buddha, the pin forming the axis around which the image is made is called *Indrakīlaka* (= *Indrakīla*): the 'stability' of the image is said to depend on it[49]. The same idea is embodied in texts describing the Buddha's mystical anatomy - its 'fixity' and 'adamantine nature'[50].

We have considered two terms used by Buddhists in different parts of the Indian sub-continent to describe the axial pillars in early *stūpas*: *yūpa* and *Indrakīla*. We shall now consider a third which is used by Buddhists up to the present day in Nepal: *liṅga*. This fact was first reported in print (as far as I know) by Purna Chandra Mukherji in his important monograph, The Antiquities of the Nepal Tarai, published in 1901[51]. However, the apparent fact of some sort of association between Buddhist *stūpa* and phallus was commonly discussed by nineteenth century writers, and it is only in comparatively recent years that scholars have brusquely - and in my opinion wrongly - swept this idea under the table[52].

Of course, it is well-known that Nepalese Buddhism is notoriously syncretic. This, however, does not dispense with the problem of why professing Buddhists, ostensibly subscribing to a doctrine antithetical to phallism, should countenance the name *liṅga* for the axial component of a *stūpa*. This represents a puzzle that will not be solved in a hurry. Yet, two things are already clear from this thesis. One is that the *stūpa* itself is a very syncretic type of monument; another, that in all the later, so-called 'historical' religions, inconsistencies and even contradictions are often recognizable between cult and doctrine. The explanation is simple: 'doctrine' embodies what is unique or special to any religion; 'cult', on the other hand, is concerned with worship and liturgy which inevitably have roots in older religion. I shall have more to say on these points in the next lecture. In this one, I am mainly concerned with what we can learn from archaeology, on the one hand, and surviving religious practices, on the other. This now leads me to introduce a personal anecdote.

When touring in the Nepal Tarai in 1976, I was surprised to notice on the summit of several ancient mounds the presence of stone *liṅgas*, in each case sited exactly over the axial centre. Two of them I photographed, and I show them here as slides. In the first case, the *liṅga* is clearly visible in the photograph because the summital pavilion which formerly enclosed it has collapsed, leaving the *liṅga* exposed; in the second, the pavilion is intact, and the enshrined *liṅga* is still under regular worship. Since these mounds are in both cases known to cover medieval Śaivite temples (as proved by excavations reported by Dr. Debala Mitra in her book, Excavations at Tilaura-kot and Kodan and explorations in the Nepalese Tarai, published by Department of Archaeology, Government of Nepal, but printed in Calcutta, 1972, pp. 156 ff.), I assumed that the *liṅgas* were perpetuating the older Śaivite associations of the site. However, enquiry revealed that this was not so. The *liṅgas*, I was told, were being

worshipped in the name of a deity called Nāgeśvara, 'Lord of the Serpents (*nāgas*)', not as Śiva-icons.

This information struck me as extraordinarily interesting. In the first place, it reminded me of the divine serpent often depicted in a prominent position on the drums of early *stūpas* (see pl. I, 4), the identity of which has never been satisfactorily explained. I recalled, too, the well-known Rāmagāma legend in which the Buddha prophesied that his relics would one day be taken to the serpent world mythically located in the Waters; also, legends common in the folklore of many parts of the world of serpents or dragons with supernatural powers living in tumuli. A variation of the latter is the Greek legend of Apollo slaying the python in the *omphalos* or navelstone of Delphi (cf. fig. 13.). No less familiar are the countless stories in Nordic and Celtic traditions of fire-eating serpents living in barrows[53]. In India, such legends are so strongly rooted up to the present day that on at least one occasion this has proved an embarassment to archaeologists excavating ancient *stūpa*-mounds. For instance, during excavation of the Saidpur *stūpa*, when they discovered inside the main *stūpa* a smaller and still more ancient one, there was threat of panic among the labouring force - both Muslims and Hindus. They were convinced that the inner *stūpa* was the lair of a fire-breathing serpent that would destroy them if invaded[54]! Could there be a link between the mythologies of serpents believed in many parts of the world to inhabit tumuli, and the 'Lord of the Serpents' worshipped up to the present day in the form of phalluses on top of *stūpas*? The question becomes still more relevant when we learn that there have been many reports of phalluses being found in western tumuli, their contextual significance being as yet unexplained[55]. It is typical of the narrow-minded specialism of our age that nobody has hitherto posed this question - nor how we should interpret the significance of the serpents in *stūpas*, which are at once divine and potentially malevolent. Obviously, the answers when found will be relevant to the origin and meaning of the *stūpa*, and we shall be returning to the subject in the final lecture. In the meantime, however, I am more particularly concerned with the relationship between *stūpa* and *liṅga*.

Philologists are nowadays agreed that the primary meaning of *liṅga* is 'sign', 'token', which some think might be a word of non-Aryan origin. In Indian myth and legend, *liṅga* is linked with fire (*agni*)[56], the sun[57], and the cosmic pillar[58] - associations which extend and reinforce its already obvious rôle as symbol of Life and Resurrection[59], to which we shall have frequent occasion to return. It hardly needs saying that the serpent too is a perennial symbol of re-birth - originally, no doubt, because of its habits of throwing off its skin to renew itself, as suggested by the Scholiast to Aristophanes in the fifth century B.C.[60]. In some parts of India - including both the south and the north - a holy man (*sannyāsin*) is not cremated like most Hindus but buried in a grave-mound furnished with

a *liṅga* as its axis[61]. It is relevant to mention here, too, the so-called 'Brāhmanical *stūpa*' called in Sanskrit and Pāli texts *aiḍūka* and *eḍūka* respectively. In a well-known passage in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (III. 84. 1-7) an *aiḍūka* is described as having three platforms (*bhadra-pīṭhas*), one above the other, surmounted by a *liṅga*. The latter is said to be superimposed with a *yaṣṭi* - a clear indication of its function as axial symbol[62].

Likewise, in Hindu temple architecture the *liṅga* was also used as an axial symbol (see fig. 12). This was discussed recently in an important article by M.A. Dhaky[63], who quotes medieval texts to show that it then had the special name, *ākāśā-liṅga*. Why the first part of the compound, *ākāśa-*? Dhaky takes his lead from those Sanskritists (who are the majority, of course) who neglect metaphysics - the ultimate language of all ancient religion - in favour of naturalistic interpretations. He therefore explains the meaning of *ākāśa-* as 'ether' or 'sky', thus arriving at the definition, *'liṅga* exposed to the sky'. In my opinion, careful reading of the passages in which *ākāśa-* was used in early texts[64] shows that its connotations were cosmic and metaphysical - not to be confused with the word *antarikṣa*, commonly used in Sanskrit to denote ordinary or profane space. In other words, *ākāśa* originally denoted sacred or cosmogonic space - the space that filled the vacuum created between heaven and earth when they were separated and then re-united to consummate and engender life in the universe. In short, *ākāśa-liṅga* is the cosmic pillar in its uniting and fecundating rôle.

Can we suppose that there was some intrinsic link between the axial *liṅga* of a Hindu temple and the axial *liṅga* of a *stūpa*? After Professor van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's paper delivered at this Seminar (see pp. 278-301) who would doubt this as far as the evidence of Indonesian Buddhism is concerned? It remains now for me to add the testimony of Nepalese tradition. In the first place, let us recall the Nepalese legend of *keṣa-caityas*[65]. The story tells how the former Buddha Krakucchanda cut off the hair of seven hundred *brāhmaṇs* and *kshattriyas*, and when the locks fell to the earth they sprung up in the form of *liṅga-caityas*. Such *liṅga-caityas* are not uncommon and can be seen under worship in Nepal today[66]. If anybody thinks that evidence of this kind can be dismissed as freak examples of late Tantric influence on Nepalese Buddhism, I cannot agree; but once again I shall have to postpone fuller discussion for a future occasion.

However, we have not quite finished with the *liṅga*. We have yet to take account of the fact that in India the *liṅga* in its fixed or immovable form as *stāvara-liṅga* was commonly fashioned according to the formula already noted several times: square at the base; octogonal in the middle section, and rounded or circular at the top. Is it pure accident, do you suppose, that we find that *yūpas* and *Indrakīlas* were also fashion-

ed according to the same formula? Once again, in my opinion, the answer is clear: that underlying this shared formula was common religious meaning. What was it?

Here, I must admit my own slowness of recognition. A few years ago, when discussing the same features embodied in the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar, I then offered an explanation that was purely technical[67]. I argued that before lathes were in use, the only practical way of carving such a column was to start by hewing the stone into a quadrant; then, in the next stage, to break down the quadrant into an octagon; then from octagon into sixteenths; then into thirty-seconds. From thirty-seconds, it was then easy to break directly into the round (see fig. 10). The practical advantage of working in these stages was that the sculptor had easy control of the stability of the form throughout all stages of the operation, which would have been difficult to achieve in any other way except by use of a lathe.

Although I see no reason to contradict this explanation, it nevertheless seems to me now to represent only part of the truth, because it excludes any governing religious idea. In ancient religious art, no convention was employed without some point of reference in metaphysics. Even when a convention originated out of technical necessity, some religious meaning was attached to it, and usually the latter persisted long after the technical aspect had become redundant through changed material or improved skill. In most, if not all ancient art traditions, squareness has the association of solidity, synonymous with the terrestrial (we still use the phrase 'standing four-square' as synonymous with 'stability'). The circle or hemisphere, on the other hand, suggests 'heavenly ascension', and is expressed in architecture by the vault, dome, or cupola. Between the square and the circle, the polygon everywhere finds logical place as symbolic of the intermediary world of space, 'fixed' laterally by the four, eight, sixteen or thirty-two 'directions' of space. The *polygon* is a logical symbol of those 'directions' and in Indian art this concept of spatial orientation has given rise to beautiful treatment of the expanded lotus-flower with its eight or sixteen or thirty-two petals - a recurring feature of *stūpa*-ornament.

We thus arrive, by another route, at the conclusion that the axial pillar of the *stūpa* was pre-eminently a symbol of cosmic ascension - in other words, of the Axis Mundi itself. It is the cosmic pillar, founded in the Waters, rising up through the earth (= squareness), penetrating intermediary space (= polygon), and extending into the heaven (= circle). With the universality of early cosmic religion in mind, it is no surprise to find that many of its basic concepts, when inherited or adapted by later historical religions, continue to be expressed in similar visual language in many different parts of the world. The symbolism of spiritual ascension, involved in all rites of initiation, is a case in point. In Christ-

ian art, for instance, the formula of square-polygon-circle is especially associated with the baptistry, the tomb, and the cult-cross, each of which is first and foremost a symbol of initiation from the finite into the infinite world[68]. The phallus was another symbol widely used to express spiritual ascension, especially in the context of Life arising out of Death, which was the central Mystery of ancient religion. Thus it is no surprise to learn that when Christians used the phallus as symbol of Christ's resurrection, they employed the same square-polygon-circle formula as the Brāhmaṇ and the Buddhist (cf. fig. 11 and pl. I, 10), all drawing from a much older pool of metaphysical ideas apparently universal to cosmic religion[69].

It is fitting that we should end on this note of universality, because in the next lecture we shall show that this universality provides the key to what we have yet to discover about the origin and meaning of the *stūpa*.

APPENDIX (see footnote 20).

During the discussion that followed my lectures I was criticized by Dr. F.R. Allchin for my identification of the Bodhi Tree and the Christian Cross with the World Tree of earlier cosmic religion. Dr. Allchin's words, as recorded on tape and sent to me by the Editors for comment were as follows.

> "I would like to point to a serious problem that has been raised by Mr. Irwin's approach to history. As I understand it, Christianity and Buddhism are both historical religions, and I use this term in the sense that I think most historians would accept: the fact that Christianity depends on the Episode upon the Cross, and that this is the beginning and end of Christianity. In those circumstances, to speak as Mr. Irwin does of the Cross being actually the Cosmic Tree, I find unacceptable. He uses the same sort of analogy when discussing the Bodhi Tree. Now, it seems to me that we cannot have it both ways ..."

I believe we <u>can</u> and <u>should</u> 'have it both ways', and I am in total disagreement with his point of view. In my understanding of the history of the Christian religion, the fundamental belief of all early Christians lay not in the Crucifixion of Jesus but in the Resurrection of Christ. It is the latter episode that colours everything we know about the so-called 'cult of the Cross' - at least until the Middle Ages when new associations intervened and were reinforced by the poignant sincerity of medieval painting and illumination. Still later, they were further reinforced by the imaginative, ecstatic evolution of art in the period leading up to the Renaissance, but modified to a greater or lesser extent

(depending on personal viewpoint) by the intellectual austerity of the Reformation. In this lecture we have been concerned mainly with origins, not with the later development of ancient myths. It is therefore necessary to emphasize a point often overlooked by Christians themselves - that nowhere in the Bible is it mentioned that Jesus was 'crucified'. The Epistles which are of course earlier than the Gospels, say only that Jesus was 'hanged on a tree'. Even the Gospels lack any reference to a Cross. The Greek word inaccurately rendered as 'cross' in our English translation of the Bible (and in Latin translations as *crux*) is *stauros*, which in pre-Christian Greek literature denoted, not 'cross', but 'stake' or 'post' - that is, a single piece of upright timber without crosspiece. A fact of special significance in the context of my thesis is that, according to philologists, *stauros* derives from an Indo-Aryan root (meaning to 'fix', 'make firm') that gave to the Vedic language *skambha*, and to Sanskrit *stambha* - both denoting cosmic pillar or post. In the earliest Indian sources (which are of course among the earliest textual sources in the world), *skambha* refers to the cosmic pillar in its metaphysical form as Axis Mundi; and *stambha*, to its material form as pillar-image of the Divine Principle itself. Full discussion of the implications of these facts will have to be reserved for a future occasion. Here I can only indicate a few of the reasons why I cannot agree with Dr. Allchin's view that the Episode on the Cross was 'the beginning and end of Christianity' Acceptance of the historicity of the Passion did not preclude the belief of the early Christian fathers that the *stauros* by which Jesus was executed was mythically synonymous with the Tree in Paradise, which grew at the Navel of the Earth (equated with the very same 'mound' where Adam's skull was buried, later called Golgotha) and which was said to have been rooted in the Waters of Life. It was the Tree which, in famous words attributed to St. Hyppolytus or Pseudo-Chrysostom in 'Sermon VI for Holy Week' was '... vast as heaven itself, rising from earth to heaven, plant immortal, set firm in the midst of heaven and earth, foundation of the universe and all that is ...' (for full text see Migne, J.P., Patrologia graeca LIX, 743-746). If this is not enough to establish an identification between the cross and the Cosmic Tree, then I would like to add two more quotations selected from among many. Here is Tertullian (c. 160-230 A.D.) who was among the first to translate Greek *stauros* into Latin *crux* (defined in the standard Latin-English dictionary by Lewis and Short as '... in general, a tree, frame or other wooden instruments of execution on which criminals were impaled or hanged'): '... If any of you think that we render superstitious adoration to the *crux*, in that adoration he is sharer with us. If you offer homage to a piece of wood at all, it matters little what it is like if the material is the same: the form is of no consequence if it is itself the very body of the god. What distinction can you make between the shaft of a *crux* and Attic Pallas or Pharian Ceres,

each of whom stands there unshaped, a rude pole, a log untrimmed? Every stake fixed in an upright position is a portion of the *crux*; we render our adoration, if you have it so, to a God entire and complete ...' (Apologeticus XVI, 6-8). We could hardly expect a more explicit identification of the instrument of Jesus' execution with the Tree/Pillar of cosmic religion. Finally, here is St. Augustine on the relationship between that religion and Christianity: 'That which is called the Christian religion existed already among the ancients, and it never did not exist from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, at which time the true religion, which had already existed, began to be called Christianity' (Retractions XII. 2.). As we know, these ideas of early Christian Fathers were later rejected by the established Church. By the eighth century, its leaders had declared open war on 'paganism', considering this necessary for the triumph of their own message; but this is a separate chapter in the history of the Christian religion which does not concern discussion of origins.

I have given special emphasis to the Christian aspect because its relevance to the Indian evidence is rarely discussed (an important exception being the work by de Lubac, Henri, Aspects du Bouddhisme. Paris, 1951). On the Buddhist side, the need is saved by two outstanding works explaining the relationship between the Bodhi Tree and the World Tree of cosmic religion: Coomaraswamy, A.K., Elements of Buddhist Iconography. Cambridge, Mass., 1935; and Viennot, O., Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde ancienne. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, tome LIX, Paris, 1954. I am broadly in agreement with those authors on that particular issue.

Notes and references

1 The present paper constitutes the text of the second of a series of three lectures delivered at the seminar. For those wishing to read in logical sequence my papers on the origin and symbolism of the *stūpa*, the first, entitled 'The *Stūpa* and the cosmic Axis (*yūpa-yaṣṭi*)', will appear in Ācārya-Vandanā (D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume), edited by Samaresh Bandyopadhyay for the Department of Ancient History, University of Calcutta, due to be published in 1979. The second, entitled 'The *Stūpa* and the Cosmic Axis: the archaeological evidence', forms part of the Proceedings of the 4th International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists held at Naples, 4th-8th July 1977, edited by Professor Maurizio Taddei for the Istituto Universitario Orientale, University of Naples, also due from the press in 1979. The present contribution constitutes the third in the series. Others will follow in due course.

2 Mus, P., Barabudur, Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes, Hanoi, 1935. Originally published as a series of articles in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-orient, vol.s 32 to 34, 1932 to 1934.

3 The Divyāvadāna, text in Sanskrit edited by Cowell, E.B. and Neil, R.A., Cambridge, 1886, pp. 234-44. All five ms. versions of this text known to the editors contained the word *yūpa-*. Although none of these five texts is known to be earlier than the seventeenth century, there is general agreement among scholars that the Divyāvadāna is a compilation from the early centuries of our present era, and that much of it is based on still earlier sources.

4 For a bibliography of the *harmikā* debate, see my paper published in the D.R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume mentioned above in fn. 1.

5 Bénisti, M., Etude sur le Stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne. In: Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient 50 (1960), 37-115.

6 In the standard English translation by Wilhelm Geiger, published by the Pāli Text Society, London, 1912, '*yūpa*' is not mentioned. The translator evades the word and its significance by rendering the passage: '... the monarch set up here a pillar of stone ...'

7 In the discussion which followed my lecture at the Seminar, Dr. G. Bhattacharya kindly drew my attention to another section of the Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil edn., chapter 3, pp. 59 ff.) where *yūpa* is mentioned. Although this particular passage does not have any bearing on the *stūpa* it is nonetheless important for the light it throws on *yūpa*-lore in a specifically Buddhist context.

8 These passages occur as follows: Ṛgveda I. 162. 6; IV. 6. 3; V. 2. 7, and IV. 33. 3.

9 No important new contribution has been made to the study of the sacrificial post since Julius Schwab, Das altindische Thieropfer. Erlangen, 1886.

10 Vogel, J.Ph., The sacrificial posts of Īsāpur. In: Annual Report 1910-11, Archaeological Survey of India, pp. 40-48.

11 W. Caland, in a note published in Actorum Orientalium, II, expressed disagreement with Vogel's description of the garland and sacrificial rope; but his counter-argument is unconvincing, and in my opinion, Vogel's description was correct.

12 For instance, in the Celtic rite of the Beltane Fires celebrating the return of the sun, there was dancing round a post or staff which had on top a round oatmeal cake. According to Dr. Anne Ross talking recently in a BBC Television programme on Celtic religion, this rite was performed at crossroads. In Mexico we learn of a rite where the figure of a god made of baked dough was placed on top of a cross fashioned from a sacred tree (discussed by Robertson, J.M., Christianity and Mythology. London, 1936, p. 372 ff.).

13 This may explain the passage in Ṛgveda III. 8. 9. where the poet likens a row of sacrificial posts to 'geese flying in a line'. In this connection, see also my article, The Heliodorus Pillar: a fresh appraisal. In: Purātattva, Bulletin of Indian Archaeological Society, 8. New Delhi, 1975-76 (issued 1978) 166-176, p. 175.

14 The following description is based on a consensus of the descriptions appearing in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa III. 6. 6; Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa IV, and Āpastambha Śrautasūtra VII.

15 The sun-symbolism of the wheel or *caṣāla* which has to be touched by the sacrificer as he says these words is independently confirmed by medieval inscriptions - e.g. the Rewa inscription published by Banerji, R.D., The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 23 (1931), p. 136, line 33. It is possible that the same symbolism is implied in Rāmāyana, Sundara Kānda, chapter 43, in the story where Hanumān uproots a pillar that generated fire and set a temple ablaze.

16 In Āpasthambha Śrautasūtra VII. 28. 2. the sacrificial post as *yūpa* is thanked, after sacrifice, for having led the sacrifice to the gods.

17 Pieper, J., Arboreal art and architecture. In: AARP (Art and Archaeology Research Papers) 12. (London 1977). pp. 47-54, esp. fig. 5.

18 Tucci, G., "*mc'od Rten*" e "*ts'a ts'a*" nel Tibet Indiano ed occidentale. In: Indo-Tibetica I. Reale Accademia d'Italia, Rome (1932) p. 40-41.

19 Cunningham, A., Archaeological Survey Reports, vol. 3, Calcutta, 1871, p. 103.

20 During the discussions that followed the final lecture, this view was criticized by Dr. F.R. Allchin (University of Cambridge). As this criticism seems to me of fundamental relevance, I have given a detailed reply in the Appendix (pp. 18-20). The difference of viewpoint involved in no way causes me to underestimate the value of guidance generously given to me by Dr. Allchin at earlier stages of my thesis.

21 A case in point is the heretical behaviour of Firuz Shah Tughluq who was brought up by a Hindu mother, and in spite of his reputation as a fanatical hater of infidels, was clearly influenced by Hindu ideas, including cosmogonic ones. See discussion in my article, "Aśokan" Pillars: a reassessment of the evidence, Part IV, Symbolism. In: Burlington Magazine, CXVIII (1976), p. 744.

22 Opinion given in a letter dated 15th March, 1976. See also Bailey, H.W., in: Ariana: donum natalicum H.S. Nyberg oblatum 28 mense December 1954, ed. Erik Gren, Bernard Lewis, and others. Uppsala, 1954, pp. 12-13, who traces the origin of Buddhist Sanskrit *harmikā* to Old Iranian verbal base *zar-*, Old Indian *har-*, 'grasp, enclose, cover'.

23 Irwin, J., "Aśokan" Pillars: a reassessment of the evidence, Part I. In: Burlington Magazine CXV (1973), p. 715.

24 The best discussion of this evidence is by Akira Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahayāna Buddhism and its relationship to the worship of the *Stūpa*. In: Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko 22. (Tokyo, 1963).

25 The best study of tree-worship in early Buddhism is by Viennot, O., Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde ancienne. Paris: Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, 59, 1954.

26 Przyluski, J., La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka dans les textes indiens et chinois, deuxième partie. Paris, 1923, p. 267.

27 Przyluski renders the Chinese as follows: Le roi Açoka '... fit construire une clôture des quatre côtés de l'arbre de Bodhi. Lui-même monta dessus et, avec 4,000 vases précieux remplis d'un liquide parfumé, il arrosa l'arbre de Bodhi ...'

28 Coomaraswamy, A.K. Early Indian Architecture. In: AKC aut., Eastern Art. Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 225-235.

29 Paranavitana, S., The Stūpa in Ceylon. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, vol. 5, Colombo, 1946. In discussion of the Sinhalese evidence, there is some unavoidable overlapping with the paper published in the Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists (see footnote 1).

30 For full bibliography of recent Indian cosmogonical research, see my article, Irwin, J., "Aśokan" Pillars: a reassessment of the evidence, Part IV. In: The Burlington Magazine, CXVIII, London, November 1976, 734-753, p. 739, footnote 12.

31 Burrows, E., Some Cosmological Patterns. In: Hooke, S.H. ed., The Labyrinth. London, 1935, p. 47.

32 Gaster, T.H., Some Ancient Oriental Folklore. In: Folklore (Journal of the Folklore Society, London) 49 (1938), p. 336, fn. 2.

33 Holmberg, U., Der Baum des Lebens. In: Annales Acad. Sci. Finnicae, Ser. B, XVI.3. Helsingfors, 1922, p. 10.

34 Wheatley, P., The Pivot of the Four Quarters. Edinburgh, 1971, passim.

35 Holmberg, U., op. cit., p. 10.

36 Stein, R.A., Tibetan Civilisation. London, 1972, p. 203.

37 This etymology has been given to me by Prof. F.B.J. Kuiper in a letter dated 12th June, 1978.

38 This meaning of *dassukhīla* has recently been discussed by Lily de Silva in her article, 'The Symbolism of the Indrakīla in the Parittamaṇḍapa', published in Studies in South Asian Culture, Vol. VII, as the Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume, edited for the Institute of South Asian Archaeology, University of Amsterdam, by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in collaboration with L. Prematilleke and K. Indrapala, Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 234-50. This article provides interesting material supplementing what has been said above on the subject of the *indrakīla*, but in writing it the author has not been aware of the cosmogonic connections we have outlined.

39 Kuiper, F.B.J., Cosmogony and Conception: a Query. University of Chicago, History of Religions, vol. 10, 1970, p. 110.

40 For typical examples, see Bhattacharya, A.K., The Theme of Churning of the Ocean in Indian and Khmer Art. In: Ars Asiatiques, tome VI, no. 2. Paris, 1959, pp. 121-33.

41 The Buddhacarita, translated by Johnston, E.H., Calcutta, 1936, p. 6, fn. 21.

42 Stein, R.A., Tibetan Civilization (see footnote 36), p. 203.

43 Kuiper, F.B.J., Cosmogony and Conception: a Query (see footnote 39), p. 110.

44 Thus, in Finland *pohja nael*, 'peg of the foundations', became *pohinvalle*, 'peg of the north'. The Lapps believed that if this nail gave way the heavens would collapse and the earth would lie in ruins. Likewise, among the Siberian Korjaks the pole-star was called the 'nail-star'. Examples cited from Holmberg, U., Der Baum des Lebens (see footnote 33), p. 10.

45 Jeannine Auboyer has drawn attention to parallels between the enthronement of Bodhisattvas and the Aśvamedha sacrifice where the king has to repeat the words, 'I establish myself firmly ...'; also, to words spoken by the Archbishop at the consecration of French kings ('... that God may make you firm on the throne ...'). In an Assyrian consecration rite it is vowed that the gods should bestow on the king 'a firm throne for all times'. Auboyer, J., Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne. Paris, 1949, p. 90.

46 Shorto, H.L., The Stūpa as Buddha Icon in South East Asia. In: Watson, E. ed., Proceedings of Colloquium, sponsored by Percival Davids Foundation, University of London, 1972, p. 78.

47 Heesterman, J.C., The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration. 's-Gravenhage, The Netherlands, 1957, p. 120.

48 Tucci, G., Il Tempio di Bsam Yas. In: Le Symbolisme des Monuments rêligieux, Actes de la Confêrence Internationale, held under the auspices of Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estreme Oriente, Serie Orientale, vol. XIV, Rome (1957), pp. 118-123.

49 Acharya, P.K., A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture. London, 1927. s.v. Indrakīlaka.

50 For references, see Eliade, M., Cosmical homology and yoga. In: Journal of India Society of Oriental Art, vol. 5, Calcutta (1937), p. 192.

51 Mukherji, P.C., A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, in 1899. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series of Reports, vol. XXVI, 1, Calcutta, 1901.

52 For rejection of any idea of association between phallus and *stūpa*, see Taddei, Maurizio, Inscribed Clay Tablets and Miniature Stūpas from Ġaznī. In: East and West, N.S., vol. 20, Rome (1970), p. 82, fn. 52. Similar outright dismissal came even more recently from R. Sengupta, an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, in response to this lecture when given in Delhi (see below, fn. 55).

53 For a useful introduction and bibliography on this subejct, see Davidson, H.R. Ellis, The Hill of the Dragon. In: Folklore (Journal of the Folklore Society, London), vol. 62, 1950, pp. 169-85.

54 Bhandarkar, D.R., Buddhist Stūpa at Saidpur in Sind. In: Annual Report, 1914-15, Archaeological Survey of India, p. 89.

55 When first published, the phalluses discovered in Norwegian tumuli were thought to be evidence of Indian Buddhist influence! In this connection, see M.C.A. Holmboe, Traces du Buddhisme en Norvège. Paris, 1857 (with drawings of Norwegian and Indian phallic images side by side). Although Holmboe's arguments are pre-scientific and do not hold credence today, this professor of oriental laguages can be credited with certain insights ahead of his times. For subsequent documentation of Norwegian phalluses found in tumuli, see especially Petersen, Theodor, Zwei neugefundene Kultobjekte aus der älteren Steinzeit. In: Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag, Halle a.S., 1924, pp. 484-499. (I am grateful to Dr. Mattias Tveitane, Librarian, Bergen University Library, for this and other references.) Phalluses very similar to those found in Norwegian tumuli were later reported in association with Hellenistic tumuli in Asia Minor, published by Perrot, Georges, and Chipiez, C., History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria and Lycia, 1892. However, in that dark period of sexual inhibition and repression, the authors did not acknowledge the obvious phallic nature of the material. It struck me as a very strange quirk of irony that when R. Sengupta, an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, attacked my identification of phallic worship with the *stūpa*-cult (Times of India, 4th February, 1979) he reproduced side-by-side phallic-shaped *stūpas* and the Perrot and Chipiez drawings of (unacknowledged) Phrygian phalluses as likenesses we are expected to recognize! In India there is still today reluctance in some quarters to call a phallus a 'phallus'. Recently there appeared in a serious academic journal an article 'proving' that the *liṅga*-cult could not have been phallic, and that such a notion could only have arisen from writers with 'impure fancies' (N. Murugesa Mudaliar, 'New Light on the Linga Cult'. In: Bharatiya Vidya, vol. 28, 1968, pp. 48-54).

This reminds us of a story (perhaps apocriphal) that when an opinion of this kind was expressed to Carl Jung, he commented whimsically, '... but after all, you know, the penis is only a phallic symbol'!

56 For discussion of the fiery *liṅga* (cf. *jyotir-liṅga*), see A.K. Coomaraswamy in Le Corps parsemé d'yeux (in: Zalmoxis, II, Paris, 1939).

57 The Brāhmaṇas associate the semen virile with solar epiphany ('When the human father thus emits him as seed into the womb, it is really the sun that emits him as seed into the womb', Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa III. 10. 45). In many parts of the world there is a folk-belief that the rays of the sun can fertilise the human womb. For instance, in American folktales the notion of virginity is expressed by vocables meaning 'not sunstruck' (see especially Hartland, E.S., Primitive Paternity, 2 vols., London, 1910, pp. 25 ff. and 89 ff. and recent discusions of this subject by Eliade, M., Spirit, Light and Seed. In: Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions. Chicago University Press, 1976. pp. 95-96). For pioneer discussion of the fiery *liṅga*, see Bosch, F.D.K., Het Lingga heiligdom van Dinaja. In: Zijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, vol. 64 (1924).

58 For identification of *liṅga* with cosmic pillar, see Bosch, F.D.K., The Golden Germ. Mouton, 's-Gravenhage, 1960. pp. 164-66, 187-89, and 212. Also Held, G.J., The Mahābhārata. London, 1935. p. 216, where Śiva is discussed in his form of Sthāṇu, Sthitaliṅga, etc. In Mahābhārata X. 17. 8 ff., the god Śiva pulls off his own penis and sets it up in the ground as a pillar. See also H.H. Wilson, cited below, fn. 65.

59 In the ancient world, the concept of Resurrection was commonly linked with Sexual Consummation. In this light, it is no surprise that the summital pavilion of the Mesopotamian *ziggurat* was both tomb (as described by Strabo) and bridal chamber where the god cohabitated with a priestess (as described by Herodotus).

60 Aristophanes, Plutus, 533. For the same ideas occurring in many other parts of the world, see J.G. Frazer, The Serpent and the Tree of Life. In: Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 413-416.

61 For the South Indian evidence, see Annual Report, 1911-12. Archaeological Department, Southern Circle. Madras, 1911-12, p. 5. We should also be reminded here of the custom among Naga tribes of carving phallic motives on the poles erected over the remains of the dead. Anthropologists call such poles 'memorials'; but the historian of religion comes nearer the truth when he describes their function, not as commemorative, but magical. The grave-mound is first and foremost image of the living earth, within which the corpse lives. Thus the grave-marker, whether pillar or stele (from *stello*, *histemi*, to stand upright) is the sign of life arising, of resurrection.

62 The so-called 'Brāhmanical *stūpa*' is another important aspect of our subject that will have to be postponed for a future discussion when there is more time. For recent discussion of this subject (with which I am not entirely in agreement), see Pal, P., The Aiḍūka of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa and certain aspects of stūpa symbolism. In: Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol. IV N.S., Calcutta (1971-72), pp. 49-62.

63 Dhaky, M.A., The "Akāsāliṅga" finial. In: Artibus Asiae, vol. 36, 1974, pp. 307-315.

64 See especially Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa III. 2.

65 Wilson, H.H., Notice sur trois ouvrages bouddhiques reçus du Nepal. In: Journal Asiatique, vol. 7, 1831, p. 121, fn. 2.

66 Two slides of *liṅga-stūpas*, photographed in the environment of Kathmandu, were shown. I am grateful to Mr. Anthony Hutt for having drawn my attention to them in the first place, and for having lent the slides.

67 Irwin, J., The Heliodorus Pillar: a fresh appraisal. In: Puratattva (Bulletin of Indian Archaeological Society) no. 8, New Delhi (1975-76, issued 1978), pp. 166-76. Owing to the poor quality of the plates in this journal, it is necessary to read this paper in combination with the earlier and shorter version published in AARP (Art and Archaeology Research Papers), London, no. 6, 1974, pp. 1-13, where the same plates are well printed.

68 In discussion following the lecture, Prof. B.N. Goswamy pointed out that in traditional Hindu treatises on iconography, the square, octagonal and rounded sections of the *liṅga* were termed *Brahma-bhāga*, *Viṣṇu-bhāga*, and *Rudra-bhāga* respectively (see Rao, T.A.G., Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part I, Madras, 1915, p. 79). This gives additional support to the interpretation offered in this lecture,

since each of these deities is associated with one of the three cosmic levels (Brahma with the celestial sphere; Viṣṇu with intermediate space; and Rudra with the underworld). For valuable discussion of the *liṅga* in its rôle of cosmic pillar uniting the three cosmic levels, see Derrett, J.D.M., Bhū-bharaṇa, Bhū-pālana, Bhū-bhojana: an Indian conundrum. In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 22 (1959), pp. 108-23. Other references are given in fn. 58 above.

69 For fuller discussion of phallism and the light thrown by the Indian evidence on the Christian cult of the Cross, see my paper, The Axis Mundi and the Phallus: some unrecognized East-West parallels, now in press as part of The Proceedings of the International Centenary Conference of the Folklore Society, 17th-21st July, 1978, to be published shortly by the Folklore Society, University College, University of London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT.

List of figures

1 Pipul-tree with simple sacred-threshhold railing (*vedikā*). Copied from the medallion of a railing-pillar, Bodhgayā, 2nd-1st century B.C.

2 Drawing of a stone memorial *yūpa* of 2nd c. A.D., found at Īsāpur, near Mathurā, and now in Mathurā Museum.

3 Worshippers approaching sacred tree enclosed by simple *vedikā*-railing. Front of Eastern Gateway (middle lintel), Stūpa No. 1, Sāñchī, 1st c. B.C. or 1st c. A.D. (See J. Marshall & A. Foucher, The Monuments of Sāñchī, vol. II, 1939, Plate 40 (2).)

4 Aśoka and retinue approaching Bodhi-ghara with water vessels. Front of Eastern Gateway (bottom lintel), Stūpa No. 1, Sāñchī. (See J. Marshall & A. Foucher, The Monuments of Sāñchī, vol. II, 1939, Plate 40 (3).)

5 Tree-temple (*bodhi-ghara*), as depicted on a relief medallion, Mathurā, about 1st century A.D. (After H. Härtel & J. Auboyer, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Indien und Südostasien, 1971, fig. 20.)

6 Tree-temple (*bodhi-ghara*), as depicted in a relief panel from Jaggayapeta, about 1st century A.D.

7 Tree-temple (*bodhi-ghara*), as depicted on a railing medallion, Mathurā, 2nd-1st century B.C. (After J.P. Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathurā, 1930, Pl. 14.)

8 (a) Detail of *stūpa*-summit, taken from a Bharhur relief, 2nd century B.C. (After A. Cunningham, Bharhut, 1879, Plate XIII.)

(b) A *stūpa* as depicted on Eastern Gateway, Stūpa No. 3, Sāñchī, about 1st century A.D. or earlier.

9 Detail of *harmikā* on *stūpa*-summit, copied from rock-cut relief, Bhaja, about 6th century A.D. (After Fergusson & Burgess, Cave Temples of India, 1880, fig. 43.)

10 Drawing to illustrate stages in carving a shaft of the Heliodorus type before introduction of lathes.

11 Sacrificial *yūpa*, axial *yūpa*, and *liṅga*, each square at base, octagonal in centre, and rounded at top.

12 *Ākāśa-liṅga* on summit of Hindu medieval temple. (After M.A. Dhaky in Artibus Asiae, 36, 1974, p. 313, plate 2.)

13 Omphalic tumulus depicted on a painted vase (*lēkythos*), now in Naples Museum. (After J.E. Harrison, Themis, 1911, fig. 113).

Author's postscript: I would like to acknowledge generous financial assistance received from the Leverhulme Trust in making possible the research involved in this paper and also the valuable technical help received from Miss Margaret Hall in matters of visual presentation.

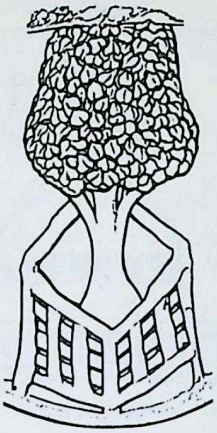


fig. 1

fig. 2

fig. 3

fig. 4

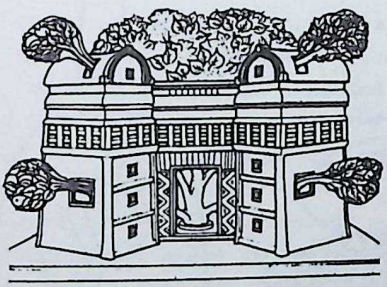


fig. 5

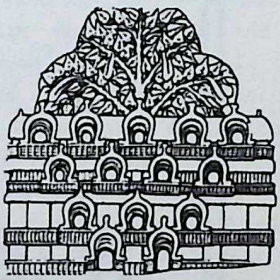


fig. 6

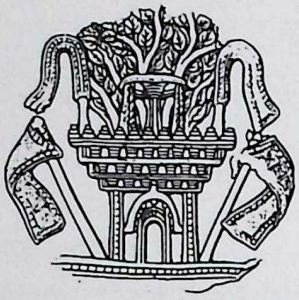


fig. 7

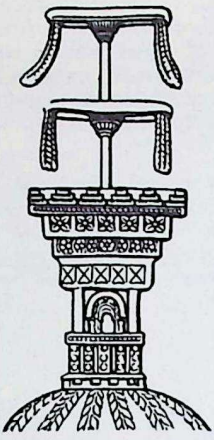


fig. 8a

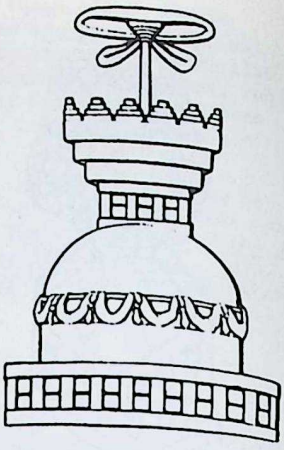


fig. 8b

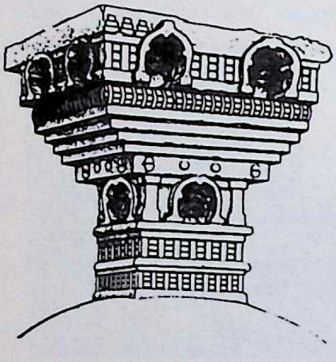


fig. 9

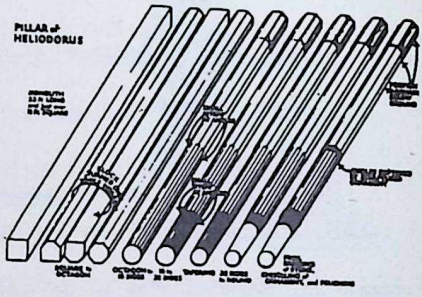


fig. 10

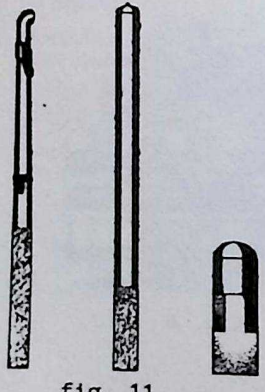


fig. 11

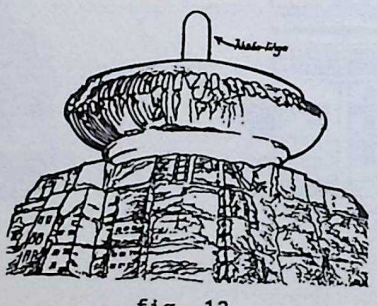


fig. 12

fig. 13

STŪPA AND STŪPA-TEMPLE IN THE GANDHĀRAN REGIONS AND IN CENTRAL ASIA

HEINRICH GERHARD FRANZ

The *stūpa* in the Gandhāran regions

In the course of time, Buddhism spread from India into the north-western countries. This induced a new phase of evolution, not only in its religious progress but also in the arts. In these areas of the former Bactrian kingdom under the influence of western, Iranian and Hellenistic art a new image of the Buddha was created by the so-called Gandhāran art[1]. New types of Buddhist monuments evolved which became decisive for the following centuries, especially in northern India and in the countries of Central Asia. In the Gandhāran regions the Indian *stūpa* developed out of the funeral tumulus on a circular groundplan and was erected upon a square pedestal and so transformed into the shape of the terrace-*stūpa*, adorned with columns, pilasters, entablatures and niches, the "classical type of stupa"[2]. It was mainly under the rulership of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty in the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D. that the *stūpa* of circular shape was replaced by the new terrace monument[3].

A few monuments in the Gandhāran regions going back to an earlier period still show the circular shape. These are, for instance, the *stūpa* of Manikyala (fig. 1), the Dharmarājika-*stūpa* of Taxila, excavated by John Marshall[4], the big *stūpa* of Butkāra, excavated by the Italian mission in the Swāt valley, and the *stūpa* excavated at Jamālgaṛhī (Pakistan)[5]. The nuclear structure of some of these monuments may reach back to the time of the 3rd century B.C. when Buddhism first spread into these regions. We may compare these *stūpas* with Indian *stūpas* dating from the pre-Christian centuries, e.g. the *stūpa* no. 2 of Sāñcī[6].

The earliest *stūpas* upon square terraces, however, are already to be seen in the pre-Kuṣāṇa city of Sirkap (Taxila) belonging to the beginnings of the first century. An example is the *stūpa* with the double-headed eagle. Only the quadrangular terrace and Hellenistic entablatures and niches, but no statuary adornement are to be found[7]. We are still talking of the "aniconic" period of Buddhist art. Next to this *stūpa* there is a small circular *stūpa*[8], a type which disappeared during the following period of Kuṣāṇa rule. In this period at Taxila the big main *stūpas* inside the monastic settlements around Sirkap and the new city at Sirsukh represent without exception the new type of the "classic terrace *stūpa*"; for example the *stūpa* at Jauliān or the *stūpa* of Kunāla. The latter contains a small circular *stūpa* encased in the big one constructed later[9]. The same is the case in Afghanistan, in the ancient kingdoms of Nāgarahara and Kāpiśa just as in the Swāt valley. While at Taxila the monuments are destroyed and in ruins, some big *stūpas* in the Swāt valley are still pre-

served up to the dome (fig. 2, 3). They give a good idea of the original appearance of the new "classical" *stūpa*-type, for example the *stūpa* of Topdarrah or the so-called *stūpa* of Uttarasena at Shankardar[10]. Impressive ruins still rise in the mountain regions of Afghanistan (pl. II, 2) around and inside former monastic settlements[11], e.g. in the surroundings of Kābul the *stūpa* of Gul-darrah[12] (pl. II, 1), the *stūpas* of Haḍḍa near Jālalābad, at Lālma and Tepe-i-Shotor[13] and near the ancient Bactrian capital Balkh the Top-e-Rustam[14], and finally the not so well preserved *stūpas* of the Wardakh valley: here, one of them encloses a small circular "encased" *stūpa*[15].

The *stūpa* on a square basement has a parallel in the fire-temple (?) "A" of the sanctuary of King Kaniṣka in northern Afghanistan, which is also erected on a terrace divided by pilasters and entablatures.[16]

The *stūpas* in Central Asia: Square and circular *stūpa*

We find the new "classical" *stūpa* type as developed in the Gandhāran region later on spreading over the neighbouring territories of Central Asia as well as southward to northern India. This type is no longer as obvious as in the Central Asiatic Buddhist settlements of the oasis-cities of Eastern Turkestan, the country crossed by the two branches of the silk-road[17]. Here, the "classical" *stūpa* type appears in its pure shape in the region of Kuča in the so-called "south-western *stūpa*" of Subashi[18], constructed of mud-bricks as compared to the stone-masonry of the Gandhāran territory (pl. II, 3). Another *stūpa* is the one of Mori-tim[19] near Kashgar. The terraces developed into a stepped terrace monument. A special type of terrace *stūpa* is to be seen in the *stūpa* of Rawak[20] near the oasis-city of Khotan on the southern branch of the silk-road (fig. 5). The *stūpa* has four staircases and the ground-plan has become star-shaped. In the Gandhāran region we may mention the *stūpa* of Bhamāla[21] near Taxila as a type of this star-shaped *stūpa* which became very important (fig.4, 6, 7). We find it in several examples in Turfān oasis[22], in northern India in the great *stūpa* at Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh as well as in the small "encased" *stūpa* in its interior[23]. Further important Buddhist monuments of this shape must have existed as can be confirmed by the so-called *t'sa-t'sa*, terracotta plaques as memorials for pilgrims, and small clay-models of *stupās* for the pilgrims and devotees[24]. In the Gandhāran region they are found as votive *stūpas* in the Tepe-i-Sardar near Ghazni excavated by the Italian mission in the last decades[25].

In Sin-kiang there is one place with *stūpas* of the old circular shape, peculiarly situated at the easternmost point of the silk-road, at Mirān. In two of the sanctuaries, cylindrical *stūpas* are to be found inside a *stūpa* temple (M. III and M.V) surrounded by a circular ambulatory passage. Aurel Stein has excavated these temples of the type "*cetighāra*" in the beginning of our century[26]. One may suppose that the outside shrine

has originally covered the inside *stūpa* with a final dome, but one can also imagine the *stūpa* rising above the outer shrine which surrounded the *stūpa* as a lower ambulatory. As a shrine with a dome it could have looked like the *stūpa*-chapel which is represented in a Gandhāra-relief found by the Italian mission at Butkāra in the Swāt valley[27]. The shrine here is covered with the so-called "Schnürkuppel". Wall-paintings preserved in one of the shrines of Mirān in typical Gandhāran style allow to date it to about the 3rd century A.D.

The cylindrical and vertically stretched *stūpa* of these shrines - we may call them "*cetighāra*" - reminds us of the *stūpas* in the cave-temples of the Dekkhan[28]. While in the Gandhāran region the new classical *stūpa*-type, the terrace-*stūpa* has replaced the circular *stūpa*, in the Dekkhan and central India as well as in southern India the *stūpa* kept its circular shape, it was erected on a circular ground-plan. We see it in the main *stūpas*[29] of the monasteries in Āndhradeśa, at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, as well as in the apsidal cave-temples in the Dekkhan. The vertically stretched shape demonstrates the general development of the *stūpa*. The same shape is to be seen in the *stūpas* of Mirān. In the cave-temples of the Dekkhan as well as in the South at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the cupola of the *stūpa* has become "ball-shaped" ("Kugelkuppel"). Up to the 6th century the circular shape of the *stūpa* and the "Kugelkuppel" are conserved in the cave-temples of the Dekkhan as can be seen in the caves of Ajaṇṭā (no. 19, 26) and at Eḷūrā in cave no. 10. As a new element only a niche for the Buddha-image has been added[30]. The *stūpa* is known as the type of the so-called "*stūpa* mit Kultnische" as I have tried to call it. When comparing this conservatism of the central and southern Indian *stūpa* the progress of the Gandhāran *stūpa* in the first centuries of our era becomes especially evident.

The tower-shaped *stūpa* in Central Asia

In Central Asia we meet the square terrace-*stūpa* in different variations. I have already mentioned the star-shaped *stūpa* which appears at Chotscho. The most striking new features are the high tower-like monuments which are still preserved as ruins of considerable height especially in the Turfān oasis. The form of the *stūpa* shows an extreme verticalization.

Different variations of this tower *stūpa* are to be found, and we may distinguish six types:

1. The five-*stūpa* group: We meet the terrace *stūpa* as quintuple monument with five high erected and stretched *stūpas* on a high platform in two quite unique installations and arrangements in the two big group-temples: near Yār and in the temple P at Chotscho[31]. The main *stūpas* are accompanied by *stūpa* groups. Twenty-five tower-like *stūpas* surround the central quintuple *stūpa* monument in four groups. Maybe one has to see in

863 डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक पुस्तकालय

this arrangement a copy or repetition of the *stūpa* courts in the Gandhāra-regions where one main *stūpa* is surrounded by more or less irregularly arranged votive *stūpas*. Here, they appear in a strictly regulated arrangement[32]. They certainly embody a *maṇḍala*-like symbolism.

2. In the surrounding small *stūpas* the verticalized *stūpa* has the shape of a tower or a pile[33] which seems to be a special form of *stūpa* which is characteristic of Central Asia: the quadrangular terrace or socle here seems to have developed into a multi-storeyed one. *Stūpas* of this shape are especially to be found at Chotscho in the oasis of Turfān. We must omit here to discuss the religious and historical reasons which led to this form of *stūpa* and confine ourselves to the archaeological evidence (cf. also fig, 10, 11).

3. A similar pile-like or pillar-like *stūpa* is to be seen in the so-called "Pfeilertempel II" at Chotscho[34] as Grünwedel has called it, but without niches (fig. 12).

4. The quadrangular *stūpa* tower is divided by cornices in several storeys as in the *stūpa*-temple of the monastery of Toyuq[35] in the oasis of Turfān or in the "temple γ" at Chotscho[36] (fig. 13), in a *stūpa* at Shorchuq[37] and in the so-called "Northern *stūpa*" at Subashi[38] near Kuča (pl. II, 3), the latter over a rectangular ground-plan.

5. The *stūpa*-tower with niches: In the "ruin W" (fig. 17) at Chotscho[39] it is divided into two ranks of niches with Buddha-images similar to the "Great sanctuary" at Yār-khoto[40]. There are no architectural divisions by columns, pilasters and entablatures as in the Gandhāran art; maybe they were painted.

6. In the great *stūpa* of Syrkup (oasis of Turfān)[41] the niche-storeys are step-like and divided by cornices. The *stūpa* was surrounded by deambulatories, by vaulted passages.

The preference for the vertically-shaped *stūpa* in the oasis of Turfān (figs. 12-17) had certainly reasons we have to look for in the different doctrines of Buddhism which were prevalent at that time. From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim-monks we learn that at Kuča the Hinayāna or Theravāda Buddhism was dominant, whilst at Chotscho in the Turfān oasis it seems that the Mahāyāna Buddhism was paramount[42]. One is inclined to connect the Hinayāna with the "classical type" of *stūpa* and the more progressive types with Mahāyāna. The latter is quite clear with the type I call "*stūpa* group" (Yār, Chotscho P; fig. 9, 9A), as its arrangement reminds of a cosmic *maṇḍala* so that we may even surmise that early Tantrayāna currents were relevant for the preference of this *stūpa* type.

The great problem is the date of construction of these buildings. No exact chronology can be established. If we suppose that they were influenced by patterns in the Gandhāran regions developed around the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. the question to be posed was: when did they come to Central Asia? Did it take a long time to take their way into these countries? Generally one was inclined to assume a later date, i.e. the

6th to 8th centuries A.D. as the sculptural and pictorial adornement and decoration are to be dated to this period. But for chronological purposes the decoration can only give a "terminus ante quem". On the other hand a date of construction at a later period is in open contradiction to the fact that the same tower *stūpas* were the basic models for the tower-like monuments which are reproduced on the reliefs of the earliest Chinese Buddhist cave-temples, which are exactly datable into the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

Stūpa and pagodas in the early Buddhist cave-temples of China

In the caves of Yün-kang (Shen-si) a quantity of Buddhist pagoda towers are depicted in relief or half-sculpture among the well preserved sculptured outfits with images and decorations[43]. Not only the idea of excavating caves for Buddhist worship but also their arrangement and the Buddhist figures have their counterpart in western regions and these were imported from Central Asia or even from the Gandhāran territories. The decisive elements were introduced from these districts, the layout around a central pillar with circumambulation for the *pradakṣiṇā*, the Gandhāran type of the sculptures and presumably also the architectonic monuments figured on the walls. The 39 caves of Yün-kang can be dated rather exactly by inscriptions to the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. The first were excavated c. 460 A.D. and the works continued until the capital of the Northern Wei dynasty was transferred in 494 to the south, to Lo-yang[44]. In the surroundings of the new capital new caves were excavated at Lung-mên; the works were continued until the 7th/8th century A.D. The latest caves here belong to the period of the T'ang dynasty[45].

One must suppose that the sculptured representations of religious structures accompanying the figures were to imitate really existing monuments serving as *nirvāṇa* symbols. Strangely enough they have never been analyzed accurately, although some of them have already been taken into account in the context of the history of the Chinese pagoda. A detailed examination can ascertain considerable distinctions between these *stūpas* and the *stūpa* towers depicted in the caves. At Yün-kang the earlier caves still contain illustrations of *stūpa*-shaped monuments[46], the later ones only being tower-like structures[47]. These tower-like monuments at first follow the pattern of the *stūpa* tower of Central Asia, but afterwards they show an increasingly strong Chinese influence.

Summing up we can note in the cave reliefs of Yün-kang:

1. Along with the tower-like monuments the *stūpa* still appears in pure shape as "*Stūpa* mit Kultnische" (pl. II, 4, 5).

2. One can see an evolution leading from the *stūpa* to a pagoda-like tower by superposing several storeys with niches (pl. II, 6).

3. The intermediate, transitional stage is the "Nischenpagode" (pl. II, 7-10) presumably erected as a brick structure (not in wood).

4. This "Nischenpagode" has been connected in a final stage with the traditional Chinese wooden architecture (radiating roofs, balconies, bracketing construction) most perfectly demonstrated in the central pillar of the caves 2 and 39 (fig. 19).

The representation of pagoda-like monuments beside *stūpa*-shaped tower-like monuments in the caves of Yün-kang can show us that there was a close connection between these two types of Buddhist monuments in the Northern Wei-period[48]. We can see an evolution beginning with the stepped terrace-*stūpa* (pl. II, 6) and ending with pagoda-like multi-storeyed constructions (pl. II, 7-10) with niches in every floor as well as with small roofs and with only a very small final *stūpa* dome and *chattras* on the top of the tower[49]. In the last caves we can see these "niche pagodas" combined with wooden galleries or balconies[50]. All this has evolved in Yün-kang within only 20 to 30 years, in the last quarter of the 5th century.

The monuments represented on the walls of the caves certainly had symbolical significance; we may conclude that they are representations of monuments which existed in the same form and served as cultic structures for the Buddhists, although nothing remains of such monuments, nowadays.

In the depictions of these monuments on the walls of the Yün-kang caves we see the gradual evolution of the pagoda. This evolution leads from the "*Stūpa* mit Kultnische" to the multi-storeyed terrace-*stūpa*, to the tower-like *stūpa*, to the *stūpa*-tower with niches and to the multi-storeyed "Nischen-Pagode". It would lead us too far to investigate the importance of these relief representations for the further evolution of the Buddhist pagoda of China[51]. In our context we have only to ask for the connections which link these pagoda-images with Central Asia and perhaps with Gandhāra.

The patterns of the "Nischenpagode" in Central Asia

There is no doubt that the patterns of these types must be sought in the western territories of China, i.e. in the regions of Central Asia, formerly Eastern Turkestan, round the Tarim-basin from where Buddhism primarily entered China. In the period of the Six Dynasties China was divided into northern and southern China. There were constant relations of northern China to the western territories. The trade routes connected China with the western countries. We have no difficulty in finding similar monuments in these central asiatic regions, e.g. the tower-shaped or even pile-like *stūpas*, the remains of which still stand up to a considerable height. Especially in the oasis of Turfān such structures are still visible and the remains were photographed by the different expeditions. The most striking similarity is to be seen in the tower-*stūpas* with several stories adorned with niches. We find such monuments especially at Chotscho, but nothing is known about the date of their construction. In this connection the exactly datable *stūpa*-towers depicted in Yün-kang give a valuable

clue for dating the respective and relevant monuments of Central Asia. The prototypes of the Chinese monuments in these Central Asiatic territories must have existed before they were introduced in China, i.e. before the last quarter of the 5th century.

We may even try to establish the scheme of a tentative chronology for the Central Asian *stūpa*-types. As immediate predecessors of the Yün-kang-type "Nischen-Pagode" we must consider buildings like the *stūpa*-towers with niches in Chotscho (temple γ and temple W; fig. 13, 16)[52]. We cannot say with certainty that these very temples were constructed before 480 A.D. but this type of temple must already have existed in these times. The vertically elongated multi-storeyed "Nischen-*Stūpa*" may have developed in Sin-kiang around 400/450 A.D.; perhaps at first with broadly spread-out niche terraces as at Syrkup or in the "Great Sanctuary" of Yār-khoto[53], later around the middle of the 5th century the stretched monuments may have followed[54], which immediately preceeded the Yün-kang "Nischenpagode".

It could be that the temple Y at Chotscho (fig. 10) and the Tai-san of Astana (fig. 11) were a transitional stage of the "classical" *stūpa* type[55]. This square *stūpa* could have been introduced in Sin-kiang in the 4th century A.D. replacing the circular *stūpa* type which still appears at Mirān in the 3rd or in the early 4th century. A transitional stage was probably represented by the pile-shaped *stūpa* (Grünwedel's "Pfeilertempel"), i.e. a tower-*stūpa* without niches [56] (fig. 12).

I should like to stress that this is only the attempt of a chronological sequence, a hypothetical proposal. We may expect that further investigations will yield new material on these questions and problems. We can only ask whether this chonological scheme is to be synchronized and harmonized with the clues that are given by Gandhāran art.

The origins of the tower *stūpa* in the Gandhāran regions

On the other hand, the question is which were the origins of the tower-like *stūpa* in the countries where Central Asian Buddhism had its roots. Certainly the tower-*stūpa* was not a totally new and independent creation of Inner-Asia, it is derived from *stūpa*-types of the Gandhāran region. In a certain sense the general tendency of the Gandhāran *stūpa* to highly erected structures was continued and even emphasized in Sin-kiang.

But only a few monuments are still extant to this day which exemplify this tendency in Gandhāran areas, a tendency that seems to be more pronounced in the smaller votive-*stūpas* than in the big main *stūpas*. Generally, the upper parts of these *stūpas* do not exist any more so that we have no real idea of how they looked like when still undamaged. Their tower-shaped structures were much more apt to be damaged than the more compact structure of the big main *stūpas*.

In Taxila, one *stūpa* which was encased as a relic container, as a miniature *stūpa*, inside a greater memorial *stūpa* of the monastery of Jauliān, is

completely preserved and represents very well the verticalized shape of the *stūpa*[57]. *Stūpas* of this type may have been the starting point for the tower-like *stūpas* in Central Asia. Similar types must have existed in the Gandhāran territories according to the account given by the Chinese pilgrim monks of the tower-*stūpa* of King Kaniṣka near Peshāwar[58]. We may suppose that this monument which is described as a high tower was a multi-storeyed construction comparable to the Central Asian *stūpas*. The *stūpa* has been identified with the *stūpa* excavated at Shah-jī-kī-Ḍherī[59]. But only the ground-plan could be reconstructed by these excavations. They show a "star-shaped" monument, a terrace-*stūpa* with four staircases, in the ground-plan it is similar and comparable to the *stūpa* of Rawak in Central Asia[60] and to the "star-shaped" *stūpas* on the *t'sa-t'sa* which must reproduce important today no more extant monuments in Central Asia or even in northern India.

Tower-*stūpa* and ambulatory passage in Central Asia

It should finally be noted that the tower-*stūpa* of Central Asia is usually surrounded by a square ambulatory passage, an open court or a covered corridor. This combination seems to be a special device of Central Asia[61]. In Gandhāra such combinations are only very rarely met. There are ambulatory passages surrounding shrines for images (examples are to be found round the Dharmarājika *stūpa* and at Kalawān near Taxila from the 3rd/4th c. A.D.)[62]; a quite unique ambulatory shrine has been almost totally preserved with a "Schnürkuppel" at the top in the Swāt valley[63], but no *stūpa* temples in the kind of those of Central Asia can be detected with certainty among the excavated ruins presently. On the other hand, ambulatory temples with a square cella are known even in pre-Buddhist times outside Gandhāra, e.g. the Zoroastrian fire-temples and others (Susa, Hatra)[64]. In the Kuṣāṇa age an example is the main fire (?)-temple "A" of the Surkh Kotal mountain sanctuary of King Kaniṣka[65]. In Buddhist architecture the square temple with ambulatory had a predecessor in the Indian apsidal temple the low side naves of which are ambulating the apse (at Taxila a good example is to be seen at Sirkap, end of the 1st c. B.C.)[66]. This temple type has been developed in early Buddhist times in India, at first as a wooden construction and later on copied and transferred into stone in the "*caitya*"-cave-temples of the 1st c. B.C. and A.D. in western India[67]. In Gandhāra this temple type has been supplanted by the new square shrine in the 1st/2nd c. A.D. At Sirkap/Taxila it still exists side by side with the first square *stūpa* platforms (1st c. B.C.) in the pre-Kuṣāṇa age. In the Kuṣāṇa age Buddhist monasteries it has disappeared (Haḍḍa, Takht-i-Bhāi, Jauliān etc.)[68].

The square terrace *stūpa* in northern India

Following the expansion of the Gandhāran "classical" *stūpa* type with square terrace platforms we should at least not forget to draw our attention upon the spread it found southwards to northern India. The great Buddhist terrace monuments of the later Gupta age to the Pāla period at Nālandā, Pahārpur, Antichak and elsewhere had not been possible without the introduction of the Gandhāran square *stūpa* into northern India. In the Kuṣāṇa period (2nd to 4th c.), Mathurā, the southern capital of the empire, was certainly of great importance as an intermediate point. Two reliefs found at Mathurā and belonging to the Kuṣāṇa era show the square *stūpa*[69]. Although not Buddhist but Jaina monuments, they testify the extension of the new Gandhāran *stūpa* type to Mathurā. The evidence is also to be found in the fragment of a square Buddhist *stūpa* base in the Archaeological Musum of Mathurā[70]. Unfortunately, there are no archaeological evidences excavated at Mathurā. This may be explained by the very few excavations which were undertaken until now at Mathurā.

A little later the typical Gandhāran square *stūpa* with the terrace divided by pilastres, appears at Devnīmori (Gujarāt) in a Buddhist monastery recently excavated[71]. According to an inscription it dates from 275 A.D. The Gandhāran prototype could have been transmitted through Mathurā. Under the immediate influence of Gandhāran patterns the great *stūpa* of Mīrpur Khās in the lower Indus valley in Sind seems to have been built in the late Gupta age (ca. 500 A.D.)[72], too.

In the area of Mathurā the square *stūpa* has reached the southernmost point of its extension. As yet, no remains of a *stūpa* with square terrace have been found south of Mathurā. As has already been mentioned Central and South India conservatively stuck to the circular *stūpa*. From the Kuṣāṇa age on two areas of *stūpa* evolution are delimited in India: a northern one where the square terrace *stūpa* got wide extension through the whole Ganges basin, and a southern zone beginning with the Dekkhan and extending to the Buddhist settlements of Āndhra and even including Śri Lanka (Ceylon). Two separate lines of development are to be recognized which seem to come together at Mathurā. A votive-*stūpa* in the Archaeological Museum of Mathurā seems to be informative[73]. It is circular in the elevation and distinctly follows a Central and South Indian *stūpa*-type with regard to the "ball-shaped" cupola ("Kugelkuppel"). This "Kugelkuppel" is significant for the *stūpas* in the cave temples of the Dekkhan as well as for the minor *stūpas* in the South, as at Nāgārjunākoṇḍa[74]. This "Kugelkuppel" (globular or ball-shaped *stūpa* cupola or *aṇḍa*) is confined to the southern *stūpa* zone; it is unknown in the North. The votive *stūpa* of the Museum at Mathurā is an exception. It is a mixture, a blend of northern and southern elements, which may be typical for the situation at Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa age. The garland frieze with putti is an unmistakable Gandhāran motif, and the division by arches and pilastres also points out to Gandhāran patterns. In this *stūpa* the two

fundamental *stūpa* areas of India come together.

These final remarks and the outlook on the *stūpa* evolution in India make us once more clearly recognize which basic importance the creation of the *stūpa* with a square base had for the further development of the *stūpa*. At the same time its diffusion is restricted to the North of India.

The reasons for the conservative attitude of the South in contrast to the progressive one of the North are not easily to be found. It would be too simple to explain it with the opposition of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism In Ceylon the strong inclination to the Theravāda makes the conservativism understandable. But in India no such demarcation between the two Buddhist"vehicles" can be ascertained. Later on the arising Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna can explain the growing importance of the more and more sophisticated shape of the terrace *stūpa* in North and Northeast India In view of these still open questions we have confined our explorations to the formal evolution of the *stūpa* being aware that changes of the religious ideas must have been responsible for its transformations.

Notes and references

1 For the sake of simplicity in this paper the term "Gandhāran regions" or "Gandhāran countries" is employed for the whole territory in which the so-called "art grêco-bouddhique" or "Gandhāran art" was developed in the first centuries of our era, mainly under the rule of the Kuṣāṇa, - areas, today belonging partly to Pakistan and Afghanistan and perhaps even including districts of the USSR beyond the Oxus river. The term "Gandhāran regions" as it is used in the following pages, is not limited to the historical area Gandhāra proper. For the different historical countries of the Kusāṇo-Buddhist art and the limits of Gandhāra cf. Deydier, Henri: Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhara, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1950, p. 1-5, 91, 114, 125, 202 sq.

2 The term "classical *stūpa*-type" ("klassischer *Stūpa*-Typus") applicated in this paper is explained in my article "Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan" (see footnote 10).

3 The still discussed question for the exact date of the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa rule especially of that of King Kaniṣka I renders it difficult to establish a fixed chronology for all the Buddhist monuments erected in this period. The "date of Kaniṣka" is still fluctuating in the opinion of the scholars between the first and second century A.D. (78 A.D. to 144 A.D.) and even the third century (232 A.D.). Cf. Stavisky, D.Y., Vainberg, B.J., Gorbunowa, N.G., Novgorodova, E.A.: "Soviet Central Asia, Archaeology and the Kushan Problem, Annotated Bibliography", International Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period, 2 vol., Moscow 1968, and B.A. Litvinsky: Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia, in: International Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period, Dushanbe 1968, Moscow 1968, with extensive bibliography. Seimal', E.V.: Kushanskaja Chronologija (materialy po probleme), Meshdunarodnaja konferenzija po istorii, archeologii i kulture zentralnoi Asii w kushanskuju epochu, Moscow 1968 (with summary in English: p. 136 sqq.).

4 Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Buddhistische Kunst Indiens. Leipzig, E.A. Seemann, Buch- und Kunstverlag, 1965, p. 81, fig. 43, pl. 128, 129.

5 Hargreaves, H.: Excavations at Jamalgarhi, in: ASIAR 1921-22, Simla, p. 54-62. Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Buddhistische Kunst Indiens. 1965, p. 124, fig. 82, pl. 211, 212.

6 Ibid., pl. 39.

7 Ibid., pl. 139, 140, p. 86, fig. 47.

8 Ibid., pl. 135.

9 Ibid. p. 89, fig. 50. Marshall, John: Taxila. Cambridge 1951.

10 Franz, H.G., 1965 (see footnote 5), pl. 142, 143. Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan, Ursprünge und Entwicklung. In: Afghanistan Journal 4 (1977), 131-143, p. 138, fig. 12-14, footnote 11, 12, 14, p. 141.

11 Franz, H.G.: Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan (see footnote 10), p. 132 2q. fig. 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, cf. footnote 17-19, 23-26.

12 Fussman, Gérard and Le Berre, M.: Le monastère de Gul Dara. Mém. de la Déleg. Archéol. Franç. en Afghanistan (MDAFA) XXII. Paris 1976. Cf. Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: review of the book in: Afghanistan Journal 5 (1978), p. 80-81.

13 Franz, H.G.: Afghanistan Journal 4 (1977) see footnote 11, p. 139 sq. and footnotes 7, 24, 26. Barthoux, Jules: Les fouilles de Hadda: 1. Stupas et Sites. Mémoires de la DAFA, vol. 4. Paris 1933.

14 Foucher, Alfred: La Vieille Route de Bactres à l'Inde à Taxila. MDAFA (Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique Française en Afghanistan) vol. I, Paris 1942, p. 90/91, fig. 23/24.

15 Fussman, Gérard: Ruines de la vallée de Wardak. In: Arts Asiatiques 30 (1974), p. 65-130.

16 Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst, see footnote 6, p. 73-79, pl. 107-109. Cf. also my remarks in footnote 65 of this paper.

17 Cf. the catalogue of the exhibition "La route de la Soie", Paris, Grand Palais. 10 février - 29 mars 1976. Paris, Editions des musées nationaux, 1976.

18 Hambis, Louis: Mission Paul Pelliot III: Douldour-Aqour et Soubachi, Planches. Paris 1967, Plan 3 and pl. LXII, 128, pl. LXXIV, 151, 152 ("Stupa du Sud-Ouest de l'ensemble oriental"). Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan (Teil 2). In: Afghanistan Journal 5 (1978), 26-38, p. 27, fig. 20.

19 Hambis, Louis: Mission Paul Pelliot II: Toumshouq, Paris 1964, p. 26-30, fig. A 3.

20 Stein, Aurel: Ancient Khotan, Oxford, 1907, vol. II, pl. XL. Gropp, G.: Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan. Bremen 1974, p. 42.

21 Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst (see footnote 10) , p. 100, fig. 53. Franz, H.G.: Afghanistan Journal 5 (1978), (see footnote 18), p. 32, fig. 31, 32.

22 Ibid., p. 35/36, fig. 38-41.

23 Ibid., p. 36, fig. 41, footnote 63. Franz, H.G.: Hinduistische und islamische Kunst Indiens. Leipzig, E.A. Seemann Buch- und Kunstverlag 1968, p. 49, pl. 226-228.

24 Franz, H.G.: Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan, 2. Teil, (see footnote 18), p. 35, 38, footnotes 58, 62.

25 Ibid., p. 30, fig. 29, 30. Taddei, Maurizio: Tapa Sardār, First Preliminary Report, East and West, N.S. 18 (1968), 109-124, fig. 6, 7. Cf. also id. In: East and West 21 (1971), S. p. 442, figs 3-4; 22 (1972), S. p. 383, fig. 14; 23 (1973), S. p. 420, figs. 17-18.

26 Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Stupa, Tempel und Umgang, Kultbauten des Buddhismus und Hinduismus in Süd- und Zentralasien. In: Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz, XIV (1979), 1-120, as book edition: Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Von Gandhara bis Pagán. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979, p. 28-30, fig. 35-38, pl. I/3,4; IV/9, 10. Stein, Aurel: Innermost Asia. Oxford, 1928. Stein, Aurel: Serindia. Oxford 1921. Andrews, Fred H.: Wall paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein. London, 1948, p. XIX sq.

27 Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Pagode, Turmtempel, Stupa. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1978. pl. X, fig. 17, p. 17.

28 Franz, H.G.: (see footnote 6), p. 43-49, pl. 72, 77, 81, 86, 90, 96-98. Franz, H.G.: (see footnote 26), p. ii.

29 Franz, H.G.: (see footnote 6), p. 150, 155, pl. 231-239.

30 Franz, H.G.: (see footnote 23), pl. 91, 94, 102, 103. Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Der Stupa mit Kultnische. In: Artibus Asiae 23 (1960), 239-253.

31 Franz, H.G.: Pagode, Turmtempel, Stupa (see footnote 27), p. 23, fig. 10, pl. XII/22, XIII/24, 25, 26, XIV/28.

32 Cf. the stupa courts: Franz, G.H.: Buddhistische Kunst (see footnote 6), pl. 208, p. 122/123, fig. 80, 81 . Hargreaves, H.: Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi. In: ASIAR 1910-1911, Calcutta 1914, 33-39.

33 Franz, H.G.: Pagode, Turmtempel, Stupa (see footnote 27), p. 22, 23, fig. 11a, 11b.

34 Ibid., p. 21, fig. 7.

35 Ibid., pl. XI/19.

36 Ibid., p. 20, fig. 5, 6.

37 Ol'denburg, S.Th.: Russkaja Turkestanskaja Ekspedizija, St. Petersbourg 1914.

38 Franz, H.G.: Von Gandhāra bis Pagân (see footnote 26), p. 52 sq. Hambis, Louis (see footnote 18), fig. 112, 113, 115, 153. Franz, H.G.: Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan, 2. Teil (see footnote 18), p. 31, 33, fig. 33.

39 Franz, H.G.: Pagode, Turmtempel, Stupa (see footnote 27), pl. XI/20.

40 Ibid., pl. XIV/28.

41 Ibid., pl. XIV/30.

42 Rowland, Benjamin: Zentralasien. Kunst der Welt. Baden-Baden, Holle-Verlag, 1967. Hambis, Louis: Central Asia. In: Enciclopedia dell'Arte. Cf. on the history and culture of the Turfan-Oasis: Monique Maillard: Essai sur la vie matérielle dans l'oasis de Tourfan pendant le haut Moyen-Âge. In: Arts Asiatiques, numéro spécial, XXIX, 1973, p. 1-186.

43 Franz, H.G. (see footnote 27), p. 28, 38.

44 Ibid., p. 28.

45 Ibid., p. 38 sq. In the later caves a new pagoda type has been developed, the "Gesimspagode" (pagoda with cornices).

46 Ibid., p. 29 sq., pl. XVIII/40, XIX/42 (right below on the window wall), cave 11: Pl. XIX/43 (below), XXI/48.

47 Ibid., pl. XIX/43, XX/44, 46, 47 (*stūpas* with superimposed niche storeys in cave 11).

48 Ibid., pl. XIX.

49 Cf. Ibid., pl. XXII/52-54

50 Ibid., pl. XXIV/59, p. 49 sq.

51 Ibid., p. 51 sq.

52 Ibid., pl. XI/20, p. 22, fig. 8, pl. XIV/29.

53 Ibid., pl. XIV/28, ground-plan: Franz, H.G.: Von Gandhara bis Pagân (see footnote 26), fig. 43.

54 Franz, H.G.: Pagode etc. (see footnote 27), pl. XIV/27, 29, XI/20.

55 Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst (see footnote 6), pl. 286, 287. Cf. also Franz, H.G.: Der Umgangstempel etc. (see footnote 26), p. 45.

56 Franz, H.G. (see footnote 27), pl. XI/18, 19, XV/31.

57 Franz, H.G. Buddhistische Kunst etc. (see footnote 6), pl. 200.

58 Rosenfield, J.M.: The dynastic art of the Kushans. Los Angeles 1967, p. 286. Franz, H.G.: Pagode etc. (see footnote 27), p. 70, footnote 40. Franz, Heinrich Gerhard: Pagode, Stupa, Turmtempel, Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Pagode. In: Kunst des Orients III (1959), 14-28, p. 27.

59 Hargreaves, H.: Excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. In: ASIAR (Annual Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India) 1910-1911, Calcutta 1914, 25-32. Cf. also the report of the excavations: ASIAR 1908/9, p. 38 sqq.

60 Franz, H.G.: der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan, 2. Teil (see footnote 18), p. 34.

61 This problem has been dealt with by the author in a special publication. Franz, H.G.: Von Gandhara bis Pagân (see footnote 26).

62 Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst etc. (see footnote 6), p. 81, fig. 43, pl. 121, fig. 79.

63 Franz, H.G.: Von Gandhara bis Pagán (see footnote 26), p. 16 sq., fig. 21, 22, pl. I/1, 2.

64 Ibid., p. 18 sqq. I dealt with these questions in a paper at the "XX. Deutscher Orientalistentag" at Erlangen 1977 (Congress publication in press): Der buddhistische Umgangstempel.

65 Ibid., p. 18 sq, fig. 23. Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst etc. (see footnote 6), p. 73 sqq., fig. 39-42, pl. 107-109. The character of the main temple "A" at Surkh Kotal as a fire temple is still disputed. The problem of the deambulatory and its origin has also been discussed by Gérard Fussman: Le renouveau iranien dans l'empire Koushan. In: Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la recherche scientifique, no. 567 (Le plateau iranien etc.). Paris 1978, 313-322, cf. p. 318 sqq. He came to the same conclusion as I did in my paper at the "XX. Deutscher Orientalistentag", Erlangen, September 1977, where I pointed to the origins of the Buddhist deambulatory temple in the Gandhāran region from buildings of the pre-Buddhist Bactria like the palaces of Aï Khanum or the temple of the Dioscures at Dilberdjin.

66 Ibid., p. 70, fig. 38, pl. 213.

67 Franz, H.G.: Von Gandhara bis Pagán (see footnote 26), p. 13 sq.; Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst etc. (see footnote 6), 43 sqq., pl. 76 sqq.

68 Cf. ibid., p. 108, fig. 61; po. 123, fig. 81; p. 98, fig. 52.

69 Bachhofer, Ludwig: Die frühindische Plastik. Firenze 1929; vol. II, pl. 91. Smith, V.A.: The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura. Allahabad 1901, pl. 12 and p. 19 and pl. 103. Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst etc. (see footnote 6), pl. 222. Franz, H.G.: Die buddhistische Kultsäule. In: Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz 13 (1978), 141-156, p. 153, fig. 6, pl. XXVII/17.

70 To this basement in the Museum of Mathurā cf. the paper of G. von Mitterwallner in this publication, pp. 86-87, footnotes 33, 34, 47-49.

71 Devnīmori: Mehta, R.N. and Chowdhary: Excavations at Devnimori. Baroda 1966.

72 Franz, H.G.: Hinduistische ... etc. Kunst (see footnote 23), p. 73 sq., pl. 186. Cousens, Henry: Buddhist stupa at Mirpur Khas. In: ASIAR 1909-10, Calcutta 1914, 80-92. Chandra, Moti: A study of the terracottes from Mirpur Khas. In: Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay no. 7 (1959-1962), 1-22. Bhandarkar, D.R.: Excavations near Mirpur Khas. In: Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (year ending 31-3-1917), 47-48.

73 Vogel, J.Philippe: Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Mathura. Allahabad 1910, p. 22, 160, pl. IV (after p. 22). Vogel's opinion is that "... the lowermost and the uppermost members are missing ..." (p. 22). Cf. also Vogel, Philippe: La sculpture de Mathura. Brussels - Paris 1930, pl. V votive stupa N. 1, 0,46 m, "prov.: tertre de Jamālpur (?)". The date is given by an "inscription votive en caractère bhrāhmi de l'époque Kusâna ...". Vogel's opinion: "... soubassement manque ...". Cf. also Franz, H.G.: Buddhistische Kunst etc. pl. 221.

74 About the "*Stūpa* mit Kugelkuppel" ("ball-shaped-*stūpa*") a special article of the author is in preparation.

List of figures

1 Mānikyāla (Pakistan), Great Stūpa (after A. Foucher). Specimen for a *stūpa* on circular plan. Pre-Kuṣāna-Period.

2 Amluk-darrah (Swāt Valley). Great Stūpa (after A. Tucci and V. Caroli). Over the *aṇḍa* a high pillar with *chattra* as final closing is to be added.

3 Abbasahebchina (Swāt Valley). Stūpa C. Reconstruction (after A. Tucci and V. Caroli). Fig. 2 and 3 may serve as specimens for the "classical *stūpa*-type".

4 Bhamālā near Taxila (Pakistan), Great Stūpa. Plan (after J. Marshall). Terrace *stūpa* with four staircases. Origin for the star-shaped *stūpa*.

5 Rawāk near Khotan (Sin-kiang). Great Stūpa (after Gropp).

6 Chotscho (Sin-kiang, Turfan-oasis). Star-shaped *stūpa* at temple Z.

7 Adzhina-Tepa (Tadchikistan, USSR), Main *stūpa* in the *stūpa* court of the monastery (after B.A. Litvinsky and Seimal). Type of the star-shaped *stūpa* with four staircases.

8 Haḍḍa (Afghanistan), votive *stūpa* P. 38, constructed as multistoreyed tower-like, stretched monument (after Barthoux).

9 a) and b) Chotscho (Sin-kiang, Turfan-oasis), temple P (after A. Grünwedel). Specimen for the "group *stūpa*".

10 Chotscho (Sin-kiang, Turfan-oasis), temple Y (after A. Grünwedel). Multistepped terrace-temple with staircases and niches (*stūpa* ?).

11 Chotscho (Sin-kiang, Turfan-oasis), Astana, socalled "Taisan" (after A. Grünwedel). Terrace with niches. As upper closing a *stūpa* (?) or a tower-shaped temple (?) is to be added.

12 - 17 Tower-shaped *stūpas* at Chotscho (Sin-kiang, Turfan-oasis). After A. Grünwedel.

12 "Pfeilertempelchen Π" (small pillar temple Π) from south-west.

13 Temple γ from the north.

14 "Große nörliche Stupaanlage". *Stūpa* over a tower-shaped basement.

15 "Pfeilertempelchen ρ" from south-east.

16 "Pfeilertempelchen W" (small "pillar temple W") from south-east.

17 *Stūpa* pillar of "ruin W". Left (B): South-western and easternside, right: northern side.

18 Yün-kang (Shan si, China), Buddhist cave-temple no. 5 Niche-pagoda (after S, Mizuno and Bagahiro).

19 Yün-kang (Shan si, China), Buddhist cave temple no. 2 Central pillar in the shape of a wooden pagoda.

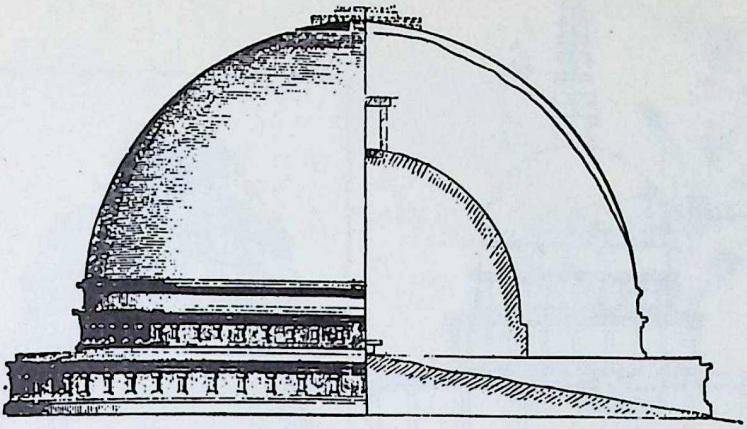


fig. 1

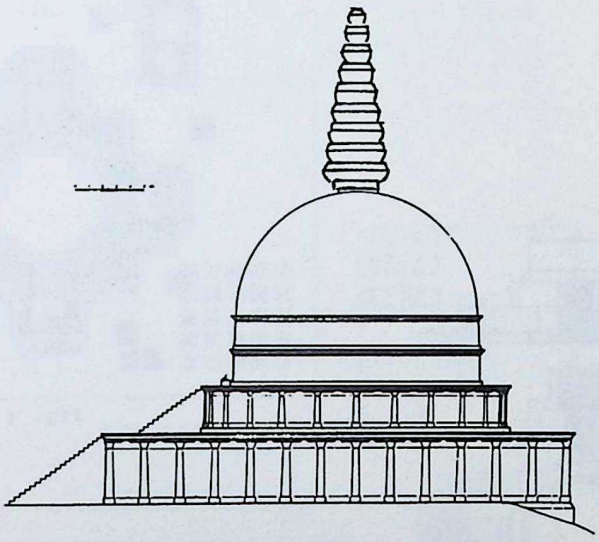


fig. 2

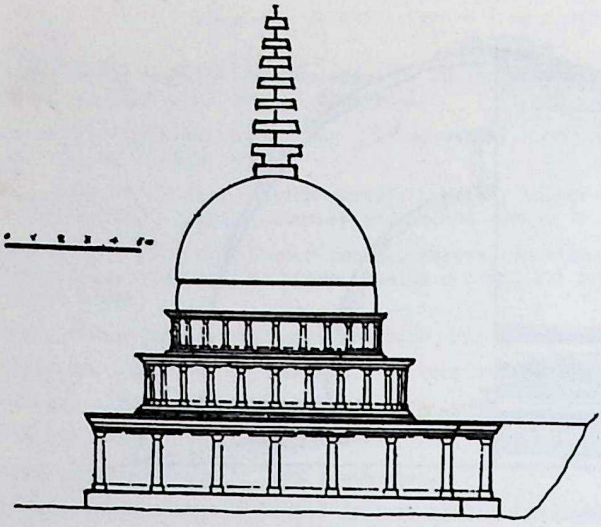


fig. 3

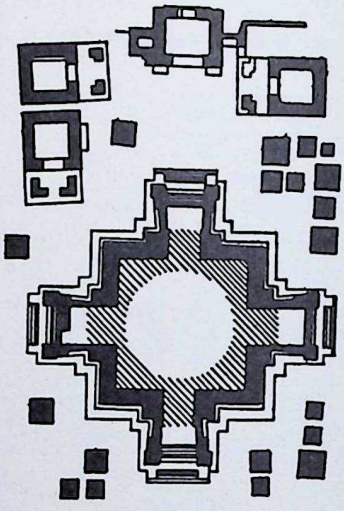


fig. 4

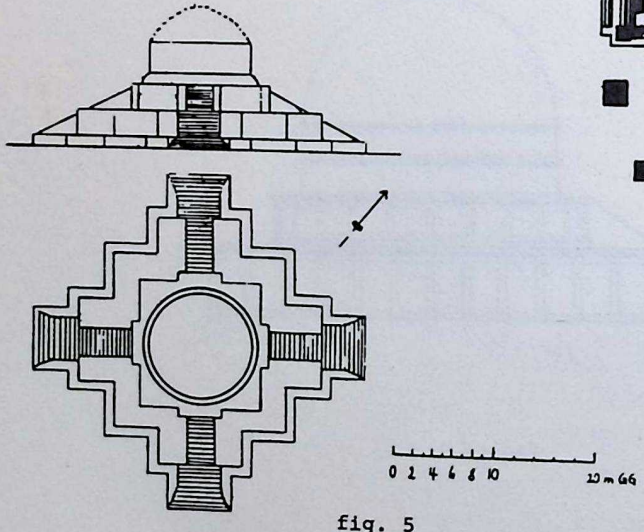


fig. 5

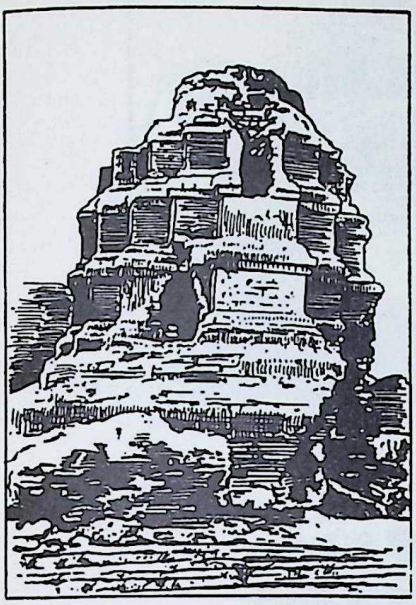


fig. 6

fig. 7

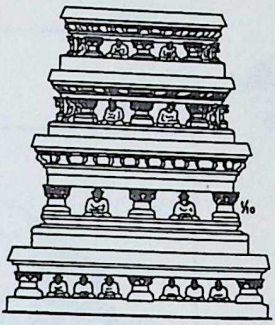


fig. 8

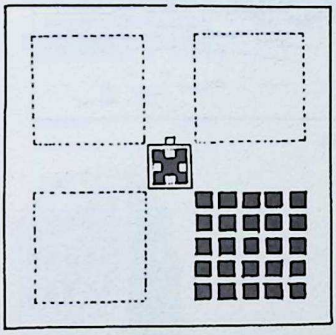
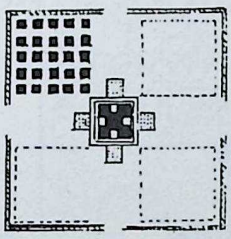


fig. 9 a)



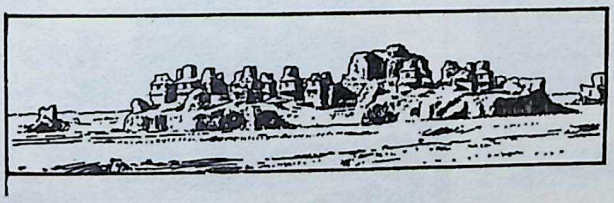


fig. 9 b)

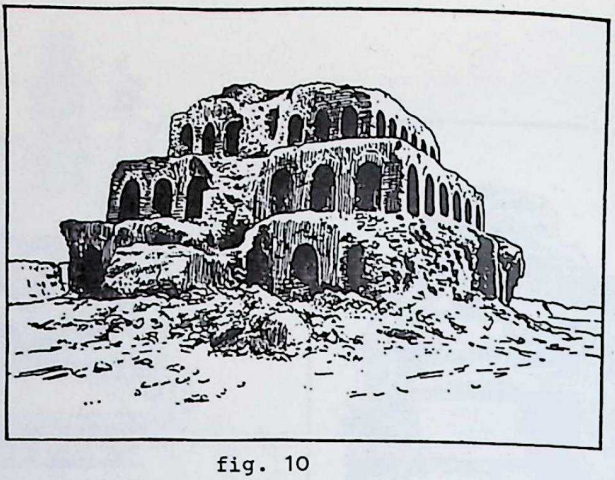


fig. 10

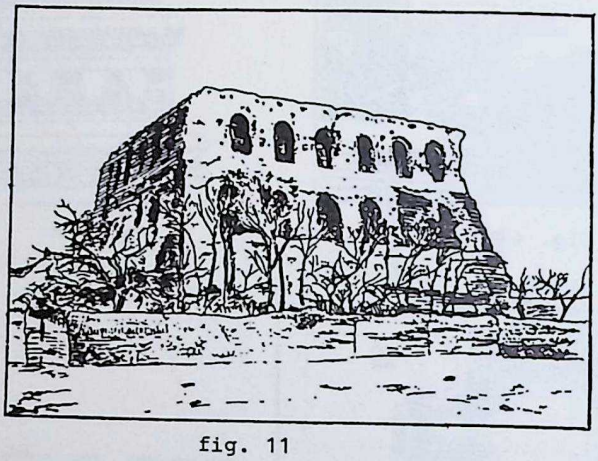


fig. 11

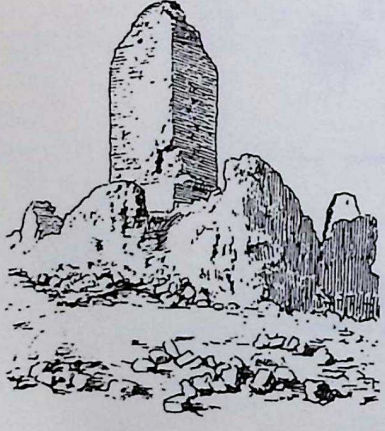


fig. 12

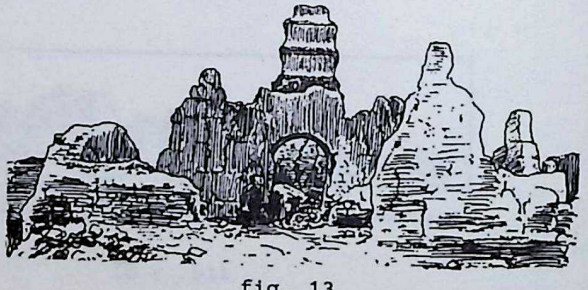


fig. 13

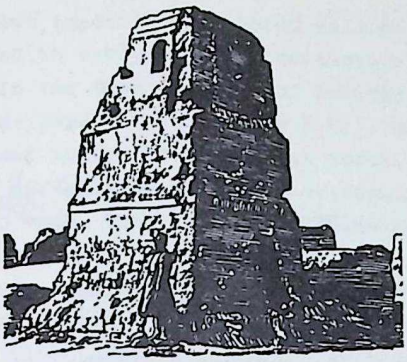


fig. 14

fig. 15

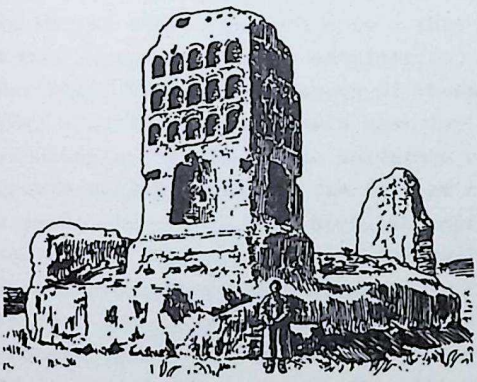


fig. 16

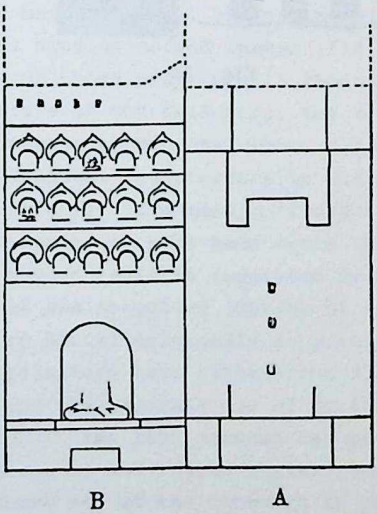


fig. 17

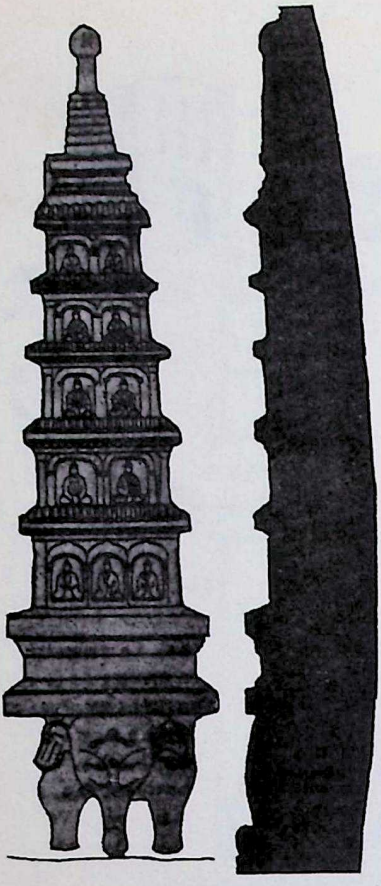


fig. 18

fig. 19

PILASTERED WALLS ON INDIAN STŪPAS AND TEMPLES

George Michell

Two types of pilastered wall on bases and drums of *stūpas* are encountered in early Indian architecture.

In the Āndhra region of peninsula India, the *stūpas* of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta (1st century B.C.), now mostly vanished, had limestone facings around their circular brick cores. Those facings that have been preserved are carved with pilasters at regular intervals, dividing the *stūpa* drums into bays. The pilasters combine many different elements - pot bases, *gaṇa* supports, shafts with raised lotus medallions and part octagonal sections, sometimes replaced by *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, and inverted-bell capitals with back-to-back winged beasts or elephants (fig. 1). Undoubtedly, these pilasters are Indian inventions, their composite forms drawing on indigenous architectural traditions.

At the many sites in the kingdoms of Gandhāra, Kāpiśa, and Bactria, the outer surfaces of the *stūpas* (1st century B.C. - 5th century A.D.) have dressed stone masonry and brickwork in which pilasters are carved, contiguous with the wall itself. Often a coat of stucco is applied from which images are created to decorate the wall, sometimes covering the pilasters as well. These pilasters appear at the corners of the square bases of the *stūpas* and at regular intervals in between, rhythmically articulating the walls or circular drums into bays (fig. 2). As framing elements the pilasters sometimes flank niches housing sacred images (fig. 3). Probably the most striking characteristic of these pilasters is their non-Indian design. The moulded bases and capitals of the pilasters, the carved plinths of the walls beneath, and the overhanging cornices above, all clearly betray a foreign influence - that of Classical architecture in the late Roman period. On closer examination, a distinctly Corinthian 'flavour' is detected. That the designers of these monuments may have been aware that they were drawing on models that lay far beyond India is suggested by the remarkable details on the sandstone base of the so-called 'Shrine of the Double-Headed Eagle' at Taxila (1st century B.C.), originally supporting a small *stūpa* (fig. 4). Here, the carved pilasters have alternating flat and curved shafts; the bases are moulded and the capitals are of Corinthian inspiration, even if clumsily formed. In the bays between the pilasters are miniature portals, in both Classical and Indian styles. The representation of a triangular pediment above one of the doorways is easily distinguished from both the curved bamboo portal and the timber *toraṇa*, thus indicating that local and imported architectural motifs were known and consciously combined.

Pilasters in early Indian *stūpa* architecture, therefore, employ both lo-

cal and foreign conventions; they divide the wall lengths into regular bays and also frame niches.

As rhythmic dividers of walls the pilasters at Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta recall the columns in the free-standing railings that once surrounded many *stūpas*, such as that preserved in stone from Bhārhut, whose countless timber prototypes are now lost. Representations of these railings, reduced to rows of pilasters, are found on the walls in several of the west Indian cave-temples, as at Kondāne (1st century B.C.) (fig, 5). There are also indigenous examples of plain bands flanking the openings, as in the rock-cut *vihāra* at Bedṣā (fig. 6), or *caitya* hall at Ajantā cave 9 (1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.), for example. Here the bands are plain or have part-octagonal sections; they occur in combination with horseshoe-shaped arches above, in obvious imitation of the entrances to vaulted timber structures. At Pitalkhorā (1st century B.C.) decorated bands are found framing a doorway in *vihāra* 4; pilasters are also employed with capitals having inverted-bell and inverted-step motifs, also back-to-back winged lions. No examples of sculpture framed by pilasters are known in these early examples.

Turning now to foreign models, innumerable instances of the pilastered wall are known throughout Hellenistic architecture, particularly in the stone temples erected in the outer provinces of the Roman empire. Pilasters are generally shallow and slender, with moulded bases and Corinthian capitals; above is a projecting cornice. The pilasters always form part of the masonry fabric and are clearly distinguished from the free-standing columns of the portico, as at Palmyra (temple of Baal-Shamin, 2nd century A.D.). Their rhythmic articulation of the wall surface is an essential aesthetic for the proportions of the building.

In India, there is no indigenous conception of structural masonry architecture with pilastered walls. Though our knowledge of early Indian architecture is fragmentary, no timber building having survived the many centuries of monsoons, representations of these buildings are found in early relief carvings and their rock-cut facsimiles, the latter constituting a unique series of excavated cave-temples. From what we can learn about this architectural tradition, which mostly utilised flexible timbers and thatch, there was never any conception of a solid wall furnished with pilasters. Columned structures, it is true, were popular, but here the columns were load-bearing, the spaces between them frequently left open. Where solid walls were employed, especially for multi-storeyed or defensive structure, for instance, these appear to have been plain. Typical early representations of such buildings are being found on the portal reliefs of *stūpa* 1 at Sāñcī (fig. 7) or the paintings at Ajantā (cave 10).

If, then, the pilastered wall, as compared to the ornamental depiction of a free-standing railing, is a foreign architectural feature in India, how then did this feature reach the sub-continent? Scholarly documentation

of the spread of Classical architecture beyond the Imperial frontiers is still growing. We may cite the Hellenistic city of Ai Khanum on the Oxus (2nd century B.C.), from which site Corinthian pilasters and bases have been recovered, and the Parthian capital at Hatra in northern Iraq, with its Classical-derived architecture. Traces of an Iranian Classical architecture are now being discovered, mostly from the Sasanian period, and perhaps future scholarship will be able to piece together a whole history of the eastward spread of architectural ideas from the Mediterranean area to India. Even the most cursory glance at the Classical-styled rock-cut facades at Petra, on the road to the Red Sea ports from which the boats to India once embarked, suggests that seaborne influences also are by no means a remote possibility. Roman influences at various sites near the āndhra ports are attested both historically and archaeologically. In matters of sculpture and the other arts, the eastward flowing influence of Classical style and iconography has already been observed. Most opinions on this subject stress the synthesis of imported features with strongly regional traditions that took place during these centuries. That the same was also happening in architecture will hardly be a cause for surprise.

Turning now to the *stūpa* architecture of central and western India, we note the disappearance of the pilastered wall. The stone bases and drums of the *stūpas* at Sāñcī and Sārnāth, though sometimes elaborately decorated, are all lacking the pilastered features. The same is also true of the numerous examples of monolithic *stūpas* found in the early cave-temple tradition (Bhāja, Kārlī, Kaṇherī, Ajantā caves 9 and 10, for example, 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.). However, by the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. in western India, a period contemporary with Gupta rule in the north, we discover that the monolithic *stūpas* of the rock-cut *caitya* halls at Ajantā (caves 16 and 26) employ pilasters to frame principal Buddha images and to articulate the curved bases and drums (fig. 8). The Classical features of earlier pilasters (moulded bases and Corinthian-styled capitals) are no longer found and typically Indian characteristics predominate (plain bases, decorated shafts with part-octagonal sections, cushion and inverted-bell capitals, and curved brackets), continuing the āndhra and western Indian traditions. Even the indigenous aquatic-monster motif is utilised in combination with pilasters to create the popular *makara-toraṇa* (Ajantā cave 19), and ornamental roof forms with horseshoe-shaped windows are supported on rows of pilasters (Ajantā cave 26). We note that Classical-styled pilasters are only to survive in one remote area of the sub-continent, the valley of Kashmir (temples of the 8th - 10th centuries A.D.).

Leaving *stūpa* architecture, we come now to a consideration of the earliest surviving free-standing stone architecture in India, as at Sāñcī and Tigāwā, belonging to the Gupta period (5th century A.D.). Though related to Classical structures in form and building technique, the walls

of these temples are never pilastered (contrasting with the typical Bactria and Gandhāra *stūpa* where a Classical motif is applied to an indigenous building form). The early Gupta temples are modest in scale and both Hellenistic and Indian in spirit. They consist of a small and square flat-roofed chamber with an entrance sheltered by a colonnaded porch. The outer elevation is divided into three parts - base, vertical surface and capping cornice (fig. 9). The technique is distinctly that of solid masonry construction, of which no earlier examples are known in India; there is also a conspicuous absence of the typically Indian horseshoe-shaped window. That the appearance of these temples in central India coincides with the beginnings of stone techniques can hardly be dismissed as a coincidence. As an illustration of the common conception relating these Indian temples to the Classical model we may compare the Sāñcī or Tigāwā examples with the Roman temple at Bziza in northern Lebanon (1st to 2nd century A.D.). Of course, the columns of the Gupta temple have now become thoroughly Indianised, or rather, Irano-Indianised - with their square and octagonal shafts, inverted-bell capitals and back-to-back animal brackets.

The absence of the pilastered wall in these earliest examples of Indian structural architecture continues throughout the subsequent evolution of stone temple building in India north of the Deccan. So-called 'northern style' temples never utilise the pilastered wall, even though pilasters are employed to frame niches. Thinking back to the different ways in which the pilastered wall is applied in early Indian architecture, it would seem that the first usage noted at Gandhāra and related sites, that of articulating the walls and corners, is not found in 'northern style' temples; however, the second usage, that of framing sculptures, found also at Gandhāra, is retained. It is to be added that doorways in north Indian temples are invariably framed by pilasters supporting a decorative lintel, a device also found in wall openings and doorways in the Buddhist architecture of Gandhāra and Bactria, as well as in the earlier rock-cut architecture of western India. The complex elevational treatment developed in Hindu architecture, at such sites as Osiā and Roḍa (8th - 9th centuries A.D.), for example, or in later times, as at Khajurāho and Bhubaneśwar (9th - 11th century A.D.), always conceived the outer wall as a plain surface on which elaborate sculpture niches with pilasters were lavishly applied, together with various decorative motifs. Significantly, changes in wall plane were never marked by pilasters, in contrast, as we shall see, with south Indian temples; pilastered niches, though, are typical.

Certain temples in the north Indian stylistic tradition, such as several small structures at Mukuṅdara and Mahua (6th - 7th centuries A.D.), may appear at first to utilise the pilastered wall. A close inspection of these temples, however, reveals a completely different technique,

termed appropriately by Harle, the 'pillared wall'. Here, load-bearing columns are transformed into solid walls by stone infill slabs (fig. 10). This technique possibly derives from the free-standing timber columnar traditions of earlier centuries (note also stone columns with brick infill at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the 3rd century A.D.).

We return once more to Buddhist architecture in order to examine that which flourished in the Ganges valley and further east, from about the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. onwards, in the brick medium. The innumerable brick structures associated with the holy sites of the Buddhist heartland - Sārnāth, Bodh Gayā, Nālandā and Rajgir, for example - are frequently provided with pilastered walls, mostly to frame stucco or terracotta sculptures. Sometimes, as on the base of temple (6th - 7th centuries A.D.), finely carved stone courses are inset into the brick structure, reproducing the effect of a pilastered Gandhāra *stūpa* base, together with stone sculptures and an elaborately moulded curved cornice (fig. 11). The more usual practice, however, is that executed in brick with a stucco coating, as is preserved on the four *stūpa*-like corner towers of temple 3 at Nālandā (fig. 12). Also to be mentioned here is the most celebrated shrine of all Buddhism, the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gayā which, though heavily encumbered with later restorations, essentially preserves its original conception of a multi-storeyed, straight-edged, pyramidal tower. In both the Nālandā and Bodh Gayā temples (probably 6th century A.D.) we have clear evidence of the pilastered wall, applied in a number of ascending and diminishing storeys, to frame numerous Buddha and Bodhisattva images and horseshoe-shaped motifs. Invariably, the pilasters break up the wall length into bays and mark the corners of the building; they are supported on moulded bases and, in turn, support strongly demarcated horizontal cornices. In form, the pilasters are related to the free-standing stone columns of the cave-temple tradition and those employed in the porticos of the small Gupta stone temples: they have decorated bases, square and part-octagonal shafts, cushion and inverted-bell capitals with curved blacked-out brackets.

Comparable with these monuments is the Hindu temple at Bhītargāon (5th century A.D.), probably the best preserved non-Buddhist brick-structure of the Gupta period. Here, the walls of the sanctuary, elevated on a high and plain plinth, are divided by pilasters into bays; the pilasters also help to create the central projection on each side (fig. 13). The details of the pilasters are identical to those at Nālandā and Bodh Gayā; the plaques inserted into the walls, are terracotta rather than stucco. Other brick structures may also have been erected during these centuries in a similar style and it is likely that the Bhītargāon temple is an isolated survivor of a once flourishing tradition.

Comparing the Nālandā and Bodh Gayā foundations with the Bhītargāon temple, we note little overall similarity other than a tendency to increase the height of the structure by vertically extending the central

mass of the building. (The multi-storeyed masonry elevation is probably an innovation that began in northern India at about this time.) It is, however, in the usage of the pilastered wall, virtually identical on these buildings, that a correlation may be made between Buddhist and Hindu brick architecture in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. We have observed that such a correspondence of detail does not exist in the stone building tradition that was developing at the same time in central India. Thus, the pilastered wall in northern India passes into the brick medium and is not restricted to Buddhist architecture alone. But it was not to survive for long: in the great *stūpa*-like temple at Pāhārpur, now in Bangladesh (8th - 9th century A.D.), the terracotta plaques along the base of the walls do not employ dividing pilasters.

There is, nevertheless, at least one area where the brick tradition in Hindu architecture was to continue for some centuries: this is the eastern zone of central India. The most remarkably preserved representative of this tradition is the Lakshmana temple at Sirpur (possibly 8th century A.D.). Here, the brick walls are divided into a number of projections and recesses by pairs of pilasters supporting a moulded cornice (fig. 14). On examining this feature more closely, we notice that the pilasters and the actual changes of wall plane do not precisely correspond - the corners of the building are plain, not pilastered. Thus, it would seem that the influence of north Indian stone temple architecture had already imposed itself and the conception of the pilastered wall was no longer precisely understood. It is to be added that this stylistic confusion is only one of several hybrid features of this temple.

Leaving now the northern and central parts of the sub-continent for the southern portion of the peninsula, imagine our surprise, when considering early examples of the south Indian stone tradition, to discover the pilastered wall! Temples at various Early Chāḷukya and Pallava sites, in the so-called 'south Indian' style (7th century A.D. onwards), are invariably provided with pilasters to divide the walls into bays and to create changes of wall plane. The resulting recesses and projections are typical of this architectural tradition. In fact, the pilastered wall is one of the essential diagnostic features of the south Indian temple, ubiquitous in the architecture of this part of the sub-continent form Pallava times, through the Rāshṭrakūṭa, Choḷa and Vijayanagara periods, even to the present day. Its origins may be seen in the fragmentary masonry structures at several sites in āndhra. The treatment of the walls of the Meguṭi temple at Aihoḷe or the *rathas* at Mahabalipuram, for instance (7th century A.D.), clearly define this southern-styled version of the pilastered wall (figs. 16 and 16). Here, the pilasters have slender shafts with cushion and inverted-bell capitals with curved brackets supporting an overhanging eave (as at Ajantā). We note that the pilasters are frequently associated with changes of wall plane and, in the Mahākuṭa and Paṭṭadakal temples (7th and 8th centuries A.D.), are even doubled (fig. 17).

This tendency to employ pilasters to break up the walls was developed in south Indian architecture during the following centuries, sometimes resulting in fantastically complex schemes, as in the Later Chāḷukya style (11th - 12th centuries A.D.). In addition, secondary pilasters are sometimes introduced to create subsidiary sculpture niches.

A remarkable coincidence of the southern-styled pilasteres wall with the earlier north Indian Gupta-period temple form is found in small unnamed temple beneath Meguṭi hill at Aihoḷe (probably to be dated no earlier than the 7th century A.D.). Here, a small flat-roofed square chamber adjoins a colonnaded porch; the outer walls are pilastered with moulded bases and overhanging eave (fig. 18). The result is strikingly un-Indian and may be effectively compared to Hellenistic temples of the Roman period (as at Palmyra).

Why then, we may ask, did the pilastered wall become such an important feature of the south Indian temple, while rapidly dying out in the north with the exception, there, of the brick tradition? Our knowledge of the brick and timber traditions that preceed the stone building phase in peninsula India is still very sketchy. Those brick plinths and bases that are preserved at such early Buddhist sites as Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, or the newly discoverd pre-Chāḷukya brick remains at Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal, do not reveal any masonry pilasters. That pilasters were sometimes created in brickwork is demonstrated by the unique apsidal-ended Trivikrama temple at Ter in the western Deccan (dated by Srinivasan to somewhere between the beginning of the 4th century and the end of the 6th century A.D.). Originally a Buddhist foundation, this temple has a brick copy of a timber vaulted roof with a 'blind' horseshoe-shaped window. This building form is imitated in the Nakula-Sahādeva *ratha* at Mahabalipuram (7th century A.D.), excavated out of solid granite. Both monuments employ pilasters to regularly divide their curved exterior walls (fig. 19).

We have already observed that pilasters on the monolothic *stūpas* at Ajantā are identical in form to those found on the Chaḷukya and Pallava temples. The pilasters at Ter are also of the same type. We may also mention the rock-cut monuments at Ellora (Viśvakarma cave 10) and Bādāmi (6th - 7th centuries A.D.) where doorways and windows are framed by pilasters of this type. The *makara-toraṇa* (Ajantā cave 19) also becomes a characteristic feature of southern-styled temples (7th century A.D. examples at Bādāmi, Upper Shivālaya temple, and Mahabalipuram, Arjuna *ratha*). the monuments of the western Deccan, therefore, both rock-cut and brick-built, appear to provide important evidence for the independent evolution of the pilastered wall, possibly also the transposition of this feature southwards. The effect of local stylistic influence may perhaps be seen in the transformation of the pilaster shaft, capital and bracket into the typical south Indian type. What we know about the earliest stone architecture of this area, particularly with respect to pilaster forms, as at

Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta, indicates a different tradition: here free-standing pillar forms are repeated as ornamental reliefs.

How, then, should be assemble.these observations in order to explain the diffusion of the pilastered wall in the first few centuries of monumental architecture in India? Did the pilastered wall, of the type first announced in the masonry *stūpas* of Bactria and Gandhāra, travel into northern and central India to become part of a flourishing brick architecture, both Buddhist and Hindu, and then move southward, via the west Indian cave-temple tradition, to be adopted by the stone structural traditions of the Deccan and further south? Or did peninsular India, with its own early tradition of employing pilasters on stone drums, evolve this technique independently from the north, eventually adapting it to structural stone temple building in the south? Foreign influences arrived in India both by way of the Hindu Kush and the Arabian Sea and it may be that these early appearances of the pilastered wall in north and south India each owe something to foreign stimulus. Probably, the concept of building in stone was not known in India before the 1st century B.C., nor the notion of reproducing structural elements in an ornamental and reduced form on walls. However, we must admit that we are lacking in the precise historical and archaeological evidence that would permit us to formulate how or why these architectural ideas travelled. Nor can we find any explanation for the curious absence of the pilastered wall in the free-standing architecture of north India, otherwise so Hellenistic in spirit in its earliest expression, compared to its constant appearance in the south.

Select bibliography

Auboyer, J. and Enault, J., La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne (l'architecture civile et réligieuse). Paris, 1969

Brown, P., Indian Architecture. Buddhist and Hindu Periods. Bombay, 1965.

Burgess, J., The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta. London, 1887.

Cunningham, A., Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple at Buddhagaya. London, 1892.

Dehejia, V., Early Buddhist Rock Temples. London, 1972.

Göetz, H., Imperial Rome and the Genesis of Classic Indian Art. In: East and West, X, 3-4, 1959.

Hallade, M., Gandharan Art of North India. New York, 1968.

Harle, J., Three Types of Wall in Early Western Calukyan Temples. In: Oriental Art, XVII/1, 1971.

--- Gupta Sculpture. Oxford, 1974.

Keall, E.J., Qaleh-i Yazdirgird and the question of its date. In: Iran, 15, 1977.

Krishna-Deva, Temples of North India. New Delhi, 1969.

Marshall, J., A Guide to Taxila. Cambridge, 1960.

Meister, M., Construction and Conception: Mandapika Shrines of Central India. In: East and West, XXVI, 3-4, 1976.

Michalowski, K., Palmyra. London, 1970.

Michell, G., Early Western Calukya Temples. London, 1975.

--- The Southern Indian Temple Style. Part One: An Architectural Analysis of the Pallava Temples. In: Art and Archaeology Research Papers (AARP), 10, 1976.

Mitra, D., Buddhist Monuments. Calcutta, 1971.

Rea, A., South Indian Buddhist Antiquities (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XV). Madras, 1894.

Rowland, B., The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu and Jain. Harmondsworth, 1970.

Sarkar, H., Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India. New Delhi, 1966.

Soundara-Rajan, K.V., Indian Temple Styles. New Delhi, 1972.

Srinivasan, K.R., Temples of South India. New Delhi, 1972.

Taylor, G., The Roman Temples of Lebanon. Beirut, 1967.

Viennot, O., Temples de l'Inde Centrale et Occidentale. Paris, 1976.

Vogel, J.Ph., The Temple of Bhitargaon. In: Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-9.

Wheeler, M., Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers. London, 1955.

List of figures

1 Wall pilaster, base of stūpa, Amarāvatī

2 Detail of base of Mohra Moradu stūpa, Taxila

3 Detail of drum, Kanala stūpa, Taxila

4 Detail of base of 'Shrine of Double-Headed Eagle', Taxila

5 Carved detail on verandah, cave-temple, Kondāne

6 Entrance, apsidal-ended rock-cut *vihara*, Bedsa

7 Detail, column of gateway, stūpa 1, Sāñcī

8 *Stūpa*, cave 19, Ajaṇṭa

9 Temple 17, Sāñcī

10 Wall detail, temple 2, Mahua

11 Detail of base, temple 2, Nālandā

12 Detail of corner tower, temple 3, Nālandā

13 Wall detail, temple, Bhītargāon

14 Wall detail, Lakshmana temple, Sirpur.

15 Meguti temple, Aihoḷe

16 Wall detail, Arjuna '*ratha*', Mahabalipuram

17 Detail *vimana* wall, Virupaksha temple, Paṭṭadakal

18 Temple beneath Meguti hill, Aihoḷe

19 Detail curved wall, Trivikrama temple, Ter

Sketches by the author

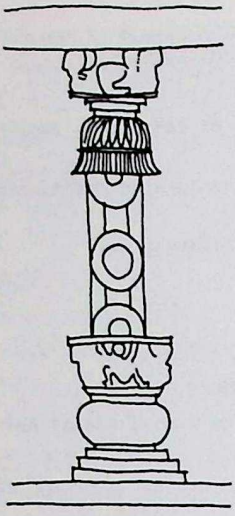


fig. 1

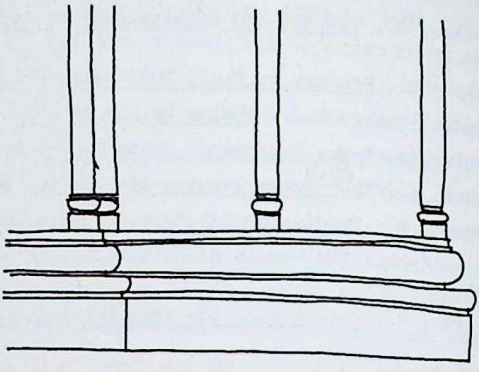


fig. 2

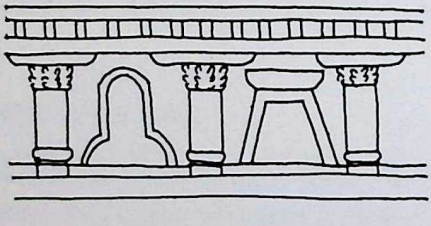


fig. 3

fig. 4

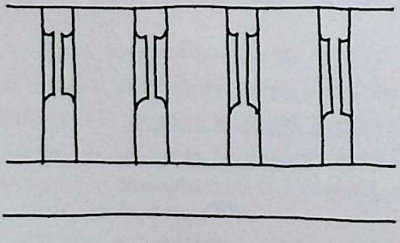


fig. 5

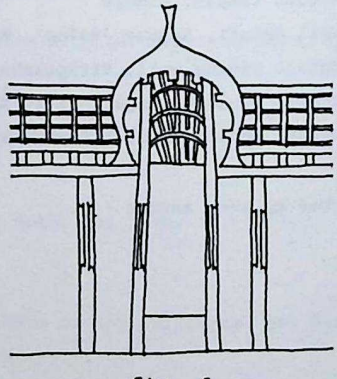


fig. 6

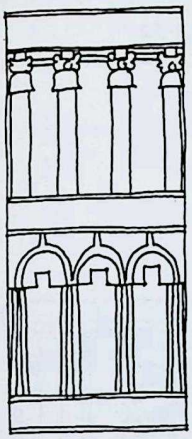


fig. 7

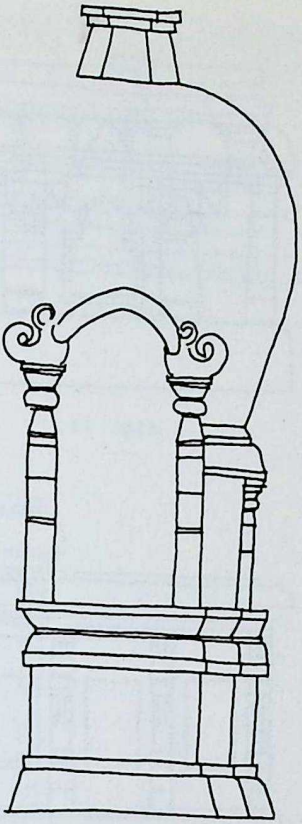


fig. 8

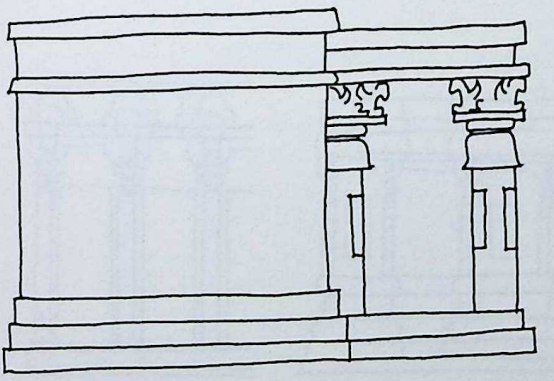


fig. 9

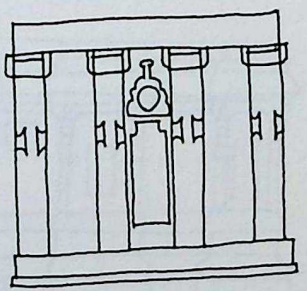


fig. 10

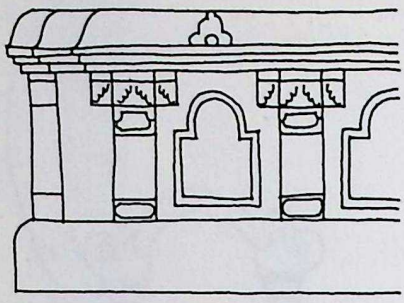


fig. 11

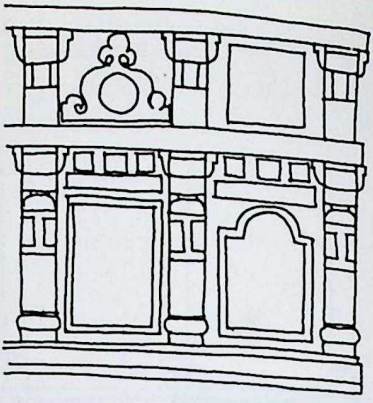


fig. 12

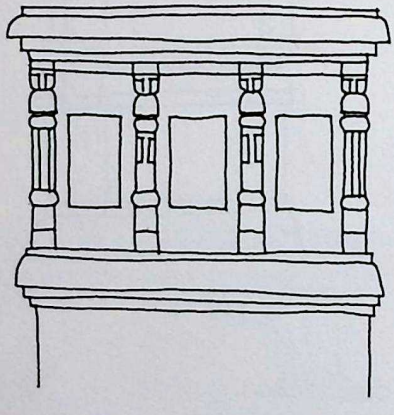


fig. 13

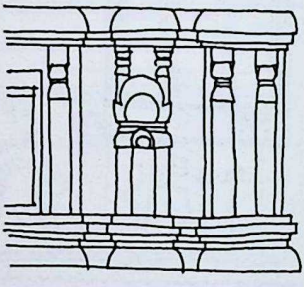


fig. 14

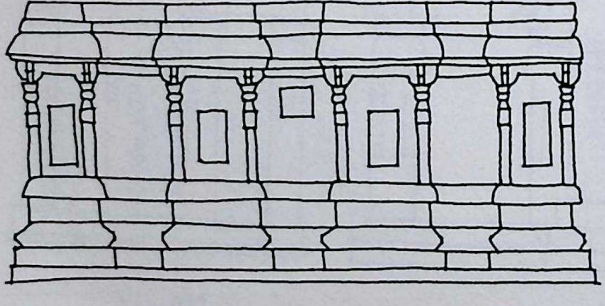


fig. 15

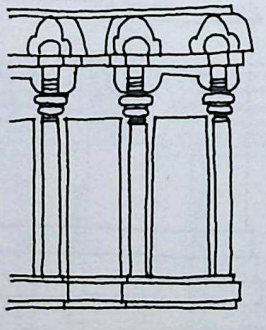


fig. 16

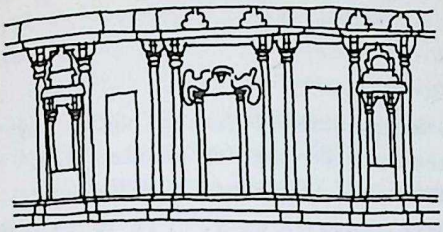


fig. 17

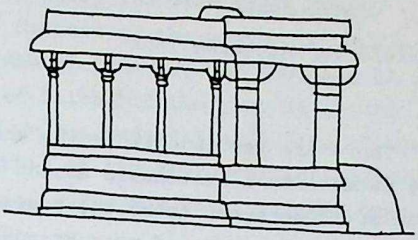


fig. 18

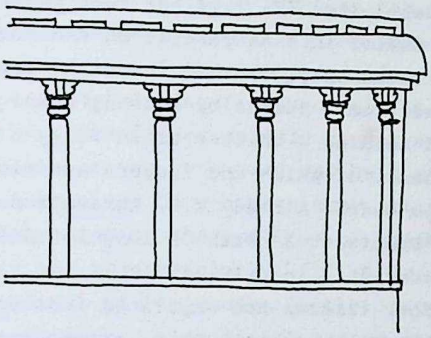


fig. 19

TWO STŪPA BASEMENTS OF MATHURĀ OF THE 4TH AND 5TH CENTURIES A.D.

Gritli von Mitterwallner

There are few objects in the ancient art-centre of Mathurā which may be dated with a reasonable amount of certainty to the 4th century A.D. One of these seems to be the basement No. 1605, which had been "found in the Gokarṇeśvara Mound near Brindāban Gate, Mathurā City."[1] It is in display in "Court A.-South" of the Government Museum of Mathurā (= GMM)[2] and consists of a low and square monolithic piece of spotted red sandstone, each of its four sides measuring 79 cms in length; its height being 18,5 cms. It once seems to have formed the lowermost member of a presumably tripartite miniature votive *stūpa*.

On three of its sides (plts. IV, 1, 2, 3) four Buddhas between standing adorers are shown seated in sunk panels. On the fourth side (pl. IV, 4) three Buddhas are carved only, whereas the first figure on the proper right is differentiated from a Buddha by wearing a large circular antefix above his face and holding a thick-stemmed fully blown flower in his left hand. His right hand, of which the fingers are missing, is raised in the conventional *abhaya-mudrā*. Already V.S. Agrawala noticed this figure. He described it as a "Bodhisattva" with "a long lotus", suggesting his identification with *Padmapāṇi*[3] (pl. IV, 4).

All triads in the four friezes are separated from each other by squat dwarf pilasters, which rest on a plain band, supporting another plain band as architrave above. Both bands are framed by projecting mouldings, the upper one being of the roll cornice or *kapota* type.[4]

V.S. Agrawala was of the opinion that this object represents a "late Kuṣāṇa work".[5] According to our view, however, there are several characteristics, which favour a date of creation in the second phase of the early "Gupta time", i.e. towards the end of the 4th century A.D.

One of the early Gupta features is the type of preaching *mudrā* of one of the 15 Buddhas (pl. IV, 3). V.S. Agrawala was aware of this attitude as well. He wrote: "On the north side we have in the second panel Buddha with hands held in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* seated between two adoring worshippers. This *mudrā* which is so common at Sarnath (cf. A. Foucher, L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Tome I, fig. 209) occurs for the first time at Mathurā in this sculpture."[6]

We cannot wholly agree with his view. For there is a three-dimensional cult image of a Buddha, No. B 47 in the State Museum of Lucknow (= SML), originally carved in one of the ateliers of Mathurā, which is likewise depicted in the preaching attitude.[7] And this seated statue may be dated rather safely on the evidence of the palaeographic character of its two-lines inscription, which designates the Buddha portrayed most probably as *"Dīvaṅkara"*, i.e. *Dīpaṅkara*[8] (pl. IV, 5). In the first volume of our stud-

ies on the chronology of Gupta Art[9] we placed this Buddha towards the end of the 4th century by comparing its inscription with dated ones, such as the Śaiva pillar inscription of Mathurā of the year 61 (= 380 A.D.),[10] the inscription on the socle of the Buddha of Bodh Gaya of the year 64 (= 383 A.D.),[11] the column inscription of Bilsaḍ of the year 96 (= 415 A.D.)[12] and the fragmentary inscription on the pedestal of a Jina of the year 97 (= B 31 in the GMM).[13] The analysis of the style-critical evidence of the headless seated "*Dīvaṅkara*" also coincides with the same approximate date.[14]

The preaching *mudrā* of this Buddha has been conceived in an even more rudimentary fashion than the one in the basement under discussion. For in the image B 47 in the SML, three fingers of the left hand are touching the ones of the right hand in such a way, that the edge of the hand with its little finger to the front is seen in profile. The fingers of the right hand are drawn together with its palm fronting the onlooker (fig. 1). Being an image of the transitional period, the ends of the *saṃghāṭī* are still wound around the wrist of the left hand, descending from it. The tips of the index, middle and ring-finger of the left hand originally must have touched the index finger, middle finger and thumb of the right hand, whereas the thumb of the left hand was held up along the breast. Although the hands themselves have broken away, this preaching pose may still be recognized by tracing the outlines of the breakages which both raised hands left on the breast (pl. IV, 5).

The preaching attitude of the Buddha in the basement No. 1605, however, already has undergone a significant change on the way to the full-fledged *dharmacakra-mudrā*.[15] For here the left hand of the Buddha is placed next to the right hand in such a manner, that the opposite edge of the hand with the thumb is now made visible to the onlooker. And since the fingers of it are now turned away from the right hand, this pose represents an advanced stage of the preaching *mudrā* (fig. IV, 2). In the final phase of development of this kind of preaching *mudrā*, as preserved for instance in the stele No. C (a) 1 in the Site Museum at Sarnath,[16] dating from about the end of the 5th century, the left hand is no more carved in profile, like in the two above described objects from Mathurā, but directed with its palm wholly towards the breast, the back of the hand thus facing the onlooker (fig. 3). The contact of the index fingers of both hands, however, remained the same, now conceived in a more relaxed or natural manner than in the Buddha of the *stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the GMM (fig. 2).

In slightly later cult images of Sarnath, the handposes of the *dharmacakra-mudrā* do not change fundamentally any more. It is only the fingers of both hands, touching each other, which are now made to vary. Thus, for instance, the famous preaching Buddha, illustrated so often in books on Indian Art (No. B (b) 181),[17] brings the middle finger of his left hand in contact with the index finger and thumb of his right hand, whereas the

index finger of his left hand is no more touching the right hand and therefore already devoid of function. The ring-form of the indexfinger and thumb of the left hand in this image, however, is not yet complete (fig. 4). Only in still later images of the Buddha of the School of Sarnath of the 6th century, the indexfinger and thumb of the left hand are made to touch each other in ring-form, while the middle finger still connects both hands. This latter type of the *dharmacakra-mudrā* is the one which J.N. Banerjea and M.T. de Mallmann exemplified in one of their schematic drawings.[18] It is based apparently on a later Gupta image of the School of Sarnath, like the one published by Stella Kramrisch[19] (fig. 5).

Due to lack of space it is not possible for us in this article to pursue the surprisingly rich variety of minor alterations of the *dharmacakra-mudrā* of yet later time in sculptures and paintings in Northern India.[20] But what we want to dwell upon in the context of the present investigation, are the initial phases of the evolution of the preaching *mudrā* of early Gupta and Kuṣāṇa time.

They may be summarized thus: The artists of Mathurā at a certain stage in early Gupta time were no longer satisfied to continue the old formula, symbolizing the First Sermon of *Śākyamuni* in the *Mṛgadāva* at Sarnath, which had been invented most probably by the Mathurā artists already in early Kuṣāṇa time. Reliefs, such as the fragment in the Government Museum of Mathurā (No. 61.17)[21] or one of the eight scenes, carved on the drum from the Dhruva Tīḷā[22] represent this formula. In these the Buddha literally still turns the wheel of law, placed on a dwarf pilaster next to his throne on his proper right side, by touching it, while the left raised hand holds the end of the *saṃghāṭī*.

Reviewing these reliefs one realizes that the Mathurā sculptors did not represent the so-called *bodhy-agrī-mudrā*,[23] characteristic of the art-region of Gandhāra, in which the left hand enters the right one from below, being clasped firmly by the latter (fig. 6).

This *mudrā* seems to have appeared for the first time in the Northwest and there is at first associated with representations of the future Buddha Maitreya;[24] but in later time it was applied to the teaching images of Śākyamuni Buddha as well.[25] It spread from the Northwest to the South as far as Ahicchattrā[26] and Lumbini,[27] two sites, in which representations of the Buddha have been found, which portray him in the so-called *bodhy-agrī-mudrā*. Both of them date approximately from the 5th century A.D.

The artists of Mathurā of the 4th century, however, did not succumb to it, although they must have been aware of this gesture, as a fragment of the Buddha, seated on a lotus flower, holding the hands in the *bodhy-agrī-mudrā* proves, which had been discovered at "Madhuban or Maholi" near Mathurā City.[28] They rather invented a new formula of their own, which

eventually was to develop into the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, known from to many images of the School of Sarnath and other art centres of later Gupta and post Gupta times.

Two of the earliest preserved representations of this *mudrā* seem to be the ones from Mathurā, reviewed above: the *"Dīvaṅkara"* Buddha No. B 47 in the SML and the preaching Buddha of the *stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the GMM.

Regarding the date of creation of the latter, it should not be placed too distant in time from the three-dimensional *"Dīvaṅkara"* Buddha, even though the *dharmacakra-mudrā* progressed a step beyond the stage of the one of the *"Dīvaṅkara"* Buddha on the way to the final canonical formulation of this *mudrā* in the sculptures of the School of Sarnath. Two observations confirm this.

Firstly: the preaching Buddha and the other Buddha figures of the *stūpa* basement share with the inscribed Buddha B 47 in the SML the conspicuously heavy legs, which seem to constitute a characteristic feature of early Gupta sculptures of the School of Mathurā.[29]

Secondly: the *saṃghāṭī* of the Buddha to the proper left of the preaching Buddha in our *stūpa* basement (pl. IV, 3) already displays the concentric folds, marked by incised lines, which belong to the same symmetrizing order as the ones of the inscribed Buddha B 47 in the SML (pl. IV, 5).[30]

In our studies on the chronology of Gupta art we dated the re-appearance of the symmetrizing concentric folds in the Buddha's now entirely diaphanous garb and their ribbed string-form to the second phase of the early period of Gupta Art at Mathurā, whereas the first transitional phase from Kuṣāṇa to Gupta style, predating it, is represented by the Buddha No. N.S. 4154 in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, with an almost entirely obliterated inscription on its base, which seems to have been incised during the reign of Samudragupta (from ca. the third decade to the years prior 375 A.D.), according to the partly preserved first syllables of his name.[31] The creator of the latter image still adhered to the late Kuṣāṇa formula of carving folds, which cross the body in asymmetric direction, being placed one on top of the other. He also portrayed the Buddha still with the traditional *abhaya-mudrā*. After this image the first statues of the Buddha in the so-called *dharmacakra-mudrā* seem to appear in the School of Mathurā. This particular type of *mudrā* hence should not be ascribed to the artists of Sarnath or Ajanta or other art centres of the 5th century, but to the creative spirit of the sculptors of Mathurā of early Gupta time, i.e. to the end of the 4th century A.D.[32]

Unfortunately, a comparison of the heads and hairdos of the Buddhas in the *stūpa* basement with the *"Dīvaṅkara"* B 47 is not possible, as the head of the latter has not been preserved. In fact we know of no three-dimensional seated or standing Buddha image of the School of Mathurā, datable to the 4th century, of which the head has been forthcoming. The miniature Buddhas of the basement hence do not lack a certain importance

regardless of their poor standard of quality. Some of them are portrayed with a hairdo, in which the hair is combed up vertically, engraved with thick single strands and gathered on the head in a top-knot. It is the hairstyle of ascetics. Others are shown with two or three rows of ringlets, curled spirally in snailshell-form to the right, characteristic of images of the Buddha and of Jinas in Gupta time.

Another feature which points to a date in the second phase of the early Gupta Art of the School of Mathurā, is the surprisingly rich and varied iconographical repertoire of this *stūpa* basement. A comparison with one of the miniature *stūpa* basements of later Kuṣāṇa time, such as the one preserved in the SML (No. B 201)[33] will prove this (pl. IV, 6 and fig. 8). This fragmentary *stūpa* basement, originally square in shape, of which only one corner has been preserved, contained two Buddhas in each of its four sides. Of the two conserved Buddhas one is shown in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the other in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, the two most frequently depicted conventional handposes of Kuṣāṇa time. Hence there were altogether only 8 Buddhas, devoid of flanking adorers, seated in niches with semicircular arches between pilasters under a heavy bracketed cornice.

The iconographical concept of the *stūpa* basement No. 1605 of early Gupta time on the contrary is conceived in a much more elaborate way: Nine Buddhas raise their right hands in the *abhaya-mudrā*; two have both hands in the so-called *dhyāna-mudrā* in their laps, the right hand placed on the left in a relaxed manner, whereas the hands of Buddhas in *dhyāna-mudrā* of later Kuṣāṇa time are tightly interlocked, thumb meeting thumb. The right hands of two other Buddhas of our basement are placed on the knee, an attitude which reminds one of the earth-touching pose (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*), symbolizing the temptation and enlightenment of the Buddha under the Bodhi Tree in Bodh Gaya (plts. IV, 1, 4). One Buddha has his hands in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, described above, yet another Buddha is carved with a bowl in his lap (pl. IV, 3). V.S. Agrawala identified this scene with the presentation of the bowl or food to the Buddha by the two merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika, who according to him stand on both sides of the Buddha in *añjali-mudrā*.[34] There is, however, no certainty, whether this panel truely illustrates this event in the Buddha's life. For in several stone votive *stūpas* of late Gupta and mediaeval time of Sarnath, the Buddha shown with a bowl in his hands, is usually associated with representations of four[35] or eight[36] main events of his life. And in these the scene may be clearly identified with the gift of honey to the Buddha by a monkey, the latter being carved on one side of the Buddha or on both.[37]

V.S. Agrawala on his part identified the presentation of honey by a monkey in the *stūpa* basement No. 1605 with the panel, in which two standing persons hold bowls in their raised hands (pl. IV, 4).[38] According to our view, however, the bowls, heaped with unidentifiable contents, might simply be meant to be presents of devotees to the meditating Buddha, comparable with the garlands in the hands of other adorers (pl. IV, 2).

One of the main results of our studies on the chronology of the Gupta Art of Mathurā and other early art centres of the 4th century A.D., such as Vidiśā and Udayagiri (M.P.), has resulted in the observation that the artists of the first stage of early Gupta Art rather faithfully continued the modes and formulae of late Kuṣāṇa Art.[39] Hence we called this stage: the transitional one. Only in the second stage of early Gupta Art, towards the end of the 4th century, the artists freed themselves from the previously strong Kuṣāṇa influence, ascertaining step by step their independence by developing their own ideas and forms. This resulted in an astonishingly rich spectrum of iconographical concepts and forms. To this second stage of early Gupta Art the *stūpa* basement under review seems to belong.

The second period of early Gupta Art subsequently had been superceded about 400 A.D. or at the beginning of the first quarter of the 5th century by a phase, which we characterized as the "early" phase of the classical period. The sculptors of the Buddha images of this period reduced the initially rich and manifold repertoire in favour of few but all the more salient features. The recently found Buddha from Govindnagar of the year 115 (= 434 A.D.) is a convincing exponent of this phase.[40]

Another proof that the basement No. 1605 cannot have been carved in the late Kuṣāṇa time, is the form of the pilasters, separating the triads of Buddhas and worshippers. They no more represent the type en vogue in late Kuṣāṇa time. A comparison of the pilasters of our basement with the ones of the square basement B 201 in the SML (pl. IV, 6) and the ones of the circular drum of a miniature *stūpa* from the Dhruva Tīḷā in the GMM (plts. IV, 1-4)[41] will clarify this point. The latter are characterized by members in vase shape (*kumbha*) below and above the shaft. The pilasters of the *stūpa* basement of early Gupta time, however, consist of the following component parts:

- a square plain base,
- a second member likewise squat in shape with semi-medaillons. (Although it is difficult to recognize in these semi-medaillons: semi-rosettes, because the sculptor did not mark them with lotus-petals, - just as he did not incise the folds of the garb of the Buddha except for one single instance, - he obviously had no other motif in his mind.[42] This is proved by the pillars and pilasters on Monastery No. III at Sarnath of the 5th century, in which the petals of the semi-rosettes have been marked.)[43]
- As next member the pilasters of our *stūpa* basement share the octagonal portion with the ones of the pillars and pilasters of the above mentioned monastery at Sarnath.
- They differ from the latter, however, in their topmost concluding portions, consisting of a wheelshaped ribbed *āmalaka*[44] as sub-capital member, just below the crowning capital with bracket arms, pro-

jecting in roll-form towards both sides. Although these topmost capital members are still influenced in their outward shapes by the form of the pilaster-capitals of the preceding Kuṣāṇa time, their front faces are no longer decorated with palmettes or foliated scrolls like the former (pl. IV, 6), but kept plain, except for the markings of two segmental cheeks on the sides. These lateral cheeks, apparently introduced first in the early Gupta time, re-appear in slightly later monuments, such as the temple of Mukundarra[45] or in the rock carved Buddhist caves of Dhamnar and Kholvi of later date.[46]

The pilasters of our *stūpa* basement hence anticipate several architectural features undergoing further development in monuments of later Gupta time.

Structural conception of the Votive Stūpa: A last conclusive evidence for dating the *stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the Gupta time is its structural conception. While the circular and square basements of stone votive *stūpas* of Mathurā, dating from earlier and late Kuṣāna time, such as the drum from the Dhruva Ṭīḷā (No. N 2) and the fragment of the square *stūpa* basement No. B 201 in the SML, have been carved in hollow forms, the basement under discussion of early Gupta time is already conceived in solid fashion.

There is one more specimen of Kuṣāṇa time: the drum and dome from the Dhruva Ṭīlā (No. N 1) in the GMM, which should be mentioned here, as it still belongs to the early type. J.Ph. Vogel rightly dated it to the Kuṣāṇa period on account of the palaeographic character of the one-line inscription on its dome (*aṇḍa*).[47] The fragment once must have formed the middle portion of a tripartite votive *stūpa* complex, consisting of a circular drum and dome, carved in a monolithic way. The *harmikā* and post with umbrellas as topmost members are missing today, but the socket for the *harmikā* in the apex of the *aṇḍa* indirectly indicates their former existence.

Even though the basement of the votive *stūpa* No. N 1 has not been preserved, its former existence[48] and its shape are certain. It must have been circular and hollowed out. The flanged rim at the bottom of the drum proves this.[49] It displays the same section as the *stūpa* casket of chist from Block D' in Sirkap (fig. 7),[50] of which also the lowermost member, the circular basement, has been preserved. The latter is conceived in hollowed out form like the drum.

Though the bottom part of the drum No. N 1 from Mathurā is only slightly hollowed out (we measured a depth of 2,2 cms), both *stūpas* belong to the same category. In both a flange was required to fix the hollow drum in a hollow basement. The innate reason for hollowing out stone miniature *stūpas* is not far to seek, They evidently had been intended for the preservation of certain objects,[51] which were inserted in the *stūpa* from below.

In later Kuṣāṇa time square-shaped basements seem to have been preferred at Mathurā,[52] as is demonstrated by the above mentioned fragment B 201 in

the SML.[53] But even though the basic form may have changed in later Kuṣāṇa time, the structural conception remained the same. The basements were still hollowed out, now consisting of a large circular cavity within a square frame (fig. 8 and pl. IV, 6). The indication of a flanged rim in the surface of this basement serves as a hint to the today missing hollow drum, which must have been secured in the basement by an identical flange cut into its bottom part.

In the *stūpa* basement of early Gupta time, however, a significant change had taken place. It is now conceived as a solid mass of stone. Only in the very centre of its surface a small mortice hole, measuring 7,5 cms in diameter, had been carved. This relatively small hole obviously served the purpose of receiving the tenon, projecting from the centre of the bottom of the today missing drum, which hence likewise must have been carved as a solid piece of stone. (For a tenon may only be applied to a surface of a massive block of stone.)

We conclude from this change in the construction that the miniature *stūpas* of Kuṣāṇa time were primarily meant for the preservation of relics or other objects in their hollow interiors, whereas some miniature *stūpas* of the early Gupta time lost this significance. They no more served as containers of relics, but apparently turned into solid stone objects of purely commemorative value.

Stūpa basement No. 47.3266 in the GMM

There is yet one more stone miniature *stūpa* basement, No. 47.3266, preserved in the Government Museum of Mathurā which belongs to the same category. It had been found in 1947 in the same Gokarṇeśvara Ṭīḷā as the basement No. 1605.[54] It consists of red sandstone with yellowish spots and layers and is square like No. 1605, its four sides measuring 71 cms; its height being 24,5 cms. In the centre of its surface a similarly small-sized mortice hole, 8 cms in diameter, has been cut, into which the today missing solid drum of the *stūpa* once must have been sunk.

Yet although the general shape of this basement is the same as the one of No. 1605, it differs from it in its decoration. Instead of friezes of Buddhas, each of the four sides depict two lions carved in profile, lying back to back, their heads turned in opposite directions, placing their paws one on top of the other (pl. IV, 7). They meet at the corners, two lion bodies merging in one common head (pl. IV, 8). Their tails are rolled up above their backs. Between them a male face in the form of a mask is carved frontally.

Evolution of this motif: Two lions or other species of animals facing away from each other, applied as capital figures on top of single standing columns or pillars and pilasters of structural buildings and rock-cut caves, are known to all students of early Indian art. Among the most important examples are the ones of Bharhut,[55], Sanchi,[56] the early phase of Amarāva-

tī[57] and of the School of Mathurā.[58] However, in these early capitals, the animals are placed one behind the other, the body of the front one covering a large part of the body of the one lying behind it.

In the middle and late phase of Amarāvatī,[59] the bodies of both lions are shown entirely, touching each other at their hindquarters. As one of the many examples we may mention the lions on top of the inverted stepped pyramid, serving as capital of the *stambha* carrying the wheel of law.[60] Above the joint where the hindquarters of the lions meet, already at Amarāvatī, an arched object appears.

In Gandhāra the animals of capitals facing opposite directions are substituted at a certain stage by bulls now with a human face above and between them.[61] This motive seems to have penetrated into Northern India as far as Nagarī in Rajasthan, where an identical capital had been found, in which the object between the bulls, however, turned into a hybrid face, half lion, half human being.[62]

According to C.L. Fabri, the French delegation under M. Foucher and M. Barthoux brought a stucco relievo from Afghanistan, now in the Musée Guimet in Paris.[63] It shows two bulls, lying back to back with a frontally depicted lion above them, who places his paws on their backs.

In all of these instances the animals form part of a capital and are not merging in one head at the corners.

The variety of this motif increased in Gupta time. It is now used not only in capitals of single standing columns but also in bases of images and bases of pillars of structural buildings. In each of these three categories of Gupta time, two of the lions meet at the corners. This particular device apparently had been invented by the Gupta artists.

As examples for the first category, i.e. capital figures of single standing columns, we may cite the lions of the dated column at Eran of the year 165 (= 484 A.D.)[64] and the lions of the two victory columns at Sondani near Mandasor[65] (pl. IV, 9).

The second category is represented by the bases of the three recently discovered Jina images of Vidiśā[66] and by the standing *Ariṣṭanemi* from Mathurā in the SML.[67]

Into the third category fall the lions decorating the bases of two pillars at the back of the hall in monastery No. 17 at Ajanta and the ones in the base of a pillar, placed to the Southwest of the entrance to the old museum at Deogarh (pl. IV, 10).

After reviewing the most important monuments in which this motive appeared during Gupta time, the question may now be raised, whether the object in the Government Museum of Mathurā truely formed part of a miniature "votive *stūpa*" as declared in the label by the authorities of the Museum. We believe that they were perfectly right in their identification.

The first possibility of the lions having decorated a part of a capital, seems to be out of question. For in the two above named capitals of single standing columns at Eran and at Sondani and in the capitals of pillars of

structural buildings, such as in the temple No. 17 at Sanchi, in the temple-pillars of Garhwā,[68] in the temple of Narasiṃha of Eran and in the temple of Tigowa, the lions form part of the capital, which is carved in cube form. Moreover, as seen in the two fallen capitals of the victory columns at Sondani, the top surface of the capital in block form is supplied with several mortice holes: a circular one in the centre and eight additional ones of rectangular shape, which are placed around the former. They prove that the bull, which once crowned this capital - lost today, but mentioned in the inscription on the shaft of the *stambhas*,[69] - had to be secured safely by this device, the height of the columns being 12 metres.[70]

Had the object under review, No. 47.3266 in the GMM, likewise been a part of a capital, fixed high on top of a free standing column, thus being exposed to slight swaying in strong gushes of storm, one would expect a similar number of mortice holes in the surface of this object and furthermore also the cubic shape of the lion capitals of Sondani. They measure 91 x 115 x 115 cms,[71] as agains the *stūpa* basement, measuring only 24,5 x 71 x 71 cms.

Another possibility of the lions forming the base of a Buddhist or Jina image has to be ruled out, too. For image pedestals of the Gupta time, like the three seated Jinas of Vidiśā or the standing *Ariṣṭanemi* from Mathurā, today in the SML,[72] are always carved in rectangualr shape. In addition the lions with two bodies merging into one head, appear in these image pedestals only at the two front corners, while there are four at the four corners of the square *stūpa* basment No. 47.3266. It therefore seems to be clear that the latter represents a single preserved example in stone of the lowermost member of a miniature votive *stūpa* in the form of a basement.

Date of creation: To date this basement roughly we only have three more or less securely dated objects for comparison at our disposal belonging to the three above mentioned categories.

1. The pedestals of the three Jinas found near Vidiśā, which may be dated to the years prior to 375 A.D., the first year of accession to the throne of Candragupta II (375-415 A.D.),[73] as two of the inscriptions mention Rāmgupta, the probable predecessor of Candragupta II.
2. The capital of the column at Eran, which is safely dated by an inscription on its base in the year 165 (= 484 A.D.), incised during the reign of Budhagupta.[74]
3. The capitals of the victory columns at Sondani, which are to be dated shortly after 532/3 A.D., the date of the inscribed stone-slab of Mandasor, engraved by the same engraver Govinda under the same king, who erected the victory columns.[75]

The other examples, i.e. the pillars of temple 17 at Sanchi, the lion

capitals of the Narasiṃha temple at Eran, the ones of the temple of Garḥwā and Tigowa and the pillar of Deogarh (pl. IV, 10) are unfortunately undated.

During which phase of Gupta Art has this finely carved *stūpa* basement been created? If one considers the stylized mane and tip of the tails of the lions of the three image-pedestals of Vidiśā of the years prior to 375 A.D., it does not seem possible to place the *stūpa* basement into the same period which forms part of the early phase of the Gupta art. The natural way of depiction of the single strands of the lions' manes in the *stūpa* basement has more in common with those of the lions of temple 17 at Sanchi, which we dated towards the end of the first half of the 5th century A.D.[76]

That this period, the first half of the 5th century, represents the probable time of creation of the *stūpa* basement is indicated by the form of the lions' whiskers, which are rolled in in the shape of volutes.

An identical form may be seen in the single lions, seated frontally at the two corners of the pedestal of the Buddha of Mankuwar, dated by J.F. Fleet in the year 129 (= 448 A.D.)[77] and by D.C. Sircar in the year 109 (= 428 A.D.).[78] Whatever reading of the years of the date in this inscription may be correct, one thing is certain: the Buddha of Mankuwar has been carved in the "classical" phase of the Art under the Gupta Kings. In the same period we place the basement No. 47.3266. That it should not be dated later, i.e. to the second half of the 5th century, or to the first half of the 6th century, becomes apparent, if one compares it with the dated column at Eran of the year 484 A.D. For the manes of the lions in the capital of Eran have become stylized again, now being carved in the form of schematic rows.[79]

The creator of the Sondani capitals, working during the last phase of the "Gupta Art", in the first half of the 6th century, reverted again to the motive of placing the lions, touching back to back, but now these are shown seated and no longer lying, as the height of the capital block increased, which the lions were to decorate or to fill. This is also the reason why they could no longer cross their paws. Furthermore, the faces above and between the lions have been made to look like demoniac masks, framed by the lions' tail-ends. They display the fangs of demons in the corners of their mouths, as well as lions' ears, goggle eyes and protruding tongues (pl. IV, 9).

The appearance of demonic faces of fearful appearance is one of the characteristic features, introduced only in late Gupta Art, whereas the artists of the classical phase abstained from depicting them. To the last named phase, the classical one, the *stūpa* basement No. 47.3266 seems to belong. For in the object under review the faces are still carved like human ones, displaying a benign expression, partly with lowered upper eyelids, only one showing his front-teeth between slightly opened lips. Their hair is combed up in strands and top-knots in the ascetic fashion, their ear lobes are pierced and devoid of ornaments.

The last phase of Gupta Art towards the end of the first half of the 6th century seems to be represented by the lions in the base of the pillar from Deogarh (pl. IV, 10). It reveals a further development over the Sondani capitals, substituting the demons' mask by a lion, who is placed frontally with crossed paws between the two lying ones, carved in profile. Remarkable in this piece is the trend of re-simplification in addition to the re-taking up of older Gupta motives, two characteristics, which form some of the main results of our studies on dated and undated Buddhist images of the School of Mathurā.[80]

Summarizing we may say: The Mathurā Museum contains two *stūpa* basements datable roughly to the second half of the 4th and to the first half of the 5th century A.D., i.e. to the early and ripe of "classical" phases of "Gupta Art". Both represent different decorative designs. The first *stūpa* basement still clings to the depiction of the Buddha, carved in various *mudrās*, associated with the main events of his life. The second *stūpa* basement seems to draw its inspiration from the ancient conception of the lion throne of the anthropomorphic Buddha, so often carved in early and later Kuṣāṇa time,[81] as well as during the rule of the Guptas.[82]

If one accepts the *stūpa* as an aniconic symbolic representation of the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, the *stūpa* basement decorated with lions might be looked upon as a lion pedestal - invented most probably by the artists of Gupta time.

Notes and references

1 Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, IV. Architectural Pieces. In: Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. 24, Lucknow, 1951; (reprinted by Prithivi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1963); 1-160, p. 71-72, Pl. I. (On Plate I of the Reprint, the 4th side with a figure holding a petalled flower has been published by V.S. Agrawala, corresponding to our Fig. 4. The other three sides seem to be unpublished.)

2 Agrawala, V.S., Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra. Allahabad, 1933, p. 20-21.

3 Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, IV. Architectural Pieces (see footnote 1), p. 72.

4 Nanavati, J.M. and Dhaky, M.A., The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat. Ascona, 1969, p. 81.

5 Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, IV. Architectural Pieces (see footnote 1), p. 72.

6 Agrawala, V.S., ibid., p. 72.

7 Growse, F.S., Mathurā: A District Memoir, 2nd edition, North-Western Province and Oudh Prov. Press, 1880, p. 126, and Plate opposite p. 114.

8 Banerji, R.D., Three Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum. In: Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1909-10. Calcutta, 1914, p. 147, Pl. LIV, a.

9 Mitterwallner, G.v., Studien zur Chronologie der Gupta Kunst, Band 1, Manuskript, p. 157-159. - M.M. Rhie dated the "*Divaṅkara*" Buddha to ca. the 5th century. (Rhie, M.M., Some Aspects of the Relation of 5th Century Chinese Buddha Images with Sculpture from N. India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia. In: East and West, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4, Rome, 1976, p. 446, Fig. 14).

10 Bhandarkar, D.R., Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II: G.E. 61. In: Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XXI, Calcutta, 1931, p. 1-9. - Sircar, D.C., A Note on the Mathurā Inscription of Candra Gupta II. In: Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 18, Calcutta, 1942, p. 171-175.

11 Cunningham, A., Mahābodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya. London, 1892, Pl. XXV.
Barua, B.M., A Bodh-Gayā Image Inscription. In: The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 417-419, 1 Plate.

12 Fleet, J.F., Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their Successors, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. Reprint: Varanasi, 1963, p. 42-45, Pl. V.

13 Vogel, J.Ph., Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā. Allahabad, 1910, p. 74.
Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum, III. Jaina Tīrtaṅkaras and other Miscelleneous Figures. In: Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. 23. Lucknow, 1950, p. 53-54.
Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E. van, The "Scythian" Period, An approach to the history, art, epigraphy and palaeography of North India from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. Leiden, 1949, p. 321, fn. 64, Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 65.
Lüders, H., Mathurā Inscriptions, unpublished papers, edited by Klaus L. Janert. Göttingen, 1961, p. 53.

14 Another representation of a Buddha carved in the preaching pose, discovered at Mathurā, has been preserved in the red stone lintel No. 2527 of a former Buddhist building, described by V.S. Agrawala in his Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum (see footnote 1), p. 102-103. He dated it in the "Gupta period". We could not see and investigate this object, which is in one of the Reserve Collections of the Government Museum of Mathurā and hence have to abstain from dating this piece.

15 For the term *dharmacakra-mudrā* cf.: Mallmann, M.T. de, Notes de l'Iconographie Tântrique, V. - À propos de quelques mudrā. In: Arts Asiatiques, Tome XXXII, Paris, 1976, p. 177-181. (M.T. de Mallmann for instance mentions two passages in the Niṣpannayogāvalī which assign the *dharmacakra-mudrā* to Vairocana (p. 178, fn. 10).

16 Sahni, D.R., Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth. Calcutta, 1914, p. 183-185; Pl. XIX, (a).

17 Sahni, D.R., ibid., p. 70-71, Pl. X.

18 Banerjea, J.N., The Development of Hindu Iconography. University of Calcutta, 1956, p. 256, Pl. III, No. 4.
Mallmann, M.T. de, Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tântrisme Bouddhique. Paris, 1975, p. 34, Pl. II, No. 6.

19 Kramrisch, Stella, Die Figurale Plastik der Guptazeit. In: Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens, Vol. V., Pt. 15, Wien, 1931, p. 31, fig. 11.

20 For the further development of this *mudrā* cf. Vol. 3 of our Studies on the Art under the Guptas, which is in preparation.

21 Sharma, R.C., Kuṣāṇa Acquisitions in the Mathurā Museum during the last decade. In: Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P., No. 4, Lucknow, 1969, p. 54, Fig. 7. - For another depiction of the First Sermon at Sarnath, cf. Vogel, J.Ph., The Mathurā School of Sculpture. In: Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07. Calcutta, 1909, Pl. LIV (a).

22 Vogel, J.Ph., La Sculpture de Mathurā. In: Ars Asiatica, Vol. XV, Paris, 1930, Pl. VI, 6. - Cf. also our photograph pl. IV, 4.

23 For a clarification of the termini technici: *dharmacakra-mudrā*, *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā* and *bodhyagrī*, cf.: Mallmann, M.T. de (see footnote 15), p. 177, 179.

24 Rosenfield, J.M., The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, Fig. 99, 99 a.

25 Ingholt, H., Gandhāran Art in Pakistan. New York, 1957, Fig. XVI, 1-4, etc.

26 Williams, J., Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life. In: Ars Orientalis, Vol. 10, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1975, Pl. 11, Fig. 13 (a-d).

27 Srivastava, K.M., Kapilavastu in Basti District of U.P. (A Reply to the Challenge to the Identification of Kapilavastu). Nagpur, 1978, Plate XVI, Ganwaria: "Seated Buddha in terracotta".

28 Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India 1919-20. Calcutta, 1922, Pl. XVII, c.

29 Harle, J.C., Gupta Sculpture, Indian Sculpture of the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D. Oxford, 1974, p. 43, fig. 45.

30 The other Buddhas wear foldless *saṃghāṭīs*, marked only by incised lines around the neck. It would, however, be wrong to conclude from their foldless garbs, that these Buddhas represent the first examples of the foldless representations of the *saṃghāṭīs*, which later on became a characteristic of the Sarnath School. The non-marking of folds rather seems to be due to the miniature size of the Buddhas in the basement and to the neglection of the sculptor who worked this *stūpa* basement rather roughly.

31 Chanda, R., The Mathurā School of Sculpture. In: Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, Calcutta, 1924, Pl. 39 d (= pl. IV, 10), p. 168-169; Annual Report 1923-24, Calcutta, 1926, p. 232.

32 For a different view, cf.: Weiner, Sheila L., Ajantā Iconography and Chronology. In: East & West, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4,Rome, 1976, p. 349-350. According to her "the Indian Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā*" is "in no instance""datable to a period earlier than the 5th century" (p. 350). Furthermore she believes that this type of the preaching *mudrā* "appears more or less contemporaneously at Sārnāth, Ajaṇṭā and on the façades of many other western excavations" (p. 350).

33 This fragment seems to be unpublished. It is mentioned by R.D. Banerji in his Catalogue in Manuscript form of the Buddhist Sculptures in the SML (Nos. B 1 - 974) on page 64. We quote his description: "Fragment from a corner of the square base of a stūpa of red sandstone with a dental cornice above and two arched recesses, one of which is mutilated, on two adjoining faces. The arches are supported by Indoperśepolitan pilasters and the recesses on each side between the two pilasters contain four seated Buddhas, two of them in the attitude of meditation and two in the attitude of bestowing protection. It measures 9 1/2" or Om.24, 12 5/6" or Om.33 by 10 1/4" or Om.26."

34 Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, IV. Architectural Pieces (see footnote 1), p. 72.

35 Sahni, D.R., Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth (see footnote 16), Nos. D (b) 3, D (b) 5, p. 218; No. D (b) 8, p. 219-220.

36 Sahni, D.R., ibid., No. D (b) 10, p. 220-221.

37 Sahni, D.R., ibid., No. C (a) 3, p. 189, Pl. XIX, b).

38 Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, IV. Architectural Pieces (see footnote 1), p. 72.

39 Mitterwallner, G.v., Studien zur Chronologie der Gupta Kunst (see footnote 9), p. 266.

40 Sharma, R.C., Mathūra Museum and Art, Second Revised and enlarged edition, Mathura, 1976, p. 84, p. 103.

41 Smith, V.A., The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā, Reprint: Varanasi, 1969, Pl. CV, CVI, CVII.
The drum from the Dhruva Ṭīlā is today placed in the GMM on the square *stūpa* basement of early Gupta time (No. 1605), but does not form part of it.

42 In a pillar from Mathurā, published by Bénisti, Mireille, Rapports entre le premier Art Khmer et l'Art Indien, Paris, 1970, Tome I, p. 50, Tome II, Fig. 141, - the semi-medaillons are likewise unmarked with lotus-petals.

43 Marshall, J., Excavations at Sārnāth, 1908. In: Annual Report 1907-08, ASI, Calcutta, 1911, p. 56-58; Pl. XVI, Nos. 1, 2.

44 Nanavati, J.M. and Dhaky, M.A., The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat (see footnote 4), p. 81.

45 Agrawala, V.S., A new Gupta Temple at Darra in Malwa. In: Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. 23, Lucknow, 1950, p. 196-197; figs. 1-2.
Viennot, O., Le Temple Ruine de Mukuṇḍara, entre Mālwa et Rājasthān. In: South Asian Archaeology 1973, edited by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J.M.M. Ubaghs, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974, 116-127; figs. 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66.

46 Cunninghamn, A., ASI, Four Reports 1862-65, Vol. II, Reprint: Varanasi, 1972, Pl. LXXIX and Pl. LXXX.
Luard, C.E.: The Buddhist Caves of Central India. 2. The Malwa Group of Caves. In: Indian Antiquary, Vol. 39, Bombay, 1910, Pl. III, Fig. 3

47 Vogel, J.Ph., Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā (see footnote 13), p. 166, Pl. IV; La Sculpture de Mathurā (see footnote 22), p. 27, 80, 92-93, Pl. V, a.

48 Vogel, J.Ph., (ibid., p. 93) rightly presupposed its existence when he wrote: "Le soubassement manque ainsi que le pinacle ...".

49 Already V.S. Agrawala remarked: "The bottom of the drum is flanged so as to fit into the basement." (Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum. IV. Architectural Pieces (see footnote 1), p. 66.). We found this statement to be correct when turning the drum.

50 Marshall, J., Taxila, an illustrated account of Archaeological Excavations, carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India, between the years 1913 and 1934, Vol. III (Plates). Reprint: Varanasi, 1975, Pl. 36 (j).

51 Tucci, G., Buddhism. In: Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. II, New York, 1960, column 679.

52 V.S. Agrawala mentioned one more square *stūpa* basement under number N. 5 (Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum (see footnote 1), p. 69.

53 A drum, carved in monolithic way along with the dome and placed on a separate basement of square outline (housing a seated Buddha between to adorers in each of its four sides) has been found at Takht-i-Bāhi in Gandhāra. Unfortunately H.C. Ackermann does not mention the structural set-up of this miniature-*stūpa*. (Ackermann, H.C., Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Rome, 1975, Pl. XXXIII, Pl. XXXIV, p. 99. For dating this piece it would be important to know whether the bottom side of the drum and the surface of the basement are still supplied with flanges, being hollowed out, or with mortice and tenon, forming two solid members.

54 It is described by the authorities of the GMM as: "square basement of a votive stūpa. Find-place: Gokarnesvar Tila (Mathurā), c. 4th cent. A.D."

55 Coomaraswamy, A.K., La Sculpture de Bharhut. Paris, 1956, Pl. IV, Figs. 9, 10.

56 Combaz, G., L'Inde et L'Orient Classique, Planches (Vol. II), Paris, 1937, Pl. 5.

57 Combaz, G., ibid., Pls. 6, 7.

58 Combaz, G., ibid., Pls. 8, 9.

59 Barrett, D., Sculpture from Amaravati in the British Museum. London, 1954, p. 44; Pl. IX, a) "Drum Pilaster, Late Phase"; Pl. XX, a) "Dome slab, Middle Phase". Cf. also Plaeschke, H., Zur Chronologie der Amarāvatī-Schule. In: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle XXIII. Halle, 1974, p. 114.

60 Stern, Philippe et Bénisti, Mireille, Evolution de Style Indien d'Amarāvatī. Paris, 1961, Pl. XLII, XXXIX, b), XL.

61 Ingholt, H., Gandhāran Art in Pakistan (see footnote 25), Fig. 39, A-B, Fig. 257.

62 Bhandarkar, D.R., The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagarī. In: Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 4, Calcutta, 1920, Pl. XIV, (a): "Bull capital in the village".

63 Fabri, C.L., Mesopotamian and early Indian Art: Comparisons. In: Mélanges Linossier, Vol. I, Paris, 1932, p. 222, figs. 40, 41.

64 Harle, J.C., Gupta Sculpture (see footnote 29), Fig. 23, p. 37.

65 Williams, Joanna, The Sculpture of Mandasor. In: Archives of Asian Art, Vol. XXVI, 1972-73, The Asia Society, 1973, Plate 2.

66 Agrawala, R.C., Newly Discovered Sculptures from Vidiśa. In: Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, Baroda, 1969, p. 252-253, figs. 1-4.

67 Sharma, R.C., Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in the State Museum of Lucknow. In: Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, Bombay, 1968, fig. 4 (No. J 121).

68 Smith, V.A., Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period. In: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. 3. Berlin, 1914-15, p. 12, fig. 6: "Garhwā, Allāhābād District, U.P., columns and lion capitals of Gupta temple, 5th cent. AS. photo. No. D 2,42= No. 668 I.M. List"

69 Fleet, J.F., Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their Successors (see footnote 12), Mandasor pillar inscription of Yaśodharman, p. 146, Line 1.

70 Luard, C.E., Gazetteer Gleanings in Central India, 1. The Mandasor Pillars. In: Indian Antiquary, Vol. 37, Bombay, 1908, p. 108.

71 Williams, J., The Sculptures of Mandasor (see footnote 65), p. 65, footnote 20.

72 Cf. photograph and drawing by N.P. Joshi, Mathura. In: Jaina Art and Architecture, published on the occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Tirthankara Mahavira, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1974, Pl. 47, A; Pl. III, No. 6.

73 Gai, G.S., Three inscriptions of Rāmagupta. In: Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, Baroda, 1969, p. 247-251.

74 Fleet, J.F., Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their Successors (see footnote 12), p. 88-90.

75 Fleet, J.F., ibid., p. 150-158.

76 Cf. our forthcoming Volume 2, Studien zur Chronologie der Gupta Kunst.

77 Fleet, J.F., Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their Successors (see footnote 12), p. 45-47.

78 Sircar, D.C., Indological Notes, 4. Date of the Mankuwar Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I. In: Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. III, Parts 1-2, 1969-70. Calcutta, 1970, p. 133-137.

79 Harle, J.C., Gupta Sculpture (see footnote 29), Fig. 23: column of Eran.

80 Mitterwallner, G.v., Studien zur Chronologie der Gupta-Kunst, Band 1 (see footnote 9), p. 275.

81 Mitra, Debala, Three Kushan Sculptures from Ahicchcchatrā. In: Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Calcutta, 1955, p. 65-67, Pl. II.

82 Harle, J.C., Gupta Sculpture (see footnote 29), Fig. 55: Buddha from Mankuwar.

List of figures

1 Preaching *mudrā* of the "Dīvaṅkara" Buddha No. B. 47 in the SML.

2 Preaching *mudrā* of one of the 15 Buddhas of the *stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the GMM.

3 Preaching *mudrā* of the Buddha in the Stele No. C (a) 1 in the Site Museum of Sarnath.

4 Preaching *mudrā* of the Buddha No. B (b) 181 in the Site Museum of Sarnath.

5 Preaching *mudrā* of the Buddha No. B (b) 185 in the Site Museum of Sarnath.

6 Preaching *mudrā* of the Buddha in the horizontal relief-slab No. 46.17 from Aonla (Ahicchatra) in the SML, depicting the four most important events in the Buddha's life.

7 *Stūpa* casket of chist from Block D' from Sirkap (Cf. J. Marshall, Taxila, Archaeological Excavations ..., Vol. III, Reprint: Varanasi, 1975, Pl. 36, (j).)

8 *Stūpa* basement No. B 201 in the SML. (View from above, restoration).

All drawings have been prepared by the author.

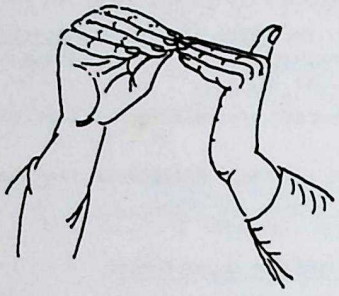


fig. 1

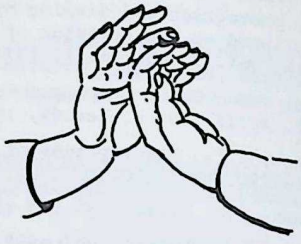


fig. 2

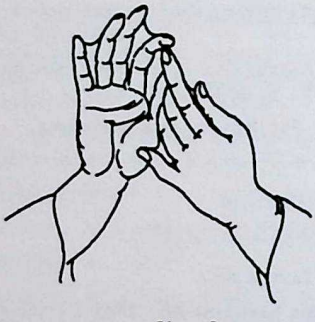


fig. 3

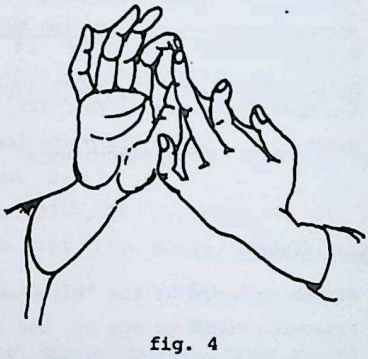


fig. 4

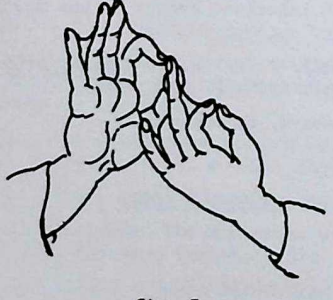


fig. 5

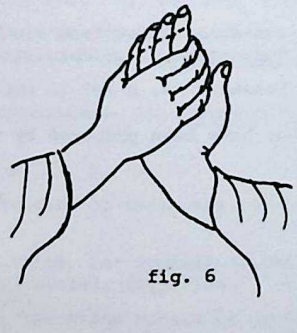


fig. 6

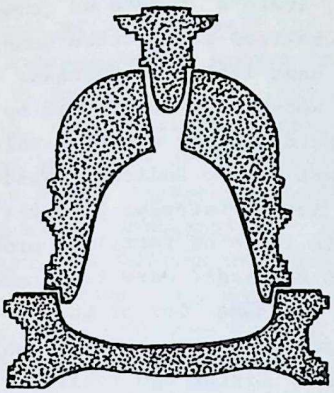


fig. 7

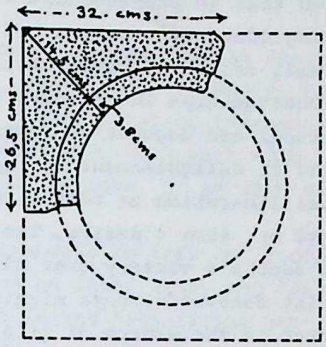


fig. 8

HIDDEN SYMBOLISM IN STŪPA-RAILING RELIEFS: COINCIDENTIA OPPOSITORUM OF MĀRA AND KĀMA

Klaus Fischer

During the discussion of J. Ebert's[1] and J. Irwin's[2] papers we remembered that in pre-Buddhist India the *stūpa* symbolized a microcosm conveying ideas of creation and procreation, and that later on Buddhists - as well as Jainas whose contribution to *stūpa* worship was mentioned by G. Bhattacharya in the opening function - adopted certain of its architectural and decorative forms when this monument was to indicate *Mahābodhi* or enlightenment by *tapas*=austerity and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* or *mokṣa* = final liberation as ideals obviously opposed to those of fertility produced by *kāma* = desire. The events leading to *Mahābodhi* were to become the Buddha's victory over Māra, God of Death, and Kāma, God of Love, whilst *Mahāparinirvāṇa* signified the liberation from death and love which latter is the source of life in endless chains of births and rebirths. As a matter of fact, Indian thinkers conceived female *prakṛti* and male *puruṣa* as *dvandvas*: pairs of opposites as immediate and transcendental experience. Referring to E. Rosen's[3] lecture and subsequent exchange of opinions one may enquire how far Buddhist and Jaina patrons, monks and laymen worshippers and, last not least, the artists were conscious of these rather parallel and polar than contradicting iconological notions[4].

Relief sculptures on *vedikas* and *toraṇas* of the Buddhist or Jaina *stūpa* symbolize one traditional ideal of common Indian interest: moral attitude and actions of holy and wordly persons, especially the renunciation of worldly pleasures by the saint as represented, for example, in the scene of the *abhiniṣkramaṇa*[5], the Great Departure of Prince Siddhārtha from secular rule, palace life and sensuous love in order to seek enlightenment by ascetism, *Mahābodhi*, to gain Buddhahood and thus to attain final release, *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. Māra, the impersonation of Death, Māra, the Evil One, the king of Kāmadhātu, the ruler over the world of senses, tries to prevent the truthseeker from this path to spiritual freedom[6] by a demoniacal army[7] and, after its onslaught has failed, by the charms of his daughters whose erotic attacks aré equally warded off by the Buddha[8]. Recent studies in ethnography, folklore and crafts of Dardic peoples in Kafiristan, i.e. the present Pakistan-Afghan borderlands, have demonstrated an age-old tradition in the symbolism of Imre-Māra[9], female-male polarity[10] and the equation of Māra with Kāma as first born and kings among the Indian gods[11].

Lustful *yakṣīs* and happy *mithunas* on early Buddhist and Jaina religious buildings demonstrate this other traditional and typical Indian idea that is only seemingly opposed to the ascetic's attitude: fertility as source of life, Kāma as origin of the world, images of love-scenes

as auspicious symbols on the entrance to holy places, i.e. of caves, structural temples, monumental massive or small votive *stūpas*. Thus we observe enamoured couples as canonical decoration of *stūpa*-railing reliefs and, among others, immediately besides *abhiniṣkramaṇa*-scenes[12] or other episodes of renunciation: Nanda leaving wordly life in order to follow the Buddha[13]. During the Gupta age Varāhamihira implied in his Bṛhatsamhitā LVI 14-15 that *mithunas*, loving pairs of femals, were to be represented on temple doors.

In Ṛgveda X 127 we find speculations on *kāma* = desire and its opposite, *tapas* = ardent penance and ascetism as creators of the world. As *kāma* and *tapas* are insolubly connected, Kāma and Māra can correspond to each other. Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhacarita XIII 2 identifies Māra with Kāma, and after Mahābhārata XII 258, 35 Kāma, the God of Love, is an ally of Mṛtyu, the Goddess of Death.

Therefore, Māra and Kāma figure in early symbolic reliefs on Buddhist and Jaina *stūpas* as *kāma* and *tapas* are depicted on later Hindu and Jaina temple walls demonstrating gods, ascetics and laymen oscillating between *kāma* and *mokṣa* - polar goals of life united in a coincidentia oppositorum (v. supra note 4).

Hence, reliefs with open or hidden symbolism on *stūpas* and temples hint to sources of natural life produced by love between women and men as well as to spiritual aims of life during which love and death are to be conquered.

Yakṣīs of the well-known Indian conventions of female beauty glorify the fertility-goddess of mother cult: in early Buddhist monuments of Bhārhut[14], Sāñcī[15] or Mathurā[16], and later on under the aspect of *surasundarīs* or *apsaras* from mediaeval Hindu (and Jaina) temples like Khajuraho[17] or Konarak[18].

Consequently these beautiful women forming a pair with male figures are of auspicious significance in *mithuna*-groups from Sāñcī[19] or Mathurā[20]; various narrative reliefs illustrate those passages from Buddhist literature in that womanhood is highly praised[21]: Upakośā-*Jātaka* (fig. 1) at Bhārhut[22], Kinnarī-*Jātaka* (fig. 2) in Gandhāra[23]. In later Indian temples this iconography is continued by luck bestowing *mithunas* on doorways from Gupta period[24] onwards[25] according to well-known instructions by above-mentioned Varāhamihira.

Other legends narrated by the Buddha or stories from the life of the Buddha (and his followers) were to admonish young and old men to live in solitude or to become hermits after having fulfilled all duties of political and family life. The Buddha himself left home, palace and wife[26] in order to seek truth not only for himself but also to the benefit of suffering mankind. Nanda was conversed to abandon his wife Sundarī and to join the order to Buddhist monks[27]; a recently discovered pillar from Mathurā with 8 relief sculptures shows the love-play between Nanda and Sundarī, and in the seventh relief from the ground Nanda adoring his

beautiful wife in *añjali-mudrā*[28] and above, in the uppermost scene, Nanda and another monk venerating the Buddha in this same *mudrā* of reverence (Plate V, 1). The Buddha taught not only monks but also elderly rulers by a conventional type of *Jātakas* to spend the end of their lives without the wife that shared their faith so far: this is the message of the Mahājanaka-*Jātaka* (Nr. 539) illustrated in a relief at the *stūpa* of Bhārhut[29] - an arrow-maker instructs the king that one recognizes truth more correctly by a single eye, i.e. as a single person (fig. 3).

There are, however, also couples of women and men that illustrate the well-known Buddhist passages on the viles of women[30]. Inscriptions of Kaḍariki[31] and Vidyādhara[32] refer to rulers or demons that were deceived by tneir wives (rendered as luscious women in reliefs); other scenes represented adultery: planned by a wife with her paramour in the Radha-*Jātaka* (Nr. 198) and not to be prevented by watchful parrots[33] (fig. 4) or executed by a dancing couple[34] against the husband who blindfolded plays the harp (fig. 5). The Valahassa-*Jātaka* (Nr. 196)[35] demonstrates the peril of desire for beautiful women that proved to be ogresses devouring their lovers (fig. 6).

Are in all these monuments of early Buddhist art scenes admonishing men to avoid women and frankly misogynistic representations intentionally juxtaposed to glories of female beauty in the shape of *yakṣīs*? As also scenes of *abhiniṣkramaṇa* and conversion of laymen to the Buddhist order are framed by *mithunas* praising this very lust of love which was to be abandoned by the truth-seekers (see above notes 12 and 13)?

Such a double meaning of sculptural decorations may also be found in scenes the message of which can be an ascetic or an erotic one according to the versions of the legend. At Bhārhut a relief displaying an old hermit who discharges his semen licked off by a female doe was inscribed Isisiṁgi[36]. Father and son in the hermitage have also been rendered on *stūpa* I at Sāñcī[37] (fig. 7). These reliefs refer to a chain of stories of pious hermits that after *Jātakas* 523 and 526 were on heavenly command seduced by alluring women to copulation as part of a rain-producing fertility rite. In later Indian literature of all religious communities this theme should occur again, for example in the legend of the sage Vibhandaka and his son Ṛṣyaśṛṅga "the saint with a deer's horn"[38]. In the various poetic versions the latter after his seduction to worldly pleasures - that brought about the life-giving rain fall - stays either in this world of royal power and human love or returns to the father's hermitage in order to end his life in meditation and *tapas*[39]. Sculptors of Buddhist and Jaina *stūpas* from Mathurā during Kuṣāṇa age rendered episodes of this story: how the princess and her ladies of the court arrived at the hermitage and won the confidence of the young ascetic and how the princess introduced the unexperienced adolescent into the art of sexual life[40]. As far as I see it remains an open question whether this

representation of an erotic encounter is to interpret the seduced man's decision to stay in worldly life or was to be understood as a transitory act after which the male participant should abandon the female partner and return to monastic life.

We cannot always prove whether donors, artists and worshippers of early *stūpas* were fully aware of the various open and hidden symbolic meanings in images of ascetics and lovers. We might, however, compare these sculptures with an iconology of love-scenes with mutual erotic or ascetic significance in later Indian art. In front of a Buddhist or Jaina *stūpa* one was frequently confronted with sculptures of human couples. One could take them as *mithunas*, as auspicious signs of love, creation, fertility. One could associate them with orally or literally well-known legends praising womanhood and womankind and Kāma. One could also understand them as illustrations to the Buddha's stories of woman as a fetter and evil and impersonation of Māra the Evil One. In various cases a sculpture could convey an erotic as well as an ascetic meaning.

In subsequent centuries also the erotic imagery on Hindu and Jaina temples could serve a double purpose: *mithunas* usually worked as fertility symbols whilst scenes of *Bhikṣaṭaṇamūrti*[41] or *Śṛṅgāraṇavidhi*[42] had a hidden ascetic meaning behind an erotic façade.

As in earlier Buddhist *stūpa* decoration the image was in any case of auspicious value. Fertility was praised by *mithuna* icons of love and lust, and merit was also to be gained by renunciation on love as depicted in the iconography of respectable ascetics. Literature and art represented a coincidentia oppositorum of eroticism and ascetism, of love and death, of *kāma* and *tapas*, of Kāma and Māra. In one part of *stūpa* reliefs *kāma*, sensual love, is enjoyed by women and men and leads to creation of new life. In other relief series love is conquered by the Buddha and his followers in the image of Māra. By the Buddha's victory over Māra the way is shown how to defeat death and love.

During the general discussion and subsequent private conversations following this lecture, various solutions were offered to some of the questions raised above. - The chairman G.D. Sontheimer confirmed that symbolism of coincidentia oppositorum between eroticism and ascetism stems from ancient Indian roots supplying the bases for both *stūpa* decoration and temple cult images as recently described by O'Flaherty (see above note 39). - M. Kraatz drew our attention to the following fact: Whilst rationalistic occidental philosophers and poets regard good and evil, love and death, moral and sin as coincidentia oppositorum, according to Indian belief in the soul's transmigration Māra and Kāma are rather identical; during his multiple existences man is again and again subject to Kāma and Māra when the King of Love and the Evil One again and again cause his birth and death, when ordinary man cannot escape the equation Kāma = Marā. - F.R. Allchin and B.N. Goswamy realised that 1) in

the beginning *mithuna* groups were sculptured in correspondence with erotic notions of fertility cults or with ascetic meaning in misogynous traditions, and that the respective sense of a scene (beauty of the women, danger of female beings) may have been explained to the worshippers by local guides at Buddhist *stūpas*[43], but that 2) later on *mithuna* groups became standardized, ready-made forms of decoration with or without symbolical meaning, as *alaṅkāra*[44], a figure of speech. - J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and A.J. Gail inquired whether we should see *mithuna* groups dividing scenes from the Buddha's life or from *Jātakas* on the body of *stūpas* as mere decoration or in connection with an ascetic message of the narrative scene. E. Rosen pointed out that Sarkar[45] is just collecting all available information to reconstruct the exterior of *stūpas* from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in order to study the iconology in the sequence of narrative scenes and alternating *mithunas*. G. Roth showed the close correspondence between passages by which Aśvaghoṣa in Buddhacarita and Saundarananda used to contrast beauty of women and pleasure of love with the decision of the ascetic Buddha or Nanda to leave all these sensuous allurements behind and how *mithuna* figures as dividers of scenes of renunciation are not decorative, but didactic, doctrinal, dialectic. - J. Harle drew the attention to reliefs from early *stūpa* decoration showing male figures with a horn on the forehead that are sometimes clearly to be recognized as Ṛṣyaśṛṅga but have sometimes other iconographic connections[46]. - With regard to the fragments decorating a *stūpa* from Butkara[47]: G. Bhattacharya compared the *mudrā* of the right hand of the standing Buddha with an attitude of beckoning[48] whilst J. Sherrier distinguished in this *mithuna* between a charming young woman and an older, bearded man, the latter as an athletic type in the Graeco-Roman tradition of virile and muscular males different from similar couples on later Indian temples where in the love play beautiful damsels are contrasted with emaciated ascetics[49].

Notes and references

1 Here: pp. 219.228.

2 Here: pp. 12-38.

3 Here: pp. 112-126.

4 Eliade, M., La coincidentia oppositorum et le mystère de la totalité. In : Eranos-Jahrbuch 27, (1958), p. 213. - Watts, A., Erotic spirituality. New York 1971. p. 58, 97. - Pensa, C., Considerazioni sul tema della bipolarità nelle religioni indiane. In: Gururājamañjarikā, Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1974, 379-409, p. 388.

5 The Way of the Buddha. New Delhi: Government Press 1956, p. 54/5, fig. 50 (Sāñcī), p. 55, fig. 51 (Amarāvatī), p. 56, fig. 53 (Gandhāra), - Foucher, A., Les bas-reliefs du Gandhāra. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1905-1922, fig. 181-184.

6 Lüders, H., Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1941, p. 60.

7 The Way of the Buddha (see footnote 5), p. 67, fig. 70 (Sāñcī), p. 67, fig. 71 (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa), p. 68/69, fig. 72/73 (Gandhāra). - Foucher (see footnote 5), fig. 201-204.

8 The Way of the Buddha (see footnote 5), p. 70, fig. 74 (Borobudur). - Goetz, H., The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba. Leiden: Kern Institute, 1955, pl. XV above. - Joshi, N.P., Mathura Sculptures. Mathura: Archaeological Museum, 1966, fig. 86.

9 Snoy, P., Die Kafiren. Frankfurter Diss., 1962, p. 126-135.

10 Klimburg, M., Male-female polarity symbols in Kafir art. In: East and West 26 (1976), p. 482.

11 Fussman, G., Pour une problématiques nouvelle des religions indiennes anciennes. In: Journal Asiatique, 1977, p. 30, 51.

12 Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: The Way of the Buddha (see footnote 5), p. 56, fig. 52; Rosenfield, John M., The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, fig. 161.

13 Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: The Way of the Buddha (see footnote 5), p. 91, fig. 27.

14 Cunningham, A., The Stūpa of Bharhut. Varanasi: repr. Indological Book House, 1962, pl. XXIII. - Lüders (see footnote 6), p. 15.

15 Coomaraswamy, A.K., Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst. Leipzig: Verlag Hiersemann, 1927, fig. 53/54.

16 Fischer, K., Schöpfungen indischer Kunst. Köln: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 2. Aufl., 1961, Taf. 79.

17 ibid., Taf. 248.

18 ibid., Taf. 231.

19 Fischer, K., Erotik und Askese in Kult und Kunst der Inder. Köln: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1979, Abb. 42, 43.

20 ibid., Abb. 44.

21 ibid., Anm. 73, 74.

22 ibid., Abb. 36.

23 Fischer, K., Schöpfungen indischer Kunst (see footnote 16), Taf. 60.

24 ibid., Taf. 129.

25 ibid., Taf. 243.

26 ibid., Taf. 64/65. - Aśvaghoṣa, Buddhacarita, Canto V.

27 Aśvaghoṣa, Saundarananda, Canto XIII.

28 Fischer, K., Erotik und Askese in Kult und Kunst der Inder (see footnote 19), Abb. 49.

29 ibid., Abb. 35.

30 ibid., Anm. 69, 72.

31 Lüders, H., Die Vidyādharas in der buddhistischen Literatur und Kunst. in: ZDMG 93 (1939), p. 101.

32 ibid., p. 91.

33 Fischer, K., Erotik und Askese in Kult und Kunst der Inder (see footnote 19), Abb. 30.

34 Foucher, A. & J. Auboyer, Les vies antérieures du Bouddha d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, p. 176.

35 ibid., p. 254.

36 Cunninghamn, A., The Stūpa of Bharhut (see footnote 14), p. 64.

37 Foucher/Auboyer, Les vies antérieures (see footnote 34), p. 168-172.

38 Haug, W., Studien zur Geschichte und Vorgeschichte der Literatur des europäischen Mittelalters. Münchener Habil.-Schr., 1964, p. 144-240.

39 O'Flaherty, W.D., Ascetism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva. London: Oxford University Press, 1973 (repr. New Delhi: India Offset Press, 1975), p. 49.

40 Fischer, K., Erotik und Askese in Kult und Kunst der Inder (see footnote 19), Abb. 46.

41 O'Flaherty, W.D., Ascetism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva (see footnote 39), p. 172-209.

42 Desai, D., Erotic Sculptures of India. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1975, p. 76, 121, 139.

43 Weller, F., Schauplatz und Handlung im Buddhacarita. In: ZDMG 93 (1939), p. 306. - Pisani, V., Von Leochares bis Aśvaghoṣa. In: ZDMG 94 (1940), p. 165.

44 Desai, D., Erotic Sculpture of India (see footnote 42), p. 16, 110, 183.

45 Sarkar, H. & B.N. Misra, Nagarjunakonda. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2. ed. 1972, p. 47. - See also: Bussagli, M., Eros Indiano. Roma: Astrolabio, 1972, note to ill. 5.

46 Joshi, N.P., Mathurā Sculptures (see footnote 8), fig. 21. - Cf. the Gandhāra Bodhisattva, store of the Berlin Museum für Indische Kunst, Nr. I 61, with a richly decorated turban in the front of which we observe a horn-like ornament; G. Bhattacharya referred to these problems in his paper "Wer waren die Auftraggeber der Werkstätten Mathurās? (Inschriftlicher Befund)". Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Sektion Kunst und Archäologie des Orients, 3. Colloquium, Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, 1. - 4. April 1979, "Die Stellung des Künstlers in den orientalischen Gesellschaften II".

47 Reports on the Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swat (Pakistan). Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962, pl. CCLXXXIX. - Taddei, M., Harpocrates-Brahma-Maitreya: a tentative interpretation of a Gandharan relief from Swat. In: Dialoghi di Archeologia III (1969), p. 378, note 70, fig. 26.

48 Pal, P., Bronzes of Kashmir. Graz: Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 1975, p. 122, pl. 38; p. 123, pl. 39.

49 Fischer, K., Erotik und Askese in Kult und Kunst der Inder (see footnote 19), Abb. 54, 79, 122.

List of Figures

1 Bhārhut, Upakośā-Jātaka (From: Foucher/Auboyer, Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha, Paris, 1955).

2 Gandhāra, Kinnarī-Jātaka (From: Foucher/Auboyer, Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha, Paris, 1955).

3 Bhārhut, Mahājanaka-Jātaka (From: Foucher/Auboyer, Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha, Paris, 1955).

4 Pagan, Radha-Jātaka (From: Grünwedel, A., Buddhistische Studien. V, 4 = Skulpturen aus Pagan. Berlin 1897 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde). p. 68, Abb. 52 Rādhadschātaka (198). Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin).

5 Bhārhut, Jātaka 62 (From: Foucher/Auboyer, Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha, Paris 1955).

6 Mathurā, Valahassa-Jātaka (From: Foucher/Auboyer, Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha, Paris, 1955).

7 Sāñcī, Scenes from Alambusa- or Nalinī-Jātaka (From: Foucher/Auboyer, Les Vies antérieures du Bouddha, Paris, 1955).

fig. 1

fig. 2

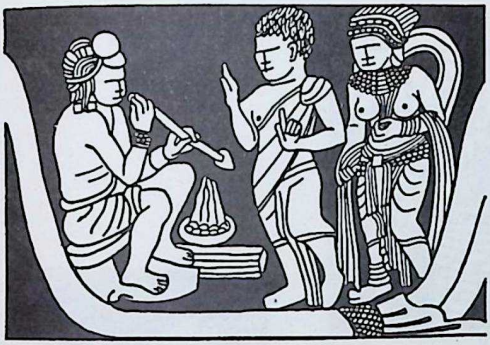


fig. 3

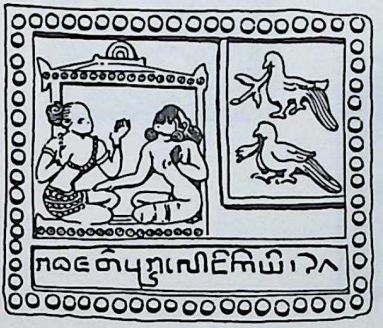


fig. 4

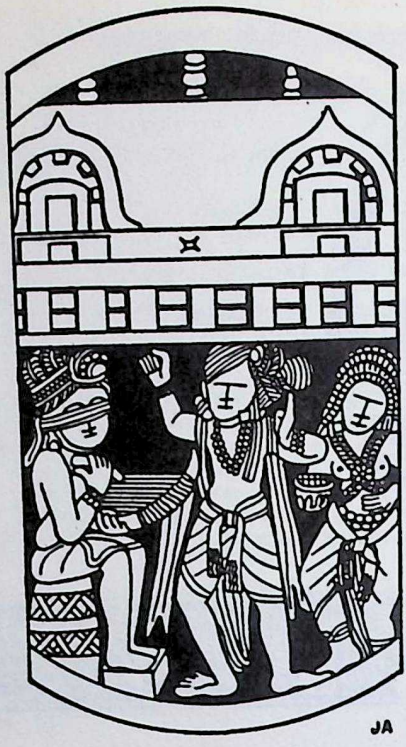
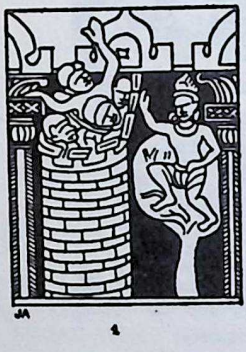


fig. 5



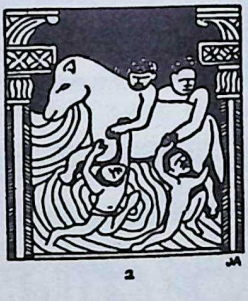


fig. 6

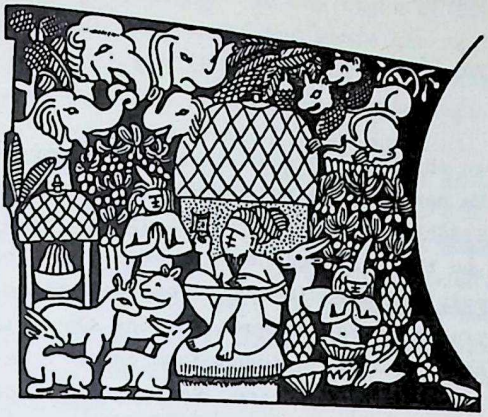


fig. 7

STŪPA AS MAITREYA'S EMBLEM

Gouriswar Bhattacharya

I. It is well-known that Maitreya or Ajita[1] is at present a Bodhisattva and will be the next Buddha in future. He is the only Bodhisattva, besides Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, metioned both in the Hīnayāna[2] and Mahāyāna texts. He will be the last Buddha in a series of (eight or five) Buddhas[3]. The Lalitavistara describes him residing presently in the *tuṣita-devaloka* and preaching the unique doctrine there in the absence of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha who has descended on earth[4]. We are told that after an expiry of a considerable period, Maitreya will descend on earh, will be born in a *brāhmaṇa* family of Vārāṇasī when King Śaṅkha will be ruling there, will attain *sambodhi* and be the last Buddha[5].

When Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang visited India, the worship of Maitreya was a well-established practice[6].

In art, Maitreya is represented holding a small flask[7] in his left hand, which is his special attribute, pointing no doubt to his *brāhmaṇa* origin, and his right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*[8]. He has an *ūṛnā* like the Buddha Gautama[9] but a different hair-style. As a Bodhisattva, he wears a crown and various jewelries. In a later period he holds in his left hand a branch of the *nāgakeśara* tree with flowers, which is his *bodhi*-tree[10]. Maitreya is depicted either as an independent figure or as accompanying the Buddha with other Bodhisattvas, mostly with Avalokiteśvara[11], later even holding a *chowrie* (*cāmara*) and finally in the group of four, eight or sixteen Bodhisattvas[12].

At a later date his special mark nevertheless, is an emblem of a *stūpa* or *caitya* in his *makuṭa/mukuṭa* or *jaṭā*[13].

II. Description of Maitreya in texts

None of the earlier texts such as the Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the later Ratnakaraṇḍavyūha gives any description of Maitreya. But later Buddhist texts like the Sādhanamālā[14] and Niṣpannayogāvalī[15] provide us, however, with several descriptions of Maitreya.

The Sādhanamālā has only one *sādhana* or meditation's formula for Maitreya as a principal deity. It is like this: "He is three-faced, three-eyed (*each face*!), and four-armed. His right and left faces respectively are of blue and white colour. His complexion is yellow like that of gold. He sits in the Paryaṅka attitude on an animal. His two hands are engaged in exhibiting the Vyākhyāna Mudrā and he shows in his other right and left hands the Varada Mudrā and a full-blown Nāgakeśara flower with its branches. He is decked with many ornaments"[16].

In another place the Sādhanamālā describes the Bodhisattva Maitreya as an attendant of the Buddha together with Avalokiteśvara. This is the des-

cription of the Vajrāsanasādhana: "To the right of the God is Maitreya Bodhisattva who is white, two-armed, and wears the Jaṭā-mukuṭa (crown of matted hair), and carries the chowrie-jewel in the right hand, and the Nāgakeśara flower in the left. Similarly, to the left of the principal God is Lokeśvara of white complexion, carrying in his right hand the chowrie and the lotus in the left. These two gods should be meditated upon as looking towards the face of the (principal) god ..."[17]

In the third example, Maitreya is mentioned in connection with the Lokanāthasādhana. Lokanātha is said to be accompanied by Tārā, Hayagrīva and the eight Bodhisattvas including Maitreya. "On the eight petals of the lotus [on which the god sits] should be placed the gods Maitreya and others. Maitreya is yellow in colour, carries the Nāgakeśara flower and exhibits the Varada pose."[18]

In the Niṣpannayogāvalī Maitreya is mentioned at four places. Maitreya heads two of the three lists of sixteen Bodhisattvas.

(1) In the Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala, the description is: "Maitreya is of golden colour. With two principal hands he displays the Dharmacakra-mudrā. The other two hands show the Varada mudrā in the right hand and the twig of a Nāgakeśara with flower in the left."[19]

(2) In the Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala, the description is: "Maitreya is yellow in colour. He holds in his right hand the flower of Nāgakeśara and with the left the mendicant bowl."[20]

(3) In the third case, in the Akṣobhya-maṇḍala, Maitreya appears with seven other Bodhisattvas who look like their *kuleśas* (the so-called Dhyāni-Buddhas!) but Maitreya holds in his main hand a branch of *nāgakeśara* with flowers and a *cakra* on it.[21]

(4) And finally in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, where Vairocana is the central figure, Maitreya appears with other Bodhisattvas and looks like Akṣobhya, i.e. he holds the *bhūsparśa-mudrā* and sits in the *paryaṅkāsana*.[22]

It is quite interesting to note that in none of these descriptions the *stūpa* or *caitya* in the crown or *jaṭā* of Maitreya is mentioned. This is very strange, because both the texts mentioned above are later than the representation of *stūpa* in the crown or *jaṭā* of Maitreya in sculptures as we shall see below. I am unable to explain this omission.

Although Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang witnessed a large number of Maitreya figures all over the country, their description of the deity is very inadequate. And they never refer to the *stūpa* in the crown or *jaṭā* of Maitreya.[23]

III. Legend connected with our theme

Modern writers who dealt with the problem, strangely enough refer to a legend narrated by Hsüan Tsang in connection with the hill called Kukkuṭapādagiri, "Cock's foot mountain" near Bodh-Gayā in Bihār.[24] So Alice

Getty, "The *stūpa* in the crown of Maitreya is thought to refer to the belief that a *stūpa* on Mount Kukkuṭapāda near Bodh-Gayā covers a spot where Kāśyapa Buddha is lying."..."It is believed that he is buried under Mount Kukkuṭapāda, in Northern India, near Bodh-Gayā, and that when Maitreya comes upon earth as a Mānushi-Buddha, he will go first to the mountain which will open miraculously. Kāśyapa will then come forth and give to Maitreya the garments of a Buddha after which his body will be consumed by holy fire and he will enter Nirvāṇa."[25]

Like other scholars, Getty has confused here two different persons, viz. Kāśyapa, one of the former Buddhas, and Kāśyapa or Mahākāśyapa, the disciple of the Gautama Buddha. Both, Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang, refer only to the *bhikṣu*-Kāśyapa, the disciple of the Gautama Buddha, in connection with the Kukkuṭapāda hill.

Fa-hsien said, "From this place going south three li, we arrive at a mountain called the Cock's-foot. The great Kâśyapa is at present within this mountain."[26]

Hsüan Tsang has an elaborate account of the legend: "To the east of Mahī river we enter a great wild forest, and going 100 li or so, we come to the Ki'u-Ki'u-cha-po-to-shan (Kukkuṭapâdagiri, the Cock's-foot Mountain). It is also called Kiu-liu-po-to-shan (Gurupādāḥ giri) ... Behind these hills the venerable Mahâ-Kâśyapa dwells draped in a condition of *Nirvâṇa*. ... Tathâgata, his work of conversion being done, and just on the point of attaining *Nirvâṇa*, addressed Kâśyapa and said, '... Now, as I am desirous to die (*enter Mahânirvâṇa*), I lay on you the charge of the *Dharma Pitaka*. Keep and disseminate (*this doctrine*) without loss or diminuition. The golden-tissued *Kashâya* robe given me by my foster-mother (*mother's sister*) I bid you keep and deliver to Maitrêya (T'se-chi) when he has completed the condition of Buddha ... In future ages, when Maitrêya shall have come and declared the threefold law, finding the countless persons opposed to him by pride, he will lead them to this mountain, and coming to the place where Kâśyapa is, in a moment (*the snapping of the finger*) Maitrêya will cause it to open of itself ... Then Kâśyapa, delivering the robe, and having paid profound reverence, will ascend into the air and exhibit all sorts of spiritual changes, emitting fire and vapour from his body. Then he will enter *Nirvâṇa* ... Now, therefore, on the top of the mountain is a *stûpa* built. On quiet evenings those looking from a distance see sometimes a bright light as it were of a torch; but if they ascend the mountain there is nothing to be observed."[27]

It is necessary to point out here that Hsüan Tsang did not say that this *stūpa* would be represented in the crown or *jaṭā* of Maitreya. Besides, it is quite inconceivable that the Maitreya Buddha will carry the *stūpa* of the *bhikṣu*-Kāśyapa on his head.

IV. Origin of the legend

The legend of Hsüan Tsang has its source in a much simpler story in the Divyāvadāna. The Divyāvadāna has two separate but similar stories, viz. the Maitreyāvadāna[28] and the Indranāma-brāhmaṇāvadāna[29]. The first story is connected with Maitreya and the *bhikṣu*-Kāśyapa, the second with the Gautama Buddha and the Kāśyapa Buddha. In the Maitreyāvadāna, which is most probably the source of Hsüan Tsang's narration, no mention is made of Kāśyapa's waiting and offering of the Doctrine and robes of the Gautama Buddha to Maitreya. The relevant passage says: Maitreya having attained *sambodhi* will go the the Gurupādaka hill (Kukkuṭapādagiri?) where the undecomposed bones of the *bhikṣu*-Kāśyapa are lying, accompanied by a large number of monks to show them the person who was the foremost of the *dhūtaguṇavādins* (the persons who possess the virtues of a purified man). The Gurupādaka hill will open itself before him and Maitreya will take the undecomposed bones of *bhikṣu*-Kāśyapa with his right hand and place them on the left hand and will thus teach the Law to his disciples.[30] There is no mention of any magical display of the bones here.

In the other story, viz. Indranāma-brāmaṇāvadāna, mention is made of the burial place of the undecomposed bones (*avikopito 'sthi-saṃghātaḥ*) of Kāśyapa Buddha near Toyikā. Gautama Buddha, accompanied by Ānanda and other monks came to the vicinity of this place, and took the opportunity to show the undecomposed bones of the Kāśyapa Buddha to the monks. The Nāgas raised the bones from the underground, the Buddha asked the monks to perceive them before they disappear.[31]

In view of the two stories of the Divyāvadāna, it is difficult to believe in the authenticity of the legend of Hsüan Tsang. It is equally impossible to accept the view of modern writers on the origin of the *stūpa* in Maitreya's crown. The evidence of the Divyāvadāna shows it clearly that Maitreya has no reason to carry the emblem of the *stūpa* on the Kukkuṭapāda or Gurupādaka hill on his head.

V. A study of objects

There was certainly some difficulty in representing the figure of Maitreya.[32] He is not yet a Buddha but a Bodhisattva with the marks of the future Buddhahood. He does not wear the robes of a Buddha, has not discarded the ornaments of a Bodhisattva, but at the same time he has the *ūrṇā*, and in some cases the *dharmacakra-mudrā* of the Buddha.

The panels depicting eight Buddhas (including Maitreya) appear in Mathurā[33], Gandhāra[34], Ajaṇṭā[35], Sopārā[36], Eastern India[37], etc.

The figure of Maitreya is a product of the Kuṣāṇa period and in Gandhāra it was a predominant one.[38] The two Bodhisattvas, who played a leading rôle in Gandhāra were Siddhārtha and Maitreya. Although the Gandhāran artists took much care to distinguish the two figures, it is sometimes difficult to do that. However, it must be admitted that a flask and

the hair arranged in an elaborate loop differentiate Maitreya from Siddhārtha. Sometimes a large jewel or a "tapering tenon" was put in the head ornament of the Bodhisattvas including Maitreya.

Group A: Earlier Maitreya figures

No. 1 A well-known and very interesting figure of Maitreya comes from Ahicchatrā, now kept in the National Museum, New Delhi. There is an inscription (damaged) on the pedestal in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century A.D. mentioning the name of Maitreya. As a Bodhisattva he wears jewelry but signifying his Brahmanical birth, he wears an *upavīta* and holds in his left hand a *bhṛṅgāra* or *kuṇḍī* (water-jar). His right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. Very interesting, of course, is his curly hair in the *pradakṣiṇāvarta* style marking him as the future Buddha, but the *uṣṇīṣa* is missing. He has an *ūrṇā*. His transparent *dhoti* which is tied with a piece of cloth (*mekhalā* ?) shows his genitals clearly, a Mathurā Kuṣāṇa feature, and he wears a long *uttarīya*. He stands in a *samapāda* style. The *prabhā-maṇḍala* has a lotus design.[39] See plate VI, 1.

No. 2 Another standing figure of Maitreya from Gandhāra. Unfortunately, the right arm is broken away. In his left hand he holds the antique flask in the typical Gandhāran way. He wears slippers and his right knee is slightly pushed forward. He has heavy drapery on and what is interesting is the bundle of drapery hanging from his right arm like a fly-whisk. The Gandhāra Maitreyas have no *upavīta* but a chain with amulets (*dhāraṇī-sūtra* ?). He wears various jewelries including an interesting necklace with animal heads and armlets with big disks. He has an *ūrṇā* and moustache. His hair is arranged in a loop and he wears a diadem. The pedestal has beautiful flower designs but the aureole is broken away. The figure is to be dated in the 2nd - 3rd century A.D.[40] See plate VI, 2.

No. 3 A standing Maitreya from Takht-i-Bahai (Lahore No. 1). Both the feet, right arm and aureole are broken away. The deity wears heavy drapery and holds in his left hand the antique flask. In this case also the necklace and armlets are quite interesting. He has a moustache and his hair is tied at the top as a bun. Some locks fall on his shoulders. But what is most striking is the "central tapering tenon" in the head-ornament with a small crescent. This "tapering tenon" is most decisive for our discussion. 3rd century A.D.[41]. See plate VI, 3.

No. 4 A seated Maitreya from Charsadda. This time Maitreya has a very significant sitting position, viz. legs are crossed in a hanging position, a feature which travelled to Central Asia and Tibet. His right hand is raised and the palm turned inwards, in the left hand he has the antique flask.[42]

No. 5 A very significant bust of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha (?). The meditative face has *ūrṇā* and moustache. There is a double-stringed jewelry headband. Around the *uṣṇīṣa* there is a jewelry of pearls in the middle of which lies the "tapering tenon" or a large jewel (?).[43] See plate VI, 4.

No. 6 An interesting figure of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (?). The deity sits in a *paryaṅkāsana* (?) on a pedestal surrounded by male and female devotees and a monk. He has a Lotus (?) in his left hand and a bunch of small flowers (*nāgakeśara* ?) in his right hand. He sits under a tree. What is interesting is the "tapering tenon" in his head dress. 3rd century A.D.[44] See plate VI, 5.

No. 7 Maitreya from Fondukistan, wall-painting, now in the Kabul Museum. The deity sits in the *mahārāja-līlā* position, his head bent to the right. In his left hand he holds the *bhṛṅgāra* and in the right hand a full-blown *nīlōtpala*. He wears various jewelries, peculiar is the flower garland resting on his right arm. On his hair also there are *nīlōtpalas* (colour missing) and a diadem with a large jewel on it and a banner-like cloth attached to it. *Nīlōtpala* as an attribute of Maitreya is very interesting in this case.[45] 7th century A.D.

Remarks: From the above illustrations we see that the *stūpa* or *caitya* in Maitreya's crown or *jaṭā* was unknown in the Gandhāran art. It originated later, perhaps in the Cave-sculptures of Western India. Perhaps it got the hint from the "tapering tenon" or the large jewel on the head of the Gandhāran Maitreya and other Bodhisattva figures.

Group B: Later Maitreya figures.

No. 8 This is a very significant sculpture for our discussion, available unfortunately in a partial photo. This figure is to be found in the Veranda of Cave 3 at Kaṇheri and may be dated circa 575 A.D. Here an *akṣamālā* is given to the deity together with the *abhaya-mudrā* in the right hand.[46] Most interesting, of course, is the representation of a *stūpa* in the *jaṭā-makuṭa*. In the caves of Western India, the Vajrayāna expressed itself in a very flourishing way.[47] See plate VI, 6.

At Ajaṇṭā, Eḷūrā and Auraṅgābād (6th century A.D.), we find several figures of Maitreya as an attendant of the Gautama Buddha together with Avalokiteśvara. Maitreya has a *stūpa* in his *jaṭā-makuṭa* and he holds a *cāmara* in his right hand, although there are not many Maitreya figures compared to those of Avalokiteśvara because the latter has assumed a more important rôle now.[48]

From Western India we turn our attention to the Himālayan region, viz. Kashmir. Maitreya is the "second most important figure after Avalokiteśvara in Kashmir".[49]

No. 9 This is an early bronze figure from Kashmir (circa 6th century A.D.). Maitreya stands on a double-petalled lotus (*viśva-kamala* ?) in a *samapāda* position. He has an ascetic's hair-style[50] and an *ajina* (skin of antelope) over his upper body. He wears jewelry and an *upavīta*. Gandhāra folds are to be noticed in his *dhoti*. With the left hand he holds the *bhṛṅgāra* but this time in a quite novel way. His right hand is broken, but one may see that the palm is turned towards his body. We meet with this type of *mudrā* already in Gandhāra[51]. Pal suggests, "possibly the gesture implies the idea of "beckoning"." But no *stūpa* is yet given in his hair[52]. See plate VI, 7.

No. 10 A very interesting bronze figure of Maitreya from Kashmir of about 9th century A.D. The deity sits in the *paryaṅkāsana* position on a *siṃhāsana* (lion throne) which is supported on a double-petalled lotus. The deity wears jewelry and the *uttarīya* hangs down from the two arms. His right hand is in the *varada-mudrā* while with the left hand he holds the branch of a stylized *nāgakeśara* with flowers. His water-jar is placed on the branch. Now a *stūpa* appears in the midst of his crown[53]. See plate VI, 8.

No. 11 Another interesting bronze figure of Maitreya from Kashmir of about 1000 A.D. The deity sits on a cyclindrical lotus with three rows of petals in *ardha-pralambapādāsana* position, a small lotus is put under his left foot. In his left hand he has the *bhṛṅgāra* and in the right hand the *akṣamālā*. He wears various pieces of jewelry, *upavīta* and a long garland, perhaps of *muñjā* grass, a typical attribute of Kashmir of this period. Very interesting is his hair tied to a knot on which the *stūpa* is placed. The figure is surrounded by a firy aureole (*agni-prabhāmaṇḍala*)[54].

No. 12 A very well-known, nevertheless very interesting figure of Maitreya is to be met in the "Rock-carving on the road-side at Mulbek, in the Western (Kargil) district of Ladakh; H. approximately 350 cm." This time Maitreya has four arms. The figure is iconographically very important. He stands in *ābhaṅga* position on a lotus and wears various pieces of jewelry, *upavīta* and a long garland of *muñjā* grass. In his upper right hand he has an *akṣamālā*, his right lower hand is in the *varada-mudrā*, with his lower left hand he holds the *bhṛṅgāra* and with the upper left hand a branch of *nāgakeśara* with flowers. There is a tiny *stūpa* in his *jaṭā*. The sculpture is to be dated in the 8th century A.D.[55]

In Eastern India, in the Pāla art, Maitreya is often represented with a *stūpa*

No. 13 This is the well-known *vajrāsana-sādhana* image from Bihār-Bengal of late 11th or early 12th century A.D. The Sādhanamālā has a description of it, although the description of Maitreya is not all correct. The crowned

Buddha sits in the *paryaṅkāsana* on a double-petalled lotus (*viśva-kamala* ?) holding the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. He wears a broad necklace and a chain of pearls. The *vajra* is placed below the lotus on a folded cloth. Avalokiteśvara with *jaṭā-mukuṭa* stands on a lotus to the right of the Buddha in the *ābhaṅga* position. He has *abhaya-mudrā* in the right hand and a full-blown lotus in the left hand. Maitreya stands also in the *ābhaṅga* position on a lotus to the left of the Buddha holding the stalk of a *nāgakeśara* branch in his left hand, his right hand is in the *vitarka-mudrā*. In his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* there is a tiny *stūpa*[56]. See plate VI, 9.

With this sculpture one should compare also the sculpture depicting the descent of the Buddha from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven and belonging to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya stand in the same position as before holding the same attributes and *mudrās*[57].

No. 14 A very beautiful seated figure of Maitreya of the Pāla period of about the 11th century A.D. from Bishṇupur in Bihār, now in the Patna Museum. It forms a pair with the Avalokiteśvara figure. Perhaps they formed a trio with the Buddha. Maitreya sits very gracefully in the *mahārāja-līlāsana*. He wears various pieces of jewelry and a sacred thread made of jewels (*ratnopavīta*). Strange is the third eye (?) on his forehead an Eastern Indian device, instead of the *ūrṇā*. He shows *abhaya-mudrā* in the right hand and the *nāgakeśara* branch with flowers is in the left hand. A *stūpa* is shown in his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*[58]. See plate VI, 10.

No. 15 A very elegant figure of Maitreya of silver, inlaid with semi-precious stones, copper and gold, coming from Bengal and belonging to the 12th century A.D. Maitreya has the *abhaya-mudrā* in the right hand and in the left hand a stylized branch of the *nāgakeśara* on the leaves of which lies his *bhṛṅgāra*. He wears various pieces of jewelry and in his crown there is a tiny *stūpa*. Strange is the third eye (?) on his forehead in the shape of a *tilaka*[59]. See plate VI, 11.

No. 16 A four-handed beautiful Maitreya of bronze from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam in Tamil Nadu (Madras)[60] belongs to the late Coḷa period (of about the 13th century A.D.). The deity stands in the *tribhaṅga* position on a double-petalled lotus. He wears various pieces of jewelry, quite interesting being his waist-belt (*kaṭi-sūtra*) with the *kīrtimukha*. In his upper right hand he holds *akṣamālā*, his lower righthand is in the *varada* (?) *mudrā*, the lower left hand is in the *kaṭaka* (?) *mudrā*, and the upper left hand holds the stylized branch of the *nāgakeśara*. On his large *jaṭā-mukuṭa* one may observe a tiny *stūpa*[61]. See plate VI, 12.

Finally, I would like to compare the following two figures for a better understanding of my conclusions:

No. 17 A Bodhisattva (Siddhārtha ?) from Gandhāra, now in the Rietberg Museum, Zürich, dated 3rd century A.D. He sits in the *paryaṅkāsana* on a throne holding the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. He wears princely jewelry but has the *ūrṇā* on his forehead. One notices the conic jewel or the "tapering tenon" in his diadem[62]. See plate VI, 13.

No. 18 This is a bronze Maitreya from Nepāl of the 9th century A.D. The deity sits in the *paryaṅkāsana* on a double-petalled lotus seat (*viśva-padma-pīṭha*) holding the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. To his left lies the broken away stalk of the *nāgakeśara* which probably held the *bhṛṅgāra*. Maitreya has a holy thread of pearls (*muktopavīta*) and the *ajina* (skin of an antelope) over it. The *stūpa* is quite visible in his crown[63]. See plate VI, 14.

From a careful study of the objects described above I would like to conclude that the Kukkuṭapādagiri-legend has nothing to do with the *stūpa* which Maitreya carries in his crown or *jaṭā*. On the other hand, the large jewel or the "tapering tenon", provided by the Gandhāran artists in the head-dress or ornament of Maitreya and other Bodhisattvas, developed, perhaps out of confusion, in the hands of later Indian artists into a *stūpa*.

In this regard, we might as well take a hint from Grünwedel who commented, "... besides it may be mentioned that in Gandhara the representations of the Bodhisattvas have often an upright jewel in their rich ornament of the forehead, which may possibly be explained as a figure of the Stūpa".

Still an inportant question remains unanswered, namely: "What function has the *stūpa* in Maitreya's crown or *jaṭā*?" The answer may be like this: In the illustrations of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna art, the Bodhisattvas are shown carrying the figures of their *kuleśas* (or *jinas* or *tathāgatas*) in their crowns or *jaṭās*. In the post-Gandhāran period Maitreya as a future Buddha has lost his predominance. The *stūpa* in his crown or *jaṭā* is now a parallel to the figures of the *kuleśas*, either representing the eternal *dharmakāya* or *parinirvāṇa* of the previous Buddhas.

Notes and references

1 The Anāngatavamsa (JPTS 1886) refers to Maitreya's personal name as Ajita. Maitreya is the name of his *gotra*. See Malalasekera, DPPN II (London 1960), pp. 660-661. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (BST 6), the Buddha often addresses Maitreya as Ajita, e.g. p. 184.

2 "The oldest appearance of Maitreya in Buddhist literature is in one of the oldest of the sources of the Pāli Canon, the Suttanipāta", Rosenfield, J.M., The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas, Los Angeles 1967, p. 312, note 72. For the worship of Maitreya by the Dharmaguptakas, a Hīnayāna sect, see ibid., p. 230.

3 Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa are said to have preceded Gautama, and Maitreya is to succeed him in future. The first six are called *abhyatīta sambuddhas* in the Mahāvadānasūtra, see E. Waldschmidt's ed., Berlin 1956, p. 64 etc. The five Buddhas from Krakucchanda upto Maitreya belong to the *bhadra-kalpa* (the present one) and are to be connected with the five transcendent *jinas* or *tathāgatas*, viz. Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Samantabhadra and Amoghasiddhi.

4 The Lalitavistara (BST 1), p. 28.

5 See Malalasekera, op. cit.

6 See Beal, S., Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World, London 1884, Reprint 1969, Index sv. Maitreya.

7 Variously called, alabastron, pot of ointment, Antique flask, flacon d'ambroisie etc. The Sanskrit terms are: *gaṅgodaka-bhṛṅgāra* (Lalitavistara, p. 71), *sauvarṇa-bhṛ.* (Divyāvadāna, p. 26), *kuṇḍī*, *kuṇḍikā* or *kamaṇḍalu*.

8 See plate VI, 1.

9 For the Bodhisattvas having all the *mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* see Lalitavistara, p. 75.

10 *Nāgakeśara: campaka* or *nāgapuṣpa*, Michelia Champaka or Mesua Roxburghii. See Foucher, A., The Beginnings of Buddhist Art etc., London 1917, p. 88; also Malalasekera, loc. cit.. On the East and South Gateways of Sāñci Stūpa I, the *bodhi*-tree of Maitreya is illustrated, see Mitra, D., Sanchi, ASI, New Delhi 1973, pp. 22 and 24. For Ajaṇṭā Cave 17, see Bhagavānlāl Indrajī, Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padaṇa. In: JBBRAS 15 (1881-82, repr. Wendeln 1969), p. 301.

11 See various Gandhāra sculptures in Foucher, A., L'art grêco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Paris 1905-23; Ingholt, H., Gandhāran art in Pakistan, New York, 1957; Rosenfield, J.M., op. cit.

12 See Indian Archaeology 1958-59. A Review, pls. LXXIX-C and XLIV-C. Bhattacharyya, B., The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Calcutta 1958, pp. 94, 131 (sixteen or eight Bodhisattvas).

13 See Getty, A., The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Oxford 1914, p. 21.

14 Ed. Bhattacharyya, B., GOS, 26, 41, Baroda 1925, 1928.

15 Ed. Bhattacharyya, B., GOS, 109, Baroda 1972.

16 Bhattacharyya, B., IBI, p. 81.

17 Ibid., p. 78.

18 Ibid., p. 131.

19 Ibid., p. 94.

20 Ibid.

21 Nispannayogāvalī, p. 6.

22 Ibid., p. 46.

23 See Beal, S., op. cit., I, p. 134; II, pp. 61, 254 etc.

24 See Mitra, D., Buddhist Monuments, Calcutta 1971, pp. 89-90.

25 See Getty, A., op. cit., p. 22, p. 14; also Bhattacharyya, B., IBI, p. 81 and Grünwedel, A., Buddhist Art in India, London 1901, pp. 189-90. For her reference on the end of Kāśyapa Buddha Getty mentions Hardy's A Manual of Buddhism, p. 97, but unfortunately Hardy does not mention any such episode connected with Kāśyapa Buddha. For the end of Kāśyapa Buddha, see Malalasekera, op. cit., I, p. 544.

26 See Beal, op. cit., Introduction, p. xvi.

27 Beal, op. cit., II, pp. 142-144. Hsüan Tsang has a similar story connected with the place called U-sha (Och). See Beal, op. cit., II, pp. 305-306.

28 See Divyāvadāna (BST 20), ch. 3, p. 37.

29 Divy., ch. 6, p. 48. The same story has been repeated in the Toyikāmahāvadāna, ch. 31, pp. 303-304.

30 Divy., ch. 3, p. 37. For a German translation of the Maitreyāvadāna, see Schiefner, A., Zur buddhistischen Apokalyptik. In: Mélanges Asiatiques, vol. VIII, Dec. 1874, pp. 416-428.

31 Divy., ch. 6, p. 48; also Schiefner, op. cit., p. 428.

32 About the famous Maitreya figure of Udyāna in the Swat Valley which both the Chinese pilgrims witnessed, Hsüan Tsang remarked, "... it was the work of the arhat Madhyāntika who by his supernatural power thrice bore the artist to Tushita Heaven to study Maitreya's beautiful characteristics." See Watters, T., On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Delhi 1961, Vol. I, p. 239.

33 See Vogel, J.Ph., La Sculpture de Mathura, Paris 1930, pl. XXXVI-C.

34 See Grünwedel, op. cit., p. 188, ill. 82.

35 See Bhagavānlāl Indrajī, op. cit., p. 301.

36 See Bhagavānlāl Indrajī, op. cit., pp. 297-301; Barrett, D., A Group of Bronzes from the Deccan. In: Lalit-Kalā, no. 3 (1956), pl. VIII; also Mitra, D., op. cit., p. 189.

37 See Banerji, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture (ASI, 1933), pls. XIV (e), XXXI (b) and XXXIII (c).

38 See Grünwedel, op. cit., p. 81, "... in the Gandhara sculptures of the Peshawar district, the Buddhist Messiah Maitreya, seems to be reverenced almost more than the founder himself."

39 See Rosenfield, op. cit., p. 231, "This is to my knowledge the earliest Maitreya statue to be so identified by its own inscription ... on stylistic grounds it can be dated from the first part of the regnal period of Huvishka about the middle of the second century A.D. ..." See also Mitra, D., JSAB, Letters, vol. XXI (1955), p. 63 and Frédéric, L., Tempel und Skulpturen, Paris 1959, p. 94, fig. 71. For another inscribed Maitreya figure, dated in the 29th year of Huvishka and referring to the Dharmaguptikas from Girdharpur, Mathurā, see Rosenfield, op. cit., p. 229. Similar to the Ahicchatrā figure there is a larger Mathurā Maitreya statue holding a *kuṇḍī*, unfortunately its head is a later addition. See also Rosenfield, op. cit., p. 231, no. 68.

40 See Bussagli, M., Arte del Gandhara (Forma e colore 20). Firenze 1965, pl. 16.

41 See Ingholt, op. cit., no. 289, p. 135. I have difficulty to agree with Ingholt when he says that the Brahmanic water flask is no distinguishing mark for Maitreya from Bodhisattva Siddhārta (*siddhārtha* !)'. Ibid. I think that the water flask is a decisive factor to identify Maitreya figures of Gandhāra. And when this object is missing Maitreya is distinguished by a particular hair-style (Brahmanical *śikhā* ?) arranged in a loop. See Maitreya head from Shortarak (now Musée Guimet, Paris) in: Kunst aus Indien, Zürich 1960, no. 24.

42 See Ingholt, op. cit., no. 285, p. 133. Ingholt describes it as "Bodhisattva and worshippers". "This position of legs and feet probably goes back to Sassanian influence; see Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East, p. 320, fig. 407, centre". Ibid.

43 See Oriental Art, N.S. (1971), vol. XVII, no. 2, p. 114.

44 See Taddei, M., India (Translated from the Italian by James Hoggarth), London 1970, fig. 68.

45 See Auboyer, J., The Art of Afghanistan, Prag 1968, p. 54.

46 For *akṣamālā* combined with the *abhaya-mudrā*, compare the Śiva figure in Harle, J.C., Gupta Sculpture, Oxford 1974, pl. 54.

47 See Snellgrove, D., The Image of the Buddha, Paris, 1978, pl. 69, p. 108. Compare our pl. VI, 4.

48 Ajaṇṭā Cave 17, Märg, vol. XX, no. 2, March 1967, p. 26, no. 5; Auraṅgābād Cave 3, ibid., no. 20; Elūrā Cave 2, see Hallade, M., Indien: Gandhara: Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident, Fribourg 1968, p. 194, fig. 138; also Cave 5, Märg, op. cit., p. 31, no. 25. In Cave 12 we find Maitreya seated alone in the *sukhāsana* position, holding in the left hand a branch of the *nāgakeśara*, his right hand is broken away (compare the figure from Sopārā, Barrett, op. cit., pl. VIII, fig. 5), see Gupte, R.S., Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas, Bombay 1972, pl. XXX, no. 162. Gupte describes Maitreya wrongly as Mañjuśrī in the Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures (Caves) of Ellora, Aurangabad, 1964, pl. 7 d.

49 See Pal. P., Bronzes of Kashmir, Graz/New York 1975, p. 26.

50 See Harle, op. cit.

51 See note 42 and Ingholt, op. cit., no. 254, p. 120.

52 See Pal, op. cit., no. 38.

53 Ibid., no. 41.

54 Ibid., no. 43.

55 See Snellgrove, op. cit., pl. 277, p. 353 and Uhlig, H., Buddhistische Kunst aus dem Himalaya: Kashmir-Ladakh-Tíbet-Nepal-Bhutan, Kunstamt Berlin-Tempelhof 1976, pp. 12-13 (Maitreya has been wrongly identified as Avalokiteśvara).

56 See Irwin, J., Indian Art (Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue), London 1969, pl. 22.

57 See Davidson, J.L., Art of the Indian Subcontinent from Los Angeles Collections, Los Angeles 1968, pl. 54 (Maitreya has been wrongly identified as Mañjuśrī).

58 See Gupta, P.L., Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, Patna 1965, p. 54, pl. XI. Also see Banerji, R.D., op. cit., pl. XXXII (b).

59 See Pal, P., The Sensuous Immortals, Cambridge, Mass./London 1978, pl. 59.

60 For a beautiful Pallava gold-plated bronze figure of Maitreya, see Snellgrove, op. cit., pl. 90; also Sivaramamurti, C., South Indian Bronzes, New Delhi 1963, p. 50, pl. 12 b-c and Mitra, D., op. cit., p. 193, no. 119.

61 See Ramachandran, T.N., The Nāgapaṭṭinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum, BMM,N.S., vol. VII, no. 1, Madras 1965, pl. VI, 1; also Snellgrove, op. cit., pl. 91 and Mitra, D., op. cit., p. 197, no. 120.
For other bronze Maitreya figures from Nāgapaṭṭinam, see Ramachandran, op. cit., pls. VI, 2; VIII, 1, 2, 4.

62 See van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E., Catalogue, Rietberg Museum, Zürich 1961, p. 38, pl. 6; also Hallade, op. cit., fig. 64.

63 See Uhlig, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

64 See Grünwedel, A., Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und in der Mongolei, Leipzig 1900, p. 125.

For the slides of my lecture and the plates of this article I am highly thankful to Mr. Dietrich Graf.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE AND LAY PATRONAGE AT NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA

Elizabeth S. Rosen

The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Āndhra Pradesh have yielded the ground plans of a great number of pre-Gupta temples, most of which were built during the reign of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, that is, during the third and fourth centuries A.D. The actual site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is now under water, due to the construction of the Nāgārjunsagar Dam. Therefore, the original buildings of brick, some faced with stone, can only be studied from ground plans, old photographs, and reconstructive models. Despite the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is pivotal in our understanding of Indian architectural history and the evolution of Buddhism in Āndhra Pradesh.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is important because it is a site at which both Buddhist and Hindu architectures were patronized contemporaneously by the same ruling house. Of the Hindu temples found there, almost all were Śaivite. Only one belonged to a form of Viṣṇu, and that temple was not directly related to the Ikṣvākus.[1] Of the Śaivite group, I shall cite two examples, each unique in form.

The first is what was once a magnificent temple dedicated in the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla, the third king of the Ikṣvāku Dynasty, who seems to have reigned during the latter part of the third, and possibly early part of the fourth century. The monument was built by a local army general, and was an abode of Sarvadeva (i.e. Śiva), built by the grace of Kārttikeya.[2] In contrast to the predominantly Prakrit inscriptions used by the Buddhists at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Hindu Inscriptions are in pure Sanskrit. Seen here (pl. VII, 1) is a small central shrine containing two massive pedestals. The walls of the shrine are constructed of rectangular stone pillars with brick infills. Flights of steps lead upward to a huge L-shaped pillared *maṇḍapam*, the floor of which was once covered with stone slabs upon a coarse brick foundation. The use of stone veneers on the Hindu temples at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa seem to mark a transition point between the use of brick in pre-Gupta times and the abundant use of stone during the Gupta period. According to its excavators, the Sarvadeva temple was originally multistoried.[3]

The other shrine is the Mahādeva Puṣpabhadrasvāmin temple (fig. 1) dedicated only five years after the Sarvadeva temple.[4] The temple was dedicated by Ehuvala's son and possibly also by the young man's mother, the reigning queen. The form of the temple is perhaps surprising. The main shrine is apsidal, a form usually associated with Buddhists. Around the edges are pillars which either indicate that it was an open pillared structure similar to one shown on a Buddhist relief at Nāgārjundakoṇḍa,[5] or

that the outer wall was created by filling the spaces between the pillars with brick work, and then encasing the brick with a stone veneer.[6] This latter technique would be consistent with experimental techniques of architecture used by the Hindus at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as observed in the Sarvadeva temple.[7]

The most important study of the Buddhist architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is by H. Sarkar,[8] and serious consideration has also been given to it by Sukumar Dutt.[9] Both concluded that the architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, while clearly Hinayāna Buddhist in origin, was built by Hinayānists who were taking the path to the Mahāyāna, with monks gradually acceding to both *stūpa* and image worship. From a purely historical point of view, these religious changes have been explained by Akira Hirakawa in "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas".[10] Beginning with the premise that the rise of the Mahāyāna faith in Indian Buddhism was based upon doctrines of both the Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsaṁghika schools, Hirakawa demonstrates how the development of the cult of *stūpa* worship, for which we have only diffuse and scant documentation, was an important factor in the development of the Mahāyāna faith. His study contains the assumption that the worship of the *stūpa* could not have been an intrinsic part of the Hinayāna faith because of the necessary distinctions within the *triratna*, the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṁgha*. As the *stūpa* is a symbol of the Buddha, it could not be included within the properties of the *saṁgha*.

Subsequent to the work of Sarkar, Dutt, and Hirakawa has come the translation and discussion of the anonymous text of The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā (Śrīmālā sūtra) by Professor Alex Wayman and Hideko Wayman. The Waymans were able to demonstrate, through documentary and circumstantial evidence, that The Lion's Roar, though clearly Mahāyāna, was probably written during the third century for one of the later Mahāsaṁghika sub-sects at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[11] The addition of the text to our present knowledge of the architecture helps us to confirm Sarkar's carefully thought-out speculations upon the coming of the Mahāyāna faith to that site. Thus I would like to restate, with some variations, Sarkar's evolution of the Buddhist architecture which shows a transition from Hinayāna to Mahāyāna. The inclusion of epigraphical evidence, as well as a parallel discussion of the crucial text, The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā, greatly increases our understanding of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa architectural history and the evolution of Buddhism at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa .

The great *stūpa*, called *Mahāchetiya* in the inscriptions, (Site 1), at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (pl. VII, 2)[12] is, as yet, the earliest datable monument at the site. It was a large unadorned *stūpa* covered with plaster. It rested on a drum which was 5 feet high and 106 feet in diameter. The original height of the *stūpa* was approximately 70 to 80 feet. Its importance is attested to by its size and also by the fact that it housed corporeal remains of the Buddha. Even today, Buddhists from all over India,

and especially many Tibetans, come to worship at what is essentially a reconstruction of the original monument on the present island of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the middle of Nāgārjunasagar. A feature peculiar to the *stūpas* of Āndhra Pradesh is the presence of a rectangular projection on each of the four axes, each surmounted by five stone pillars bearing donative inscriptions. Such pillars may be seen represented on sculptural relief panels from both Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[13] In this case, all the pillars bear an identical date, that is the sixth regnal year of King Vīrapuruṣadatta.[14] Vīrapuruṣadatta, the second known king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, seems to have reigned during the middle part of the third century A.D.

The inscriptions tell us that the monument was dedicated to the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect.[15] The Aparamahāvinaseliyas were a branch of the later Mahāsāṁghikas. Amongst their doctrines, according to Vasumitra, we find it stated that the worship of a *stūpa* or the worship of a *caitya* does not produce much fruit.[16] Nevertheless, the fact that one of the largest *stūpas* in India was built for the benefit of this sect, indicates that they were willing to alter their practices to fit more modern times. A lady named Cāṁtisiri is identified as the major donatrix; also identified are her relatives. The most interesting of these is King Cāṁtamūla,[17] brother of the donatrix and first known king of the dynasty. Cāṁtamūla is described as a worshipper of Kārttikeya or Mahāsena. His Śaivite affiliation mentioned on a Buddhist monument is at first surprising, but all the men of the royal family were Hindus, usually Śaivites, as I have said, while most of the royal women were Buddhists and patronized Buddhist monuments for the benefit of their Hindu spouses and kin.

A major role was played by the chief donatrix, Cāṁtisiri. She is praised, or rather praises herself, in the inscription for her munificence and compassion, especially for those who are destitute and poor. She carefully lists her material donations, and asks in return for the attainment of *nirvāṇa* for herself and for the welfare and happiness of all the world. The historical Cāṁtisiri seems to have her counterpart in Queen Śrīmālā, the protagonist of The Lion's Roar. The Waymans suggest that the Śrīmālā text was written at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa to honor the royal patronesses. There is no mention in either the inscriptions or the text for the donatrix to be reborn as a male in order to attain *nirvāṇa*. She takes a vow to teach the doctrine and to give to the poor; the wording of her vow is similar to that of the inscriptions. In her eighth vow, Śrīmālā addresses the Buddha:

> Lord, from now on, and until I attain enlightenment, I hold to this eighth vow, that when in the future I observe sentient beings who are friendless, trapped and bound, diseased, troubled, poor and miserable, I shall not forsake them for a single moment until they are restored. Lord, seeing them afflicted by suffering, I shall liberate them from each of those sufferings; having conferred goods upon them, I shall leave them.[18]

As if echoing Śrīmālā's vow, the historical Cāṁtisiri is described as follows in the Aparamahāvinaseliya inscriptions:

> ... she who, out of compassion for Śramanas, Brahmins, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow of Velāmic gifts, she the great mistress of munificence, devoted to all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (members) of both the houses to which she belongs, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world, has erected this pillar.[19]

The request for *nirvāṇa* by the laity in return for charitable acts is indeed a Mahāyāna practice. Such a request also appears in early inscriptions from Taxila, as has already been pointed out by Sarkar.[20] But the wording of the Taxila texts[21] is so entirely different that these cannot be closely associated with the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription or with The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā. At Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, the phraseology of The Lion's Roar is confined to the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect, and most particularly with donations by Queen Cāṁtisiri.

If Cāṁtisiri was a potential candidate for *nirvāṇa*, what was then her place within Ikṣvāku society? If we continue to compare her to Queen Śrīmālā, Śrīmālā is referred to in the text as the "good daughter of the family" and in that capacity she is also a *bodhisattva*. According to the Waymans, she would be a member of the *bodhisattvagaṇa*, a separate lay organization whose ultimate origins probably went back to about a century after the Buddha, at the time of the original split between the orthodox Buddhists and the Mahāsāṃghikas.[22] Textual validation of this group in the early Mahāyāna *saṁgha* is provided by Akira Hirakawa, who demonstrates that the function of the *bodhisattvagaṇa* was to teach the Mahāyāna faith.[23] It seems to have remained separate from the *bhikṣusaṁgha* and was not a renunciant group. The role of Cāṁtisiri was as the lay equivalent to the monks, who were dependent upon her for their sustenance.

Even though the Aparamahāvinaseliya monks were not in themselves dedicated to *stūpa* worship, it was through donations to the *stūpa* that the lay *bodhisattva* could express support for the monastic community and devotion to the Buddha. Hirakawa has demonstrated that the development of a powerful lay group, with a justifiable place within Buddhism, was one of the major factors which helped to bring about the Mahāyāna faith. One of the most important roles of the laity was to give donations to the *stūpa*.[24] The role of the lay *bodhisattva* is further stated in the Śrīmālā text when Śrīmālā says to the Buddha:

> Lord, at the time of the decline of the Doctrine, when monks, nuns, and male and female laymen quarrel with each other to break up into many sects, whatever good son of the family or good daughter of the family delighting in the Doctrine which is without deceit and falsehood, for the sake of maintaining the Illustrious Doctrine, creates a Bodhisattva group of those who have the Doctrine, would certainly be the good son of the family or good daughter of the family to obtain a prophecy from all the Buddhas because of that activity.[25]

Such sectarianism was precisely the case at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa There were

several sects, all Hinayāna. Most seem to have acceded to image worship, *stūpa* worship, and other activities associated with lay practice. But, as we shall see, many of their steps were tentative.

As I have said, the worship of the *stūpa* by the brotherhood was not only frowned upon by the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, but was generally averse to Hinayāna monastic tradition. In the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta the Buddha specifically says to Ānanda that it is the job of the laity rather than the job of the monks to worship the corporeal remains of the Buddha. In the text, Ānanda says to the Buddha:

> What are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata?

The Buddha replies:

> Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men Ānanda, among the nobles, among the Brāhmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata; and they will do honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.[26]

Yet, nine years after the completion of the Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a monastery was built right next to it, and three years after that, a simple *caitya* hall (called *chetiya-ghara* in the inscriptions) containing a small *stūpa* was added right outside the monastic precinct (fig. 2).[27] Indeed, the complex was financed by the laity, or rather a member of the *bodhisattvagaṇa*, but it was built for the monks who had immediate access to the *stūpa*.

The next monastic unit I would like to cite also belongs to the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. This unit, Site 9 (fig. 3), had four structural phases. The complex was begun at the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, and was completed during the eighth regnal year of his son Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla.[28] (This is nearly contemporary with the two Hindu structures discussed above.) There is at least a thirty year time difference between the completion of this group and the beginning of Site 1. The monastic unit as a whole is similar to Site 1 except that two small votive *stūpas* were set up in front of the *caitya* which contains a *stūpa*. Facing this there is yet another *caitya* which originally contained a standing Buddha image. The second *caitya* seems to have been added in one of the later phases of construction, which seems to indicate that the worship of the free standing Buddha image (a practice associated with Mahāyāna Buddhism) did not come into vogue at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa until the time of Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla, that is during the latter part of the third century A.D. But the Buddha image did not really dominate the monastic complex. The worshipper monk faced a choice; if he went into one *caitya* he worshipped a *stūpa*, in the other, a complete standing image of the Buddha. Sarkar has suggested that the introduction of the Buddha image at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may indicate that the Aparamahāvinaseliyas were divided into two subsects.[29] Indeed this may be the case, but the addition of the Buddha image, as an icon of equal importance to the *stūpa* contained in the chapel opposite it, may also indicate an evolution-

ary phase within the Mahāsaṁghika subsect whose tenets were obviously predisposed to such worship. We must also recall that the presence of the Buddha image in Āndhra Pradesh had already appeared in a narrative context at Amarāvatī over a century before its appearance as a free standing image at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and many of the late Amarāvatī narrative scenes containing figures of the Buddha seem to belong to an Ikṣvāku phase.

The inscriptions belonging to Site 9 are also of great interest. They tell us that the monument was dedicated by an *upāsaka* named Chadasiri, who had bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities, prominent townships, and prominent hills in connection with festivals celebrated in honor of the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṁgha*. In return for his donations, he was to attain *nirvāṇa*.[30] The term *upāsaka*, not used in the above Cāṁtisiri inscription, is a term associated with the early *saṁgha*. The term literally means "those who serve" in contrast to the *bhikṣus*, "those who beg". This is different from the Mahāyāna member of the *bodhisattvagaṇa*, whose purpose is his own *nirvāṇa* and the conversion of others to the Great Vehicle. This inclusion of the Hinayāna term, however, does not indicate Hinayāna practices. Following the Mahāyāna tradition, as seen in Cāṁtisiri's inscription, and defined in the Śrīmālā text, the *upāsaka* asks for his own *nirvāṇa*.

The ground plan of Site 4 (fig. 4 and pl. VII, 3) shows us an ideal Nāgārjunakoṇḍa ground plan toward which the architects of Site 9 seem to have been striving. Unfortunately, this site has little documentation. In this case, the *caityas* were actually included within the monastic complex, indicating beyond a doubt that the monks actually participated in both the worship of the *stūpa* and the Buddha image. In actual practice, the monk entered the courtyard. If he walked to the right, he entered a *caitya* containing a *stūpa* around which *pradakṣiṇa* could have been performed. If he walked to the left, he entered a shrine containing an over life-size Buddha placed firmly agains the back wall of the shrine. Outside the complex was a large *stūpa* to which either the monk or the laity could have had access. This particular Buddha image (pl. VII, 4) is presently housed in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum for safety, while a replica of it is placed in a full scale model of the site and is used for worship by present day visitors to the island of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[31]

The Aparamahāvinaseliyas show us yet another variation in structure, a rectangular shrine housing the image of a seated female deity.[32] The shrine was within a precinct which included places for assembling and washing. The shrine itself was reached by a flight of steps leading up a hill and was flanked by two large rooms. The inscription concerning it is quite fragmentary and undated, but it clearly belongs to the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect.[33] It has been conjectured that the structure post-dates the Ikṣvākus. If this is the case, we have clear evidence of the continuation of Buddhism after the decline of this dynasty in the mid-fourth century A.D. However, it is clear in any case, that the Aparamahāvinaseliyas had no

objection to image worship at the time, and that they did not confine their structures to the traditionally independent *stūpa*, *caitya* and *vihāra* of Hinayana.

The other identifiable sects residing at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were the Māhīśāsakas, the Bahuśrutīyas, and the Theravādins from Ceylon. While it was the Aparamahāvinaseliyas who seem to have been the first to introduce worship at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, it was the Mahīśāsakas who were the most conservative. From their extant literature, which survives only in the Chinese version translated by Buddhajiva in A.D. 424, their work seems to be quite similar to the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka of the Theravādins.[34] According to Bareau,[35] they believed that it was more meritorious to give to the monastic community than to the Buddha (Buddha = *stūpa*). Because the Buddha is part of the *saṁgha*, he may be considered a monk (*Śramana*). Having long since entered into *nirvaṇa*, he cannot enjoy the fruits of this gift. However, the *saṁgha*, which is composed of living persons, could well profit from such a gift,and the gift could produce much fruit. However, if there is a gift to the Buddha, the material properties must be kept separate. This is clearly consistent with the ground-plan of the Mahīśāsaka monastic area, Site 7-8 (fig. 5), which shows two small *stūpas* placed outside the monastic precinct, with neither a *stūpa* nor a Buddha image within the confines of the simple compound. The inscription belonging to the site tells us that the monastery was built during the eleventh regnal year of King Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla, that is three years after the completion of the Aparamahāvinaseliya site 9. Site 7-8 was built by the sister of the king, who was also the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsi, "for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahīśāsaka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings."[36] In this inscription, there is neither a request for *nirvāṇa*, nor any other reflection of either the Śrīmālā text or of specific Mahāyāna practice.

The Bahuśrutīyas at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were offshoots of the Mahāsāṁghikas, whose literature showed a strong affiliation to that of the Sarvāstivādins. The Bahuśrutīya text, the Satyasiddhiśāstra, which exists in the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva, originated in central India around the third century A.D., and expresses a doctrine which is half way between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna including the supramundane teachings of the Buddha. The Bahuśrutīyas did not believe that the Buddhas existed within the *saṁgha*, and believed that gifts to the *saṁgha* and gifts to the Buddha were both meritorious.[37] Again, this was reflected in their monastic unit, Site 5 (fig. 6), which was begun during the second regnal year of Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla.[38] Outside the *vihāra* were two *caityas* facing each other, both meant for enshrining a *stūpa*. At a later date, a *caitya*, rectangular in shape, was built within the residential part of the monastery. In front of it was a pillar portraying the seated figure of a Buddha.[39] Thus the Bahuśrutīyas first included *stūpa* worship, and subsequently image worship into their practices.

The last group for which we have clear evidence at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is the Theravādins from Ceylon who were referred to as the Theravādins of the Mahāvihāra and also as Vibhajyavādins.[40] This is the group which we expect to be most conservative, but such was not the case. An inscription dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta, the second king of the dynasty, records the donation of a *caitya* at site 43 (fig. 7) by a female lay worshipper (*upāsikā*) named Bodhisiri. Bodhisiri does not seem to have been connected to the Ikṣvāku royal family. She refers to the Theravādins from Ceylon as having converted the monks from twelve different regions of India (perhaps a bit of formulaic exaggeration) including Gandhāra and Kashmir. The donation was made for the sake of at least thirty-one of her relatives, all listed by name. The *caitya* was dedicated "for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world."[41]

The site consisted of a monastic unit, a *caitya*, and a *stūpa* very similar in arrangement to the Aparamahāvinaseliya Site 1. But at a later date, an oblong shrine with a pedestal for a Buddha image was placed inside the residential enclosure.[42] Another residential unit also belonging to this sect,[43] Site 38 (fig. 8), was completed by adding a *caitya*, (perhaps meant for enshrining a Buddha image) and the *stūpa* right inside the residential enclosure. Thus, not surprisingly, we find among the doctrines of the Theravādins of the Mahāvihāra, that a gift to the Buddha produces much fruit (*mahāphala*).[44]

It is apparent that for centuries before the building of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, many of the trends which we are showing, that is, the gradual incorporation of the *stūpa* and the Buddha image into monastic worship, had already begun; and were more evidence available, we might be able to show similar happenings at other sites. But the best available evidence is at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a Śaivite and Buddhist region where a large lay community poured its vast funds into *stūpa* construction and repair. The monks, of all sects except the Mahīśāsakas, gradually incorporated both *stūpa* worship and image worship into their precincts, thus breaking down the traditional Hinayāna distinctions between the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṁgha*. Thus, the Mahāsāṁghika-vinaya states that the land of the *saṁgha* and the land of the *stūpa* must not encroach upon each other. However, the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-vibhāṣ, qualifies this by saying that a *stūpa* must not be erected upon the land of the *caturdiśa saṁgha* with the exception that it be permitted with the approval of the whole membership of the *saṁgha*.[45] Such a vote might indeed have been taken at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The laity, too, needed to find its position within the Buddhist community. Following the tradition of the pious patroness Cāṁtisiri, which was influenced by, or had influence upon The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā, the patroness became the "good daughter of the family", who gained

merit, and sometimes even *nirvāṇa*, through her support of the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṁgha*, as we have seen in the architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Aparamahāvinaseliya inscriptions, and in The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā.

Notes and references

1 The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa temple dedicated to Aṣṭabhujsvāmin, a form of Viṣṇu, bears an inscription dated in the 30th year of the Ābhīra king Vasuseṇa. D.C. Sircar has interpreted the year 30 as belonging to the Kalachuri - Chedi era of 248 rather than a regnal year, thus ascribing the temple to A.D. 278 (D.C. Sircar, Nagarjunakonda Inscription of the Time of Abhira Vasushena, Year 30. In: Epigraphia Indica, 34, 1961-1962, 197-204.) Another proposal, based primarily on palaeographic grounds, argues for a mid fourth century date for the Ābhirā inscription, indicating that the Ābhirās postdated the Ikṣvākus at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. (See Elizabeth S. Rosen, The History and Buddhist Architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, unpublished M.A. thesis, New York University, February 1970, pp. 27-30.) The importance of either date, however, is secondary, as in either case the structure was not associated with the Ikṣvākus who were Śaivites. A recent sculptural find in Āndhra Pradesh, at the site of Kondamotu, gives us further evidence of early Āndhra Vaiṣṇavism. The frieze, depicting Narasiṁha, is in the style of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, but again, we have no evidence of an Ikṣvāku affiliation for this work, (Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, An Early Sculpture of Narasiṁha, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 16, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1964; W.E. Begley, Viṣnu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra, New York, New York University Press, 1973, pp. 40-41, fig. 2).

2 As can be noted on the inscription belonging to this temple, the donor of the temple does not seem to have belonged to the Ikṣvāku royal house, the donor is male, while most of the Buddhist monuments at the site were patronized by women, most of whom were part of the Ikṣvāku royal family. For a complete discussion of the inscription, see B.Ch. Chhabra, Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehavalasri's Time, Year 11, Epigraphia Indica 33, 1966, 147-149. The inscription was originally cited incorrectly in Indian Archaeology, A Review 1956-1957, p. 36, and corrected in Indian Archaeology, A Review 1957-1958, p. 54, as well as in the above mentioned article.

3 H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, Nagarjunakonda, New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India, 1966, p. 27; Indian Archaeology, A Review 1956-1957, p. 36. This temple, as other Śaivite temples Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, was found along the banks of the Krishna River, while the valley was occupied by contemporary Buddhist structures. The proximity of one side of the temple to the river caused A.H. Longhurst to identify it as a wharf before the excavations were complete. (A.H.Longhurst, The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Madras Presidency, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 54, Delhi, 1938, 7-8.

4 The prince in question is commonly referred to as Virapuruṣadatta II. Although he seems to have been commander of Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla's armies, he does not seem to have succeeded to the throne, as we know that Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla's successor was Rudrapuruṣadatta. (D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, Two Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda, Epigraphia Indica 34, 1961-1962, 17-22.)

5 Longhurst, Buddhist Antiquities (see note 3), pl. XIX, d.

6 K.V. Soundara Rajan, Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples of Andhra Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeology Series, No. 21, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1965, p. 15.

7 An interesting but geographically distant parallel to this temple may be seen in Apsidal temple 2, unearthed at Sonkh by H. Härtel. (H. Härtel, Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh: A Preliminary Report, "German Scholars in India, Contributions to Indian Studies II, Bombay, 1976, 93-99.)

8 H. Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966, ch. 5.

9 Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, London, 1963. G. Allen and Unwin, Ch. 4.

10 Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko Research Society, Vol. 22, 1963, pp. 57-106.

11 Alex Wayman and Hideko Wayman, The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā, New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1974, pp. 1-3.

12 The various archaeologists working at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa used their own numbering systems, thus making it difficult to follow the literature with ease. H. Sarkar has adopted what is as yet the best system. He uses the numbers ascribed to the *stūpas* by Longhurst as the site number, and then includes all the auxiliary monuments at that site under that number, regardless of any other numbers subsequently ascribed to that monument. Thus Site 1 consists of Longhurst *Stūpa* 1, Longhurst's Monastery 1, and Longhurst's Temple 1 (Longhurst, Buddhist Antiquities (see footnote 3), p. 4), while Longhurst's Apsidal Temple 2 becomes part of Site 43, the number of the *stūpa* with which it was subsequently associated. T.N. Ramachandran chose to call the monastery associated with Site 1, Monastery 2. (Ramachandran, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 1938, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 71, Delhi, 1953, p. 26). This indeed is confusing, and for the sake of an attempted clarity, Sarkar has simply ignored Ramachandran's numbering system. Sarkar's system is used here and hopefully will be used in all future works about Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Any scholar attempting to delve into this material is urged to check each monument against Sarkar's groundplan in Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India (see footnote 8) (pl. XIII) to ascertain the "correct" number.

13 See Longhurst, Buddhist Antiquities (see footnote 3), pls. XI and XII; Douglas Barrett, Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1954, pls. II-IV.

14 See J.Ph. Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda, Epigraphia Indica 20, 1929-1930, p. 17 inscription C1 and C3, and p. 18 inscription B1. The name of Vīrapuruṣadatta was known several decades before the discovery of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, as a pillar inscription bearing his name was first noticed at Jaggayyapeṭa by James Burgess in 1882. (James Burgess, The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta, Archaeological Survey of Southern India, London, 1887, p. 110 f., Pls. LXII and LXIII.) These inscriptions are dated in the twentieth regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta.

15 The wording of the inscription is as follows (Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14), p. 17, C1:

> "... for the benefit of the masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect, this pious foundation of the Mahācetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda ... a disciple of the Masters of the Ayirahaṁgha (Skt. Ārya-Saṅgha) ... who are preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha, Majjhima-(nikāya) and of the five "Mātukas"."

André Bareau (Les Sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule, Saigon, École française d'Extrême Orient, 1955, p. 104) observes that the divisions of the *sūtrapiṭaka* of this group were designated under the name of *nikāya* and not under the name of *āgama* as in the Northwest. As we shall see, Theravādins from Ceylon were living at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa side by side with the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. This may indeed have had some effect on terminology as well as on doctrine and architecture. As for the confusing term *mātuka*, Bareau states that it refers to a group of the *abhidhamma*, a work which all sects collected late and which remained in the form of separate *mātṛkās*. This is in contrast to the opinion expressed by Nalinaksha Dutt (Buddhist Sects in India, Calcutta, K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1970, p. 63) who believes that the five *"matukas"* refers to the vinaya piṭaka of the Mahāsaṁghikas (of which the Aparamahāvinaseliyas were a branch)whose texts had five divisions like other schools. See also Wayman and Wayman, The Lion's Roar (see footnote 11), pp. 5-6, footnote 8.

16 Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques (see footnote 15), p. 105.

17 Cāṁtamūla seems to have been an extremely important king, as his virtues are extolled in the epigraphs of three successive Ikṣvāku kings, Virapuruṣadatta, Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla, and Rudrapuruṣadatta. Curiously, there are no surviving inscriptions from his reign at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, but inscriptions dated in his reign have appeared at nearby sites of Reṇṭāla and Kesanapalli. (S. Sankaranarayanan, Rentala Pillar Inscription of Siri-Chantamula I, Year 5, Epigraphia Indica 37, 1965-1966, pp. 29-32; Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, A Monograph on an Early Buddhist Stupa at Kesanapalli, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 27, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1969, p. 5.

18 Wayman and Wayman, The Lion's Roar (see footnote 11), p. 65.

19 Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14), p. 17, C 3.

20 Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture (see footnote 8), p. 57.

21 Indeed, the Taxila inscriptions pre-date the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, and Taxila may have provided part of the inspiration to the early Mahāyāna faith at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. But some interesting points of contrast between the inscriptions should be noted. The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription reads as follows:

> Anno 136, on the 15. day of the first month Āshādha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka, of the Iṁtavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Noacha. By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājika compound of Takshaśilā, for the bestowal of health on the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Khushāna, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of the Arhats, in honour of all beings, in honour of mother and father, in honour of friends, ministers, kinsmen, and blood-relations, for the bestowal of health upon himself.
>
> May this thy right munificence lead to Nirvāna.

(Sten Konow, Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions: with the Exception of Those of Aśoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, pt. 1, reprint ed., Varanasi, Indological Book House, 1969, p. 77; see also the Hidda inscription of the Year 28, p. 158). According to the Taxila inscription, the donor deposited a relic in his own bodhisattva chapel, while the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa donatrix expressed a more direct involvement with the monastic community (see above, footnote 17). The benefits obtained from the donations were mainly for the king and for the donor's kinsmen, while the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions implied an active involvement in both the secular and monastic community. Indeed, while Andhra Buddhism may have been connected with that of Taxila, it is much more consistent with the Mahāyāna faith as outlined in The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā. The most obvious contrast here is that the donor of the Taxila inscriptions was a male, while the donatrices of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may be more closely associated with the heroine of The Lion's Roar, and with what seems to be a general trend of Andhra Buddhism.

22 Wayman and Wayman, The Lion's Roar (see footnote 11), p. 8.

23 Akira Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahāyāna and its Relation to the Worship of Stupas, Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko Research Society, Vol. 22, 1963, pp. 79-84.

24 Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahāyāna (see footnote 23), pp. 102-106.

25 Wayman and Wayman, The Lion's Roar (see footnote 11), p. 76.

26 Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta, V, 24 in Buddhist Suttas tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, Oxford, 1881, Dover Reprint, New York, 1969, p. 91.

27 Vogel, J.Ph., Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda, Epigraphia Indica, 21, 1930-1931, pp. 64-68; Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14), pp. 21-22, Inscription E.

28 Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1957-1958, pp. 8-9.

29 Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture (see footnote 8), p. 77.

30 D.C. Sircar, More Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda, Epigraphia Indica, 35, 1963-1964, pp. 7-10.

31 This particular image has been greatly restored giving it a somewhat "Classical" face. One should therefore avoid any attempt to take this image into account from a stylistic point of view.

32 Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1954-1955, pp. 22-23. The identification of the seated image in this temple with Hāritī is highly speculative.

33 D.C. Sircar, Some Brahmi Inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica, 34, 1962-1963, pp. 210-211, Inscription III.

34 Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques (see footnote 15), p. 182; Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahāyāna (see footnote 23), p. 99.

35 Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques (see footnote 15), p. 185; Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahāyāna (see footnote 23), p. 99.

36 Vogel, J.Ph., Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14), pp. 24-25, Inscription H.

37 Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques (see footnote 15), pp. 81-83.

38 Vogel, Additional Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 24), pp. 61-63, Inscriptions G2 and G3.

39 Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture (see footnote 8), p. 79 and pl. IX B.

40 Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14),pp. 22-23; D.C. Sircar and A.N. Lahiri, Footprint Slab Inscription from Nagarjunikonda Epigraphia Indica, 33, 1960, p. 250.

41 Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14), pp. 22-23.

42 Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture (see footnote 8), p. 77.

43 Sarkar considers that Sites 43 and 38 were made for two different Sinhalese sects, the Theravādins from Ceylon and the Mahāvihāravasins (Sarkar, Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture (see footnote 8), p. 77). Sircar and Lahiri (Footprint Slab Inscription (see footnote 14), p. 248) have shown that many of the epithets belonging to the supposed two sects are the same, and thus conclude that they are one sect. Sarkar (p. 77, footnote 4) objects to this idea because Sircar and Lahiri interpret the term "Mahāvihāravasin" as "Dwellers of the Mahāvihāra" at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, who were in fact Aparamahāvinaseliyas. But the term "Mahāvihāravasin", in this case, refers to the Dwellers of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon from which this group probably came. The group in question were also known as Vibhajyavādins. (See Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques (see footnote 15), pp. 205-211, 167.) Interestingly, the inscriptions from Sites 43 and 38 both give a long list of names of regions which were converted by the Theravādins from Ceylon residing at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. At least six out of the twelve names mentioned at Site 43 (Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions (see footnote 14), p. 23) may be found in the Mahāvaṁsa under the list of countries converted by the Theravādins (The Mahāvaṁsa, tr. Wm. Geiger, London, 1912, reprint ed., Luzac and Co. for the Pali text society, 1969, p. 82.). All of the names of the footprint slab inscription belonging to Site 38 are found on the Mahāvaṁsa list.
Sircar and Lahiri (p. 248) also note that the orthography of the inscription belongs to the time of Vīrapuruṣadatta, the second king of the dynasty. The inscription is placed on a footprint slab found within the monastery recording the donation of the Lord's feet (Buddha-*pāda*). Although this date may be satisfactory for the Buddha-*pāda*, it is highly unlikely that the *caitya-gṛha* and the *stūpa* would have been added before the time of Ehuvala Cāṁtamūla, the third king.

44 Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques (see footnote 15), pp. 233-234, these 171.

45 Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahāyāna (see footnote 23), pp. 98-99.

List of figures

1 Groundplan of Pushpabhadrasvāmin temple, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

2 Groundplan of Site 1, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

3 Groundplan of Site 9, Nagarjunakoṇḍa.

4 Groundplan of Site 4, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

5 Groundplan of Site 7-8, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

6 Groundplan of Site 5, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

7 Groundplan of Site 43, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

8 Groundplan of Site 38, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

S = chapel housing *stūpa*.

B = chapel housing Buddha image.

P = pillar with relief portrayal of Buddha image.

Fig. 1 is adapted by B. Forman after K.V. Soundara Rajan, Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples of Andhra Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeology Series, No. 21, Hyderabad, 1965, fig. 2. Figs. 2-8 are redrawn by B. Forman after H. Sarkar, Studies in early Buddhist Architecture of India, Delhi, 1966, pl. XIII.

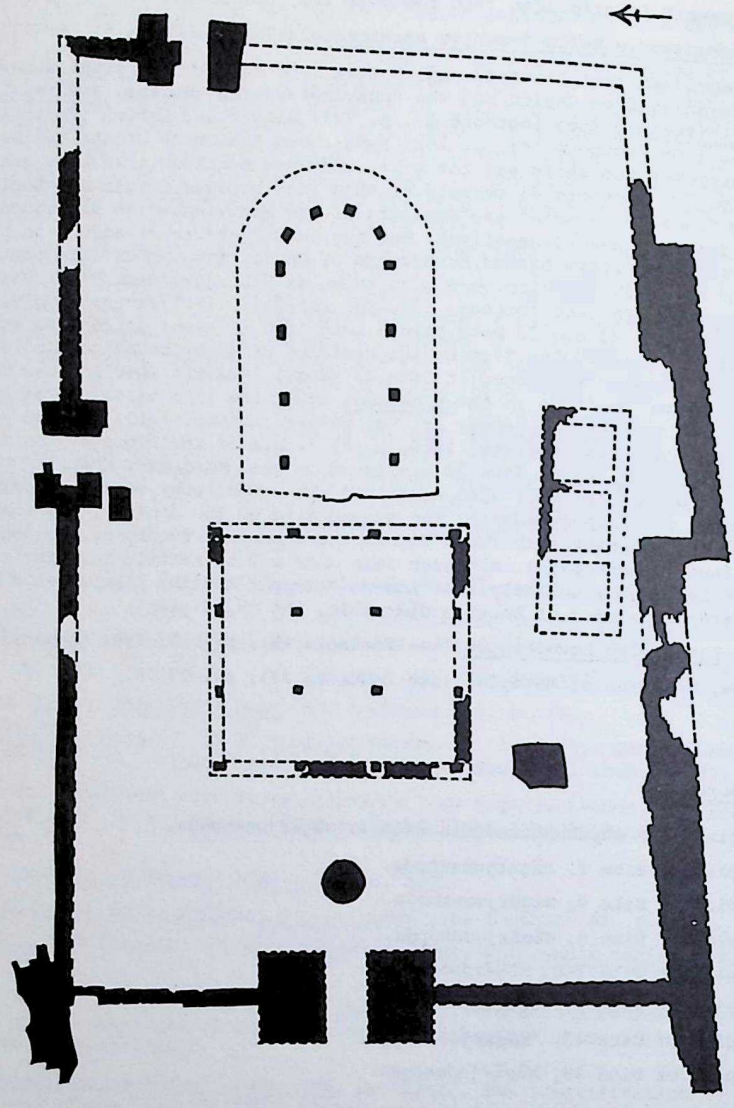


fig. 1

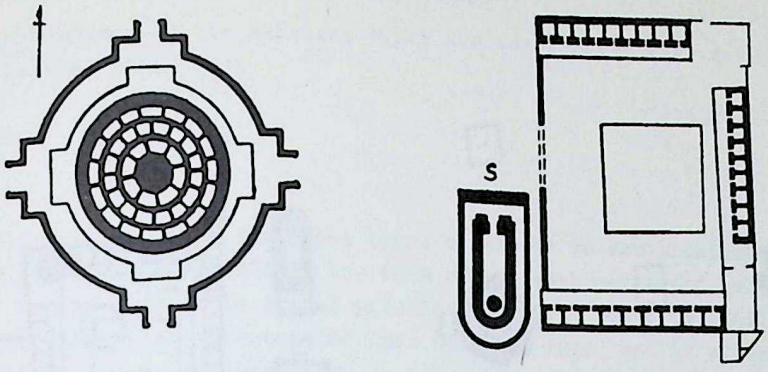


fig. 2

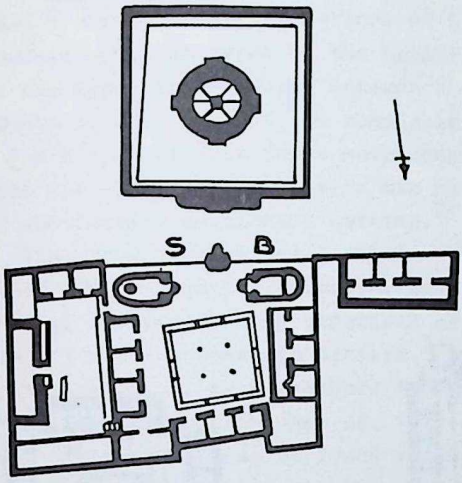


fig. 3

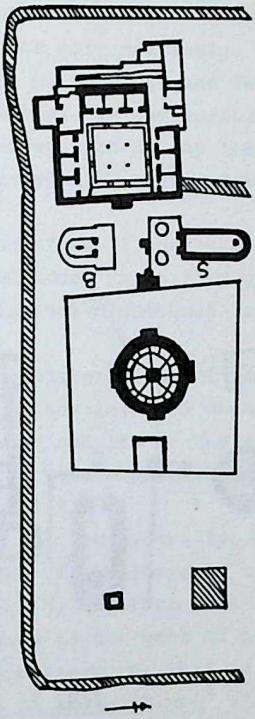


fig. 4

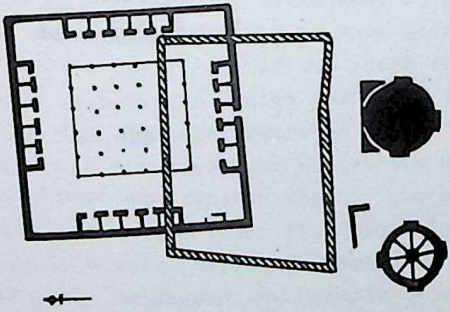


fig. 5

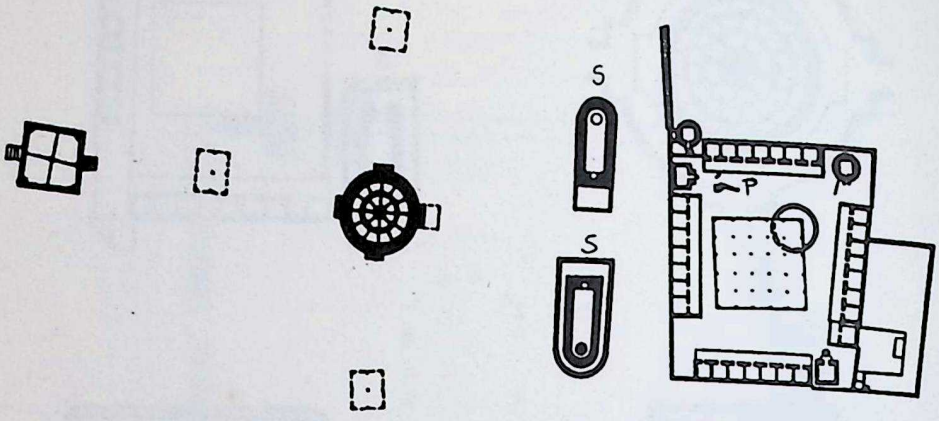


fig. 6

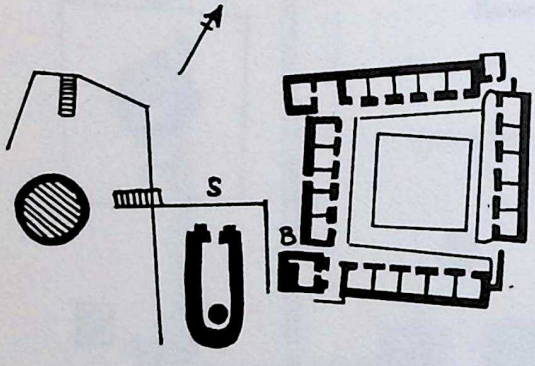


fig. 7

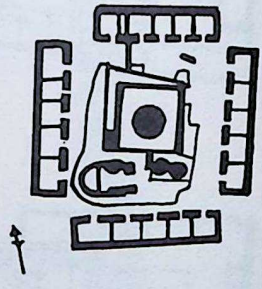


fig. 8

STŪPA ARCHITECTURE OF THE UPPER INDUS VALLEY

Some Observations on the Building Types and the Spatial Significance of the Ladakhi mChod-rten

Jan Pieper

Traditionally, there are eight types of *stūpas* in the architecture of Lamaism, believed to recollect the form of the eight original relique shrines of the Buddha. In actual practice, however, there is considerable variety in the architecture of this building type, and no attempt at a systematic survey has been made so far. While the literature on the origin, symbolism and ritual significance of the *stūpa* is enormous, the architectural aspect has hitherto been comparatively neglected.[1]

It cannot be within the scope of this paper to fill this gap, not even within the regional limitations of Ladakh. But when investigating the various building types of the Ladakhi *mChod-rten*, or more precisely, those of the Upper Indus Valley between the Monasteries of Lamayuru and Hemis, we may give an idea of the complexity of the material, we may establish a few basic criteria for a more comprehensive survey, and we may indicate the significance a *stūpa* can have within the spatial configuration of the Ladakhi settlement pattern.[2]

The basic form of the Ladakhi *mChod-rten*, consisting of the throne, the stereobate and the characteristically inverted dome, is well known and was comprehensively described by G. Tucci, including numerous iconographic and stereometric details.[3]

Variations of this standard type can be either elaborations of the stereobate, of the throne, or, less frequently, of the inverted dome. Most *stūpas* that can be found along the Indus near Leh are of the standard type, and the most popular variation is of the stereobate, which can either be square, circular or octagonal (fig. 1, 2, 3).

Usually the stereobate consists of four steps, but occasionally, though rarely, these may be augmented. In the desert east of Leh there is a *stūpa*, about 4 m high with as many as ten steps (fig. 5). Another, even more elaborate variation, is the large *stūpa* in Changspa to the west of Leh, which is about 16 m high and has a star-shaped substructure. This is the *stūpa* A.H. Francke described in his Antiquities of Indian Tibet[4] (1925), but there are also less well-known examples of the type, such as a small *mChod-rten* near Spituk Gompa, which is about 4 m high and in a rather delapidated state (fig. 6). Generally, the so-called throne of the *mChod-rten* is a solid block of masonry of square shape, but there are also a few other solutions. An example of a double throne may be seen above Spituk Gompa (fig. 4) and an even more elaborate variation of both double throne and stereobate stands next to the road about half a mile from Leh to the northeast (fig. 9),

Besides these buildings of varying height, which are obvious variations of the standard type *stūpa* and which are inevitably erected in solid masonry, there are numerous small mud structures which are termed *stūpas*, though they show only faint resemblances to the original type. Sometimes, their domes are onion shaped and rise in layers around a central pole (fig. 7) from a square plinth, sometimes dome and plinth are moulded into a continuous form (fig. 8). These two examples stand at the edge of the desert near Tikse Gompa, and both are less then two metres high.

The most elaborate *stūpas* are those with lavishly decorated or architecturally differentiated domes, which show little relation to the unpretentious original. A little to the north of Hemis Gompa is a grove of poplars with two exceptional specimen. One has a very low dome, rising, however, from a high tambour on a cruciform plinth (fig. 10). The tambour is decorated with plastered pillars - perhaps a faint memory of the stone pilasters we know from the Gandharan sites - and with stuccoed festoons. Similarly unusual in the Ladakhi context is the projecting *harmikā*.

Not far from this *stūpa* is another structure, which bears no resemblance to the typical *mChod-rten* but which is nevertheless designated by that term (fig. 11) in popular parlance. The "dome" here is little else than a heap of stones to support the wooden pole rising from the middle of the upper cubicle. The four sides of this are decorated with fierce masks, and in the four corners are smaller square pinacles, each holding a wooden pole with garlands and prayer flags. The whole rests on a square substructure, which is plastered and washed in black, contrasting sharply with the red and yellow painted masks around the top. Unlike the square thrones of the usual *stūpa*, the entire structure is hollow, as indicated by the heavy beams' ends visible from outside.

The general arrangement of this building type with the large square in the centre and the four smaller ones grouped around it recollects the *pañcāyatana* concept, which is one of the most persistent ideas in Indian influenced architecture and which was adopted even by the Muslim builders. In Buddhist architecture we meet with it in the *stūpa* types of Bhutan, as Dr. Denwood showed in his contribution to this conference.

A very rare type of *stūpa* stands at the end of a *mani* wall near Lamayuru Gompa (fig. 12). It has a bell-shaped dome and resembles strongly the classical *stūpa* types of South East Asia, and this suggests considerable liberty in actual building practice, in spite of all canonical and traditional rules.

Besides these examples, which are *stūpas* in a narrower sense of the word, there are a number of buildings in the Upper Indus Valley which partly consist of *stūpas*, or which make use of the *stūpa* as an architectural motif.

In many Ladakhi settlements one can see little wayside chapels, with frescoes of the "Three Protectors" on the rear wall, each having a small *stūpa* in front of him. The one shown here (fig, 13) is in Leh; it is

about four metres high and its particular feature is that the flat roof supports the low dome of a *stūpa*, with a pole rising from another dome on top of the *harmikā*.

Often one can see *stūpas* erected over a gate (fig. 14 and 15). They can be simply placed on top of it, as in fig, 14, or they are designed to form a coherent architectural form with the substructure (fig. 15).

Sometimes, the *stūpa* is very delicately finished, and then it may be protected by a pavilion with a square opening in the flat roof to make room for the spire with the umbrellas (fig. 15).

With the *stūpas* on top of the gates we have left the architectural description of the building type and have arrived at an illustration of its spatial functions. For here we are met with a secondary employment of the *stūpa* where the structure is not erected for the purpose of worship, but for what may be called its signal value.

The gates are not at all functional; they can neither be locked nor shut, but are purely meant to be threshold symbols, demarcating the crucial points in the spatial arrangement of the settlement and its immediate hinterland.

The *stūpa* gates shown here are all in the town of Leh and around it. They form part of an arrangement indicating a hierarchy around the old palace (6., the numbers refer to the sketch map in fig. 16) and its monastery (7): The hub of the entire layout is a very large *stūpa* with an octagonal stereobate, placed on a stone platform over a rock next to the substructure of the palace (1). Down the steep slopes of the hill are the quarters of the upper town (cross hatching), which are the oldest sections of the city and accesible only from three sides. The access lanes leading into the inner town are all marked by *stūpa* gates (8, 9, 10), and beyond stretches the lower town, with the bazaars and caravanserais, most of which were built by the Dogras. Traditionally, therefore, the *stūpa* gates separate the Ladakhi town from that of the foreigners.

This is the inner space of a much larger configuration, demarcated by *stūpas* built upon prominent spots in the umland.[5]

To the north of Leh rises a very steep hill, crowned by Tsemo Gompa. Only parts of the once vast complex remain, which originally comprised a "Temple of the Four Lords", and a so-called "Round Tower" (2), demarcating the northern point in the Leh configuration. To the east is a group of four uniform *mChod-rten* (3), of which one is painted yellow and which are placed on a common platform.

To the south of Leh is another hill, with a square tower and the monastery for "Four Lamas Only". To the west, finally, is another monastery with the polygonal *stūpa* of Changspa already described (5, and fig. 6). Since the town of Leh is located right on the dividing line between the desert and the fertile fan we have a distinct affinity between the topographical features and the hierarchy of spaces created by the meaningful distribution of prominent *stūpas*.

The whole arrangement strongly resembles well-known layouts in Central and Eastern Asia. Hummel refers to a strikingly similar spatial demarcation in Mukden, where four *stūpas* are placed in the suburbs[6]. Similar spatial hierarchies are known from India[7] though the antagonisms of the square and the circle, the dry and the wet, the fertile and the barren, the high and the low, the four and the polygonal and all the other polarities underlying the idealized layout of Leh (fig. 16) seems much more central than South Asian.

What is evident from all this, however, is a highly developed sense of place in both conceptual systems, much more prominent than in any Western civilisation. Space, it seems, is not considered an accidental affair, structured only vaguely by aesthetic perception, but a dimension requiring a conventional order as definite as that of time, or of basic social institutions.

The variations in the organisation of space, however, are much more diversified than those of any other cultural phenomenon, and in this sense, architecture and the other spatial arts may be interpreted as a complex game, presenting countless playful variations of a basic set of conventional rules[8]. What is significant here is that in the Ladakhi context, it is the *stūpa* which is the basic architectural element in the conventional models of spatial organisation.

This means, however, that we have to widen our concepts of the significance of the *stūpa*: It can be both a self-contained symbolic entity and at the same time an integral part of a semantic system of still greater complexity.

Notes and references

1 Hummel gives a brief survey in his: Geschichte der tibetischen Kunst, Leipzig, 1950.

2 These observations were made during a survey of the monastic settlements in the Upper Indus Valley in July/August 1975, published in summary in Geojournal 54/77.

3 Tucci, G. in: Indo-Tibetica, Vol. I, Rome, 1932.

4 Francke, A.H., Antiquities of Indian Tibet, (1925), Vol. I, Delhi, 1974.

5 I owe the information about this configuration to Mr. Tashi Phutsoj, a former monk, now an officer of All India Radio, Leh Station.

6 Hummel, S., Die Lamaistische Kunst in der Umwelt von Tibet, Leipzig, 1955, p. 33.

7 Pieper, J., Die Anglo-Indische Station, Bonn, 1977. Also: Südindische Stadtrituale, In: Stadt und Ritual, Darmstadt 1977.

8 This view, which considers architectural forms as an elaboration of the play element in culture, is only one possible explanation, contrasting with the more widely held ideas of the spatial arts as institutions erected agains the continuous threat of environmental chaos. Both need not be considered here in detail, since the object of this paper is only to illustrate the integration of the *stūpa* into such spatial systems, irrespective of their institutional significance. This aspect is dealt with in my forthcoming study of the Aesthetics of Hindu Urban Architechture - A Study in Architectural Anthropology, to appear in 1979.

List of figures

The illustrations give a typology of the various forms of *stūpa* architecture, arranged in three groups:
Fig. 1 - 6 variations of the stereobate
Fig. 7 - 12 variations of dome and substructure
Fig. 13 - 15 employment of the *stūpa* as an architectural motif

Fig . 1 - 3 show the most common *stūpa* forms:

1 *Stūpa* with square stereobate.

2 *Stūpa* with octagonal stereobate.

3 *Stūpa* with circular stereobate.

4 *Stūpa* with a double throne.

5 *Stūpa* with ten-stepped stereobate.

6 *Stūpa* with star-shaped stereobate.

7 Small onion-shaped clay *stūpa*, less than two metres high.

8 Small mud structure popularly termed a *stūpa*, with dome and substructure moulded into one continuous form.

9 *Stūpa* with stereobate of inverted steps.

10 *Stūpa* on a cruciform throne, with dome placed on a high tambour, decorated with stuccoed pilasters and festoons.

11 Hollow structure composed of cubicals. The four square pinnacles grouped around the larger central one recollects the *pañcayatana* concept of Hindu architecture.

12 *Stūpa* with a bell-shaped dome, resembling the typical *stūpa* forms of South East Asia .

13 Wayside chapel with frescoes of the "Three Protectors" painted on the rear wall, each with a miniature *stūpa* before him. The flat roof supports a low *stūpa* dome, with a pole rising from a second dome on top of the *harmikā*.

14 *Stūpa* on top of a gate.

15 Varations of *stūpa* gates:
left: gate serving as a throne to the *stūpa*.
centre: *stūpa* throne separated from gate structures.
right: small *stūpa* protected by a flat roofed pavilion.

16 Sketch map of Leh
showing the location of important *stūpas* within the urban configuration.
(1) Large *stūpa* next to the palace (6),
(2) Tsemo Gompa,
(3) group of four *stūpas*, one being painted yellow,
(4) hillock with the monastery for "Four Lamas Only",
(5) Changspa *stūpa* and monastery;
(8), (9), (10) gates over the access lanes into the old City (cross hatching).
The diagram on top shows the idealised location of the *stūpas* and their relation to topography.

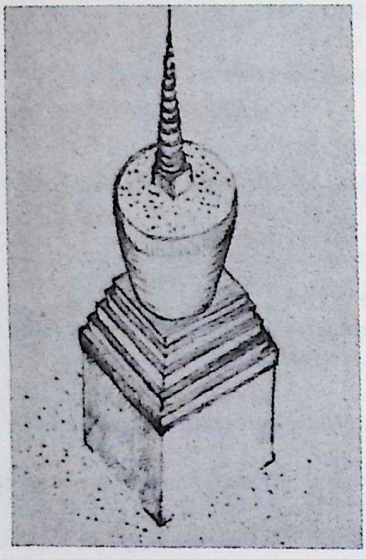


fig. 1

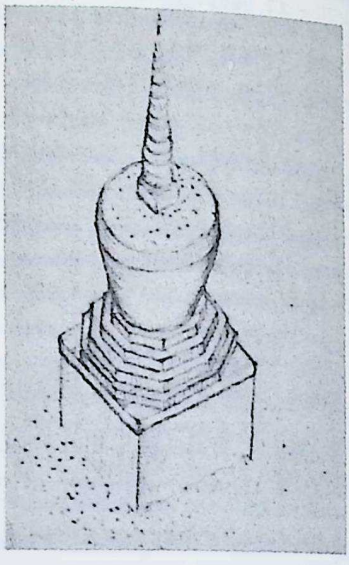


fig. 2

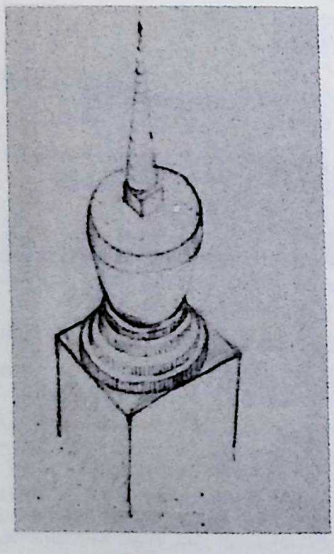


fig. 3

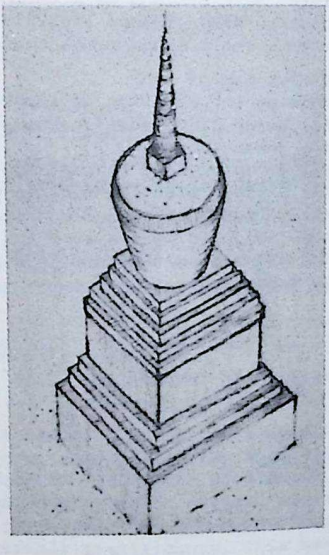


fig. 4

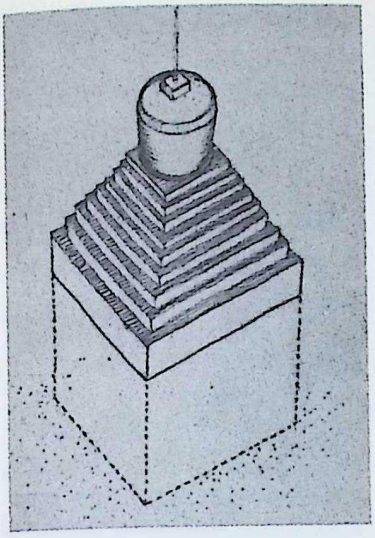


fig. 5

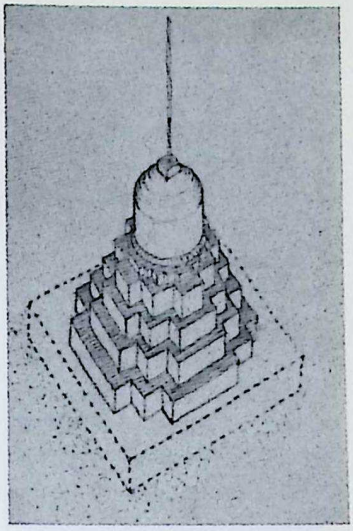


fig. 6

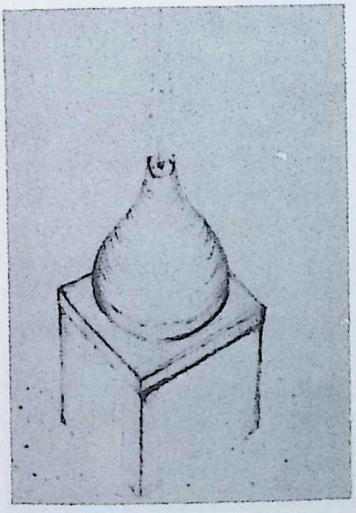


fig. 7

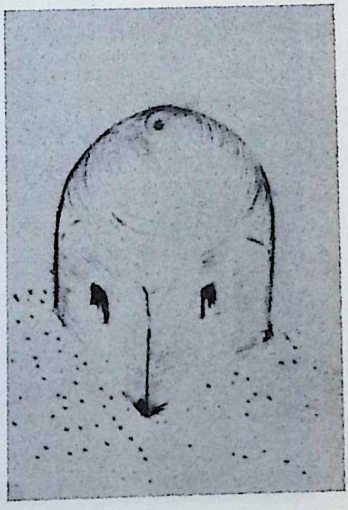


fig. 8

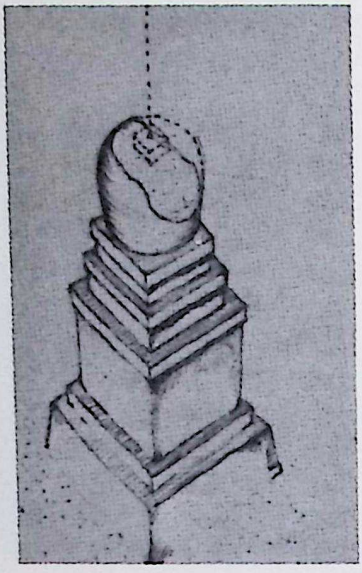


fig. 9

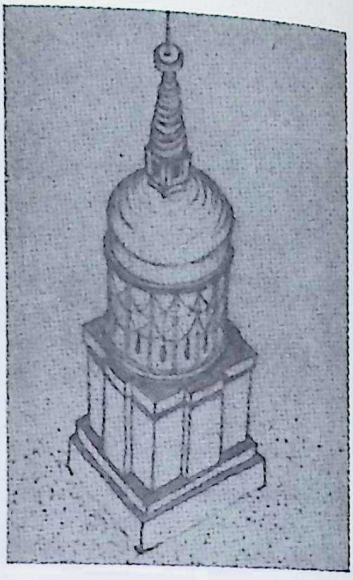


fig. 10

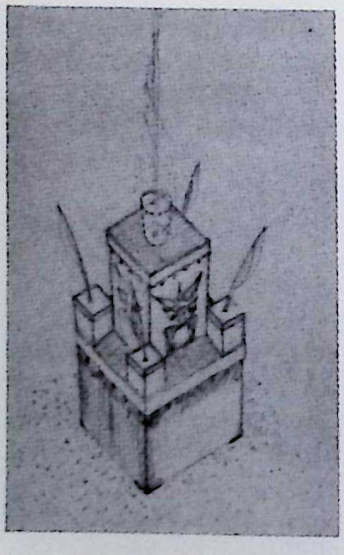


fig. 11

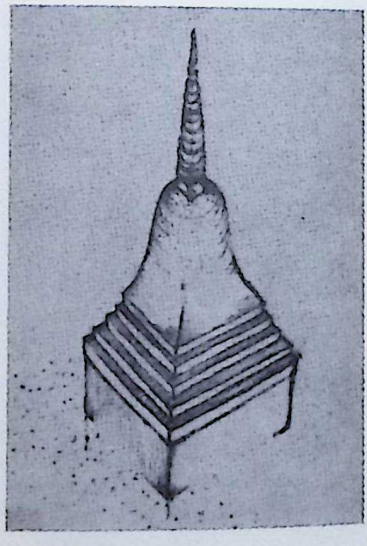


fig. 12

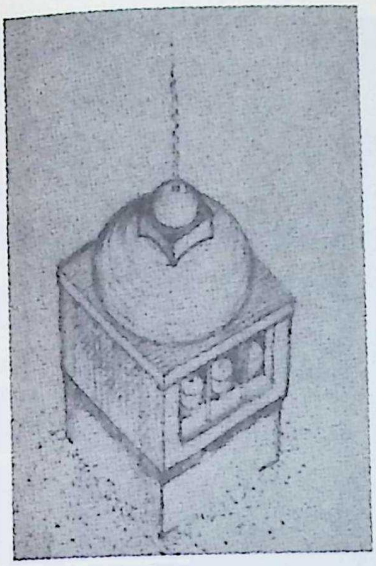


fig. 13

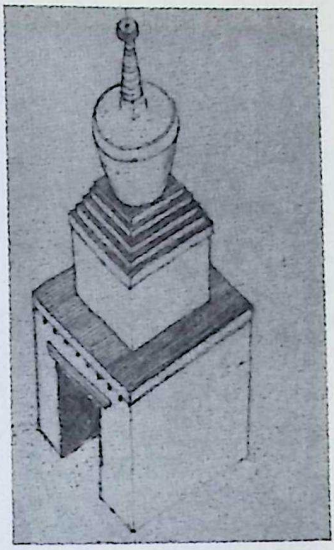


fig. 14

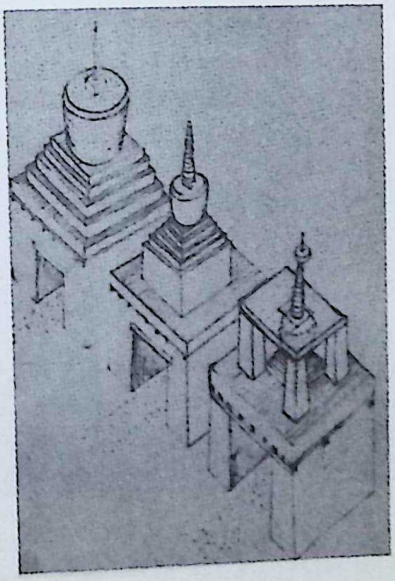


fig. 15

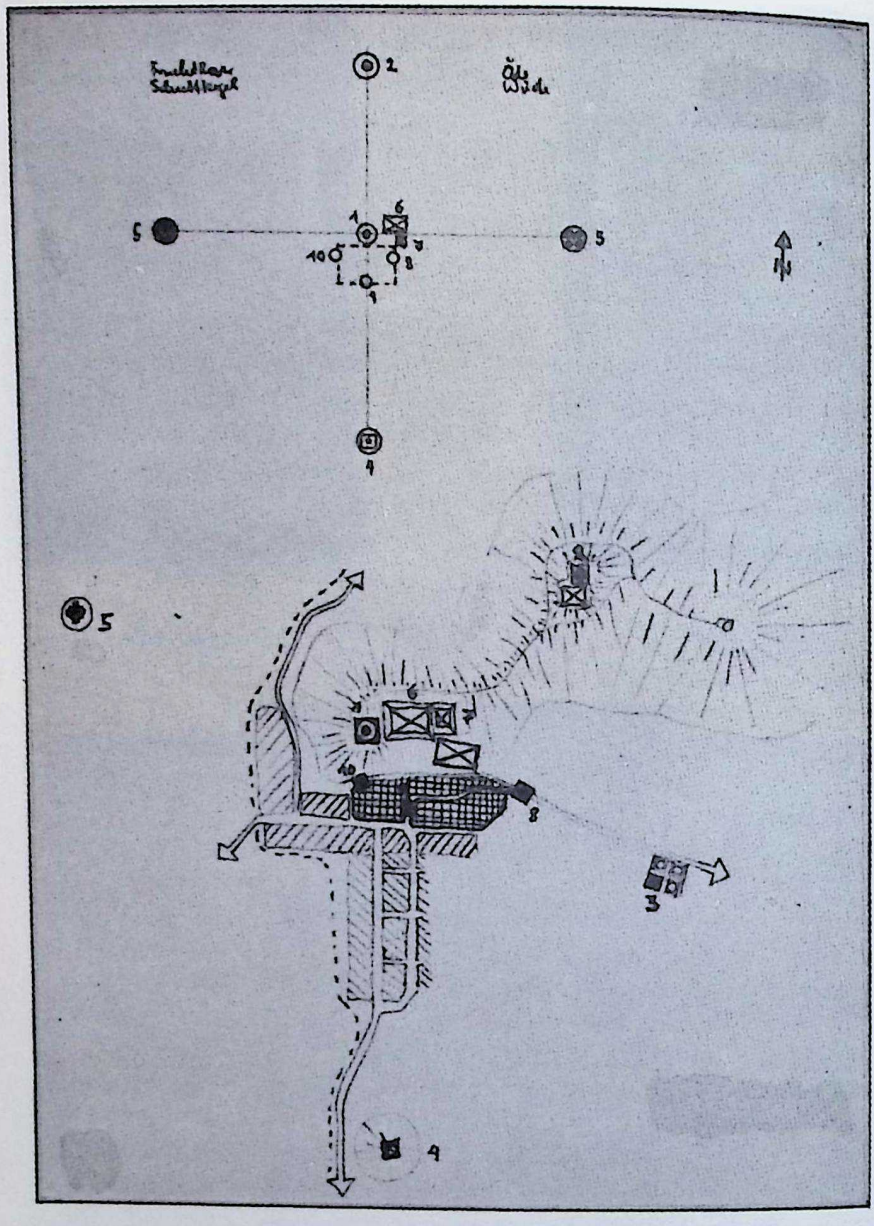


fig. 16

THE URBAN CONTEXT OF THE STŪPA IN BHAKTAPUR/NEPAL

Niels Gutschow

Introduction

Nepal - The Newars

The town of Bhaktapur[1] is situated in a Himālaya valley at an altitude of 1,300 meter. Bhaktapur owed its wealth originally to the position between India and Tibet, whereby it gained control over the trade on the ancient trade-route and furthermore by the production of oil and the cultivation of rice. Its population until today consists exclusively of Newars - linguistic characteristics point to Tibeto-Burmese stock - who probably migrated from the arid plateau of Tibet during the first millenium B.C. and settled within the fertile valley of 'Nepal' which in prehistoric times was a lake.

Spatial development - urban fabric

Like Pāṭan and Kāṭhmāṇḍu, the other two big Newar-towns in the valley, Bhaktapur originated from a number of separate settlements which in time grew together. About 1200 A.D. this formative phase came to an end with the foundation of the later Malla-dynasty, which ruled the valley and adjacent provinces until 1769. The main road - probably the ancient trade route of the formative phase - formed the spine of the developing settlement, following the contour lines parallel to the river Hanumante. At right angle to this main road streets were added one after the other and quarters filled. The early center of the town probably was the eastern square, Tacapāl. In the 15th century the town centre was transferred to the west into a peripheral location. The present urban fabric fully developed by 1700, when Bhaktapur as the center of an expanding kingdom reached the peak of its development under king Bhupatīndra-Malla. Under him the important ritual axis connecting the square of Taumāḍhī with the cremation ground (*maśān-ghāṭ*) across the river was shaped to provide the spatial background for the enactment of the New-Year ritual (*biɔket-jātrā*).

Topographical differences as well as the historical process of development accounts for the differences of the eastern 'upper-town' (*thane*) - which otherwise is called the 'monastery-area' - and the western 'lower-town' (*kvane*). The urban fabric clearly shows a narrowing between the upper- und lower-town which again is reflected by the circumambulatory path (*pradakṣiṇā*). Legend ascribes this physical appearance of the town to resemble the *ḍamaru*-drum[2] with its characteristic narrow waist between the sounding bodies. It is the duality of the heterogeneous parts of the town which underlies the spatial articulation of the urban ritual. Repeated circumambulations in the course of the year on the one hand bind

the town together, realise social and spatial integration and on the other hand canalise and overcome aggressions which potentially might arise. More often than not the gods - carried around in palanquins or chariots - are held up or even destroyed by the offended party.

Buddhist ritual is attended by a socially homogeneous group from both parts of the city and therefore peaceful. In comparison to the importance of the Hindu-ritual it does not have the same significance.

Religious infrastructure

Traditionally the Newars seem to have been Buddhists, although there have always been surviving remnants of a folk-religion. Legends, recalling Aśokas visit to the valley and various architectural remains[3] lead us to assume that there was an intense Buddhist building activity around the 7th and 8th century A.D. On the other hand the ruling Licchavi-dynasty built Hindu-temples dedicated to Śiva-Paśupatināth and Viṣṇu. With the foundation of the later Malla-dynasty an all pervading Hinduization of the Newar-culture took place through the introduction of a stratified caste-structure. As the capital of an integrated valley-kingdom Bhaktapur was to become the orthodox center of Hinduism for the next 500 years, while Kāṭhmāṇḍu and especially Pāṭan retained a strong Buddhist majority which is clearly expressed in the formation of the townscape. The 148 monasteries (*bāhā* and *baht*) of Pāṭan and the 18 main monasteries (*mubāhā*) of Kāṭhmāṇḍu provide a dominant pattern, whereas in Bhaktapur with only 15 monasteries these do not at all dominate the spatial organization of the town. It is the set of shrines dedicated to the iconic (*dyochem̃*) and aniconic (*pīṭh*) manifestations of Durgā, that structure the space and ritual of Bhaktapur[4]. In addition to the 15 monasteries we find 93 small *caityas* (new. *cibhā*) on public squares, on the roadsides as well as in private courtyards. Three Buddha-figures are situated on public squares, a few others, including a reclining Buddhas, are installed in the courtyards of Bajrācārya-families. The only Buddhist temple is the three-storeyed Rato-Matsyendranāth-pagoda in Tekhāco-ṭol. The image of this syncretistic national god in Buddhist context is called Lokeśvara or Karuṇāmaya, locally known as Lasku-dyaḥ. It is the only Buddhist god which is carried around during *gai-jātrā* on a palanquin, following the compulsory *pradakṣiṇā*-route of the town.

Social topography

We do not know anything about the historic development of the caste-structure of Bhaktapur. A household survey carried out in March 1974, covered 5,216 households with the intention to determine their caste membership[5]. 359 different family-names were counted which may roughly be attributed to seven main groups. The Brahmins lead the hierarchy with 1 % of the total households, followed by high-caste astrologers, former ministers and courtiers as well as merchants and tantric priests by 14 %.

63 % of the households belong to sub-groups of the farmer (*Jyāpu*) including occupational groups such as masons, carpenters, potters and coppersmiths. Below the *Jyāpu*-level we find those claiming higher status (7 %), various castes connected to the death-ritual and lower occupational castes (6 %). Ritually impure, the butcher (*Nāy*), tailor (*Jugi*) and sweeper (*Poṛe*) form the bottom of the hierarchy with 4,5 %. Besides the hierarchy we find 4 % of the households belonging to the group of initiated priests (*Bajrācārya*) or uninitiated (*Śākya*) traditionally working as gold-smiths. Apart from these groups heading the Buddhist community there are the lower occupational groups like oil-pressers (*Sāymi*), dyers (*Chipā*), blacksmiths (*Kau*) and especially painters (*Puṃ*) following the Buddha-dharma. A few of these families (like the *Puṃ* and *Sāymi* from Tacapāl) perform essential duties in the course of the urban ritual which is essentially Hinduistic. Serving Hindu-rituals does not imply being a contradiction to following Buddhism. In addition to these mentioned groups there are a few potters and farmers, stone masons and merchants like *Tuladhar* (of whom only one family is left in Bhaktapur) who are said to belong to the Buddhist community. Therefore the Buddhists could roughly be estimated at 10 % or 4,000 persons of the total population.

The map (fig. 1) showing the location of *Sāymi*, *Puṃ*, and *Bajrācārya/Śākya* (those dots not enclosed by dotted lines) clearly points to a majority of Buddhist households in the upper-town. Of *Bajrācārya*, *Puṃ* and *Sāymi* the largest group is located in the old quarters of Tacapāl and Kāṭhamḍau which were already characterized as the former town centre. *Bajrācārya* in Ināco and *Sāymi* in Golmāḍhī (as well as *Chipā*, who are not mapped) settle along the main road. Additional groups are to be found in the far west, which is supposed to be an extension of the town dating back only to the 16th/17th century. Families from the densely populated quarters of the east probably moved here - we even know of *Śakyā* who were settled here as craftsmen by king Bhupatīndra

The urban context of the *stūpa*

We find only a few monumental *stūpas* like the Swayambūnāth or Bodnāth-*stupā* within the valley of Kāṭhmāṇḍu. Four others mark the cardinal directions around Pāṭan thus providing a primary spatial order to which the basic street cross of the town refers. A few more can be found in the large courtyards of Pāṭan, Kāṭhmāṇḍu and Kīrtipur. There is, however, no structure which could in that line be called a *stūpa* in Bhaktapur. There are 93 smaller structures of different size being called *cibhā*. The smallest *cibhās* (of 50 cm height) are miniature *stūpas* complete with pedestal, drum (*medhi*), dome (*aṇḍa*) and finial (*harmikā*) fixed on top of columns (plate IX, 1, 3). Only some of the *cibhās* rise to a height of 4 - 6 meters (pl. IX, 5) with recessing pedestals, set on a brick plinth (*dabu*). Seated and standing Buddhas, facing the cardinal directions, are enshrin-

ed in niches (pl. IX, 3, 5). In some cases there seems to be quite a recent (late 18th, 19th century) change in the design: the Buddhas are shown canopied by serpents and these are forming a structurally important part of the *cibhā* itself (pl. IX, 1, 4). In the upper-town there are two of these *cibhās* which show a *yoni* as part of the pedestal - thus making it possible to define the upper structure as a *Śivaliṅga*. Keeping in mind, that the five Dīpaṃkarabuddhas of Bhaktapur are on the other hand identified as the Pāṇḍava-brothers and worshipped by the population with phrases like '*hare Kṛṣṇa-hare Rām*', we do not find - in syncretistic Nepal - any basic contradiction to the identification of the *cibhā* as a *Śivaliṅga*.

According to the eminent Newar-scholar T.L. Manandhar[6] the Newarī word *cibhā* derived from the Sanskrit '*bhaṭṭāra*', a title of respect. In the 14th century Newarī the word became corrupted into *bharārha* and later *bahāra* or *bāhā*, the word which today is used for every former monastery (Sanskrit '*vihāra*' or '*mahāvihāra*', Newarī '*bāhā*' or '*bahī*'). Again *cibhā* is the short version of *cibāhā* meaning the smaller (Newarī *ci* = small) object which deserves reverence.

Only 34 out of altogether 93 *cibhās* are located in public squares, mostly in groups of 3 - 6, some in recessions along the main road or along the ponds at the periphery of the town (fig. 2). The rest of the *cibhās* stand in the courtyards of former monasteries or in the 29 courtyards of *Bajrācārya*, *Śakyā* or *Puṃ* houses. *Sāymi* and *Chipā* houses do not have any *cibhā*. If we correlate the social topography (fig. 1) with the mapped Buddhist infra-structure (fig. 2) of Bhaktapur, we can see that the *cibhās* form an essential part of the built-up environment of the Buddhist community. In the course of the daily ritual the *cibhās* are circumambulated and in some cases lustrated (pl. IX, 9).

Cibhā-pūjā: the Buddhist *pradakṣiṇā* of Bhaktapur

Throughout the festive calender of the year different gods are taken around the town on palanquins, following a fixed route (fig. 3): on *gai-jātrā* it is Matsyendrānāth, Dattātreya, Suryā - Bināyaka, on Indra-*jātrā* Indrāyaṇī, Bhairava, Chumā - Gaṇeś, Salāṃ-Gaṇeś and the *pulukisi* (a bamboo elephant as the symbol of Indra), on their birthdays Bhīmsen and again Dattātreya. During these *jātrās* the gods make their round to the different quarters and important squares - only three quarters out of the formal 24 do not have their squares in the course of the route - and let them participate in the inherent qualities of the otherwise enshrined gods. Through participation the ritually unequally supplied town is again integrated. From east to west the *pradakṣiṇā* follows the main route, thus connecting the most important squares of Sūrjamāḍhī, Tacapāl, Ināco, Golmāḍhī, Taumāḍhī and Nāsamanā. From west to east the route is far more intricated in order to touch important squares and pass by the important temples and houses (*dyocheṁ*) where the Eight Mothergoddesses (*Aṣṭamātṛkā*) are enshrined.

The *pradakṣiṇā* does not encircle the entire town like the circumambulation for the occasion of *upākhā-path* (Indra-*jātrā*) in Kāṭhmāṇḍu[7]. Therefore we cannot compare it to those *pradakṣiṇās* which explicitly refer to an object of worship, i.e. a temple[8], a holy mountain[9] or a holy realm like Kāśī-kṣetra[10]. The *pradakṣiṇā* of Bhaktapur does not define the potentially ordered and therefore sacred realm of the town by touching and marking the border[11] to the unordered if not chaotic surrounding continuum. On a more abstract level the *pradakṣiṇā* however aims at the same: by interconnecting the important places and shrines of the town the basic order which stands for the city as a whole is revealed and articulated through ritual.

Buddhist ritual essentially aims at the same. Out of the three possible Buddhist *jātrās*, two are performed every year: *bāhā-pūjā* on *pañcadāna-carhe*[12] and - two days later - the Dīpaṃkarabuddha-*jātrā*. Whereas the five over life-size Dīpaṃkarabuddhas are partially carried anti-clockwise to be seated at 59 different places to receive offerings (*pañcadāna*), the *bāhā-pūjā* (pl. IX, 2) leads the Buddhist community to the 15 former monasteries. Likewise the *cibhā-pūjā* leads to all the 93 *cibhās*, the former monasteries, the Buddha-figures and the place of the clan-gods (Digudhyaḥ) at Siddhā-pokharī pond at the far west end of the processional route.

In contrary to the other processions the *cibhā-pūjā* is enacted not annually but whenever a new *cibhā* is added to the existing ones[13]. It seems to be the only ritual of Bhaktapur not fixed within the yearly festive calendar. The route of the *cibhā-pūjā* roughly follows the accepted *pradakṣiṇā* which could be considered the basic frame of every ritual - be it Hindu or Buddhist. The route deviates from the original *pradakṣiṇā* wherever a part of the Buddhist infrastructure lies apart and has to be included into the circumambulation. Marked deviations are the touching of the large ponds east (Kamal-pokharī) and west (Siddhā-pokharī) of the town as well as the sacred *veṇi* of the river Hanumante towards the south.

Accepting the basic *pradakṣiṇā* of Bhaktapur as a binding frame, Buddhist ritual follows the intentions of defining urban space as something sacred the qualities of which have to be secured through enactment of cyclic ritual. By circumambulating every one of the 93 *cibhās* individually and at the same time all of them collectively, the urban space in a sense stands for an abstract super-*cibhā*. The *cibhās* are bound together, marking the stages of the *pradakṣiṇā* which spatially conveys the idea of time. The individual *cibhā* stands for the essence of the Buddha, the illusionary world. The urban space stands for the same on a different level, a different scale. It is the space of the Buddhist community which is bound to cyclic times through circumambulations. Thus man's environment as a whole is interpreted as part of the illusionary world.

Notes and references

1 The author started extensive field surveys in Bhaktapur in 1970. In 1971 he carried out together with Auer/Busch/Kröger the first conservation project in Nepal with German financial aid: the restoration of the Pujahari Māṭh in Bhaktapur/Nepal. In 1974-1976 a household survey was done leading to a complete social topography as well es an inventory of the Hindu - as well as the Buddhist religious infrastructure. In 1976-1977 field-work centered on the ritual aspect of the use of urban spaces. All these surveys were made possible through generous grants by the German Research Council.
A preliminary report, centering on the area of Taumāḍhī-ṭol has already been published:
Gutschow, N. and Kölver, B., Ordered Space: Concepts and Functions in a Town of Nepal. Nepal Research Centre Publications, No. 1. Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1975.
For ritual activities in Pāṭan and Kāṭhmāṇḍu, see:
Gutschow, N., Prozessionen in Pāṭan, Nepal: Umgehungen und Begehungen als Mittel zur Definition städtischen Raumes. In: Storia della Città, No. 4. Milano, 1977, p. 31-44.
Gutschow, N., Kāṭhmāṇḍu: Symbolik einer Stadt in Raum und Zeit. In: Beiträge eines internationalen Symposiums zur Stadtbaugeschichte Süd- und Ostasiens, Beiträge der Fachgruppe Stadt, TH Darmstadt, No. 11. Darmstadt: Technische Hochschule 1977, p. 6-15.

2 Kirkpatrick, C., An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. London, 1811 (Reprint 1975, p. 163.

3 See Mary Slusser's contributions to the proceedings.

4 Auer, G., Gutschow, N., Bhaktapur: Gestalt, Funktionen und religiöse Symbolik einer nepalischen Stadt im vorindustriellen Entwicklungsstadium. Darmstadt: Technische Hochschule Darmstadt, 1974, p. 18-22.

5 For a full account or the Newar-status system see:
Gutschow, N., Kölver, B., Ordered Space (see footnote 1), p. 55-58.
The hierarchical order follows the results of Robert Levy of the University of California, San Diego. During 1973/74, in collaboration with Brahmins he worked out a hierarchy. I acknowledge his liberality to share his material and results.

6 T.L. Manandhar in his letter dated 21-2-1978.
Marietta B. Joseph states '*bāhā*' being derived from *bahir*, meaning 'outside'. Popular anthropology comes to many more misleading interpretations.
Joseph, M.B., The Vihāras of the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley. In: Oriental Art, 1 (1971), 121-143, p. 142.

7 Gutschow, N., Kāṭhmāṇḍu (see footnote 1), p. 10.

8 Michell, G., The Hindu Temple: An Introduction to its meaning and forms. London: Paul Elek, 1977, p. 66.

9 Trivedi, R.K., Census of India 1961, Vol. V: Gujarat, Part VII-B: Fairs and Festivals. Delhi 1965, p. 216-220.

10 Dube, K., Tourism and Pilgrimage in Varanasi. In: The Geographical Journal of India XIV, 2-3 (1968), 175-185, p. 182: map: holy yātrās around Varanasi.

11 In Bhaktapur also the location of low caste households indicate a ritual border of the town. See on plate 4:
Gutschow, N., Kölver, B., Ordered Space (see footnote 1), p. 49.

12 on *śuklapakṣa cathurdaśī, Bhādra.*

13 The ca. 500 *cibhās* of Pāṭan are annually circumambulated for the occasion of *matya-pūjā*. See map 34 in:
Gutschow, N., Pāṭan (see footnote 1), p. 34.

14 The Hanumān-ghāṭ is the privileged cremation ground (*maśān-ghāṭ*) of Bhaktapur. It is the place, where 125,000 small clay-*stupās* are immersed into the river for the occasion of *pañcadānacarhe*. See plate IX, 8.

List of figures

1 Bhaktapur: Social topography.

2 Bhaktapur: Buddhist infrastructure.

3 Bhaktapur: Location of *cibhās* and way of *cibhā-pūjā*.

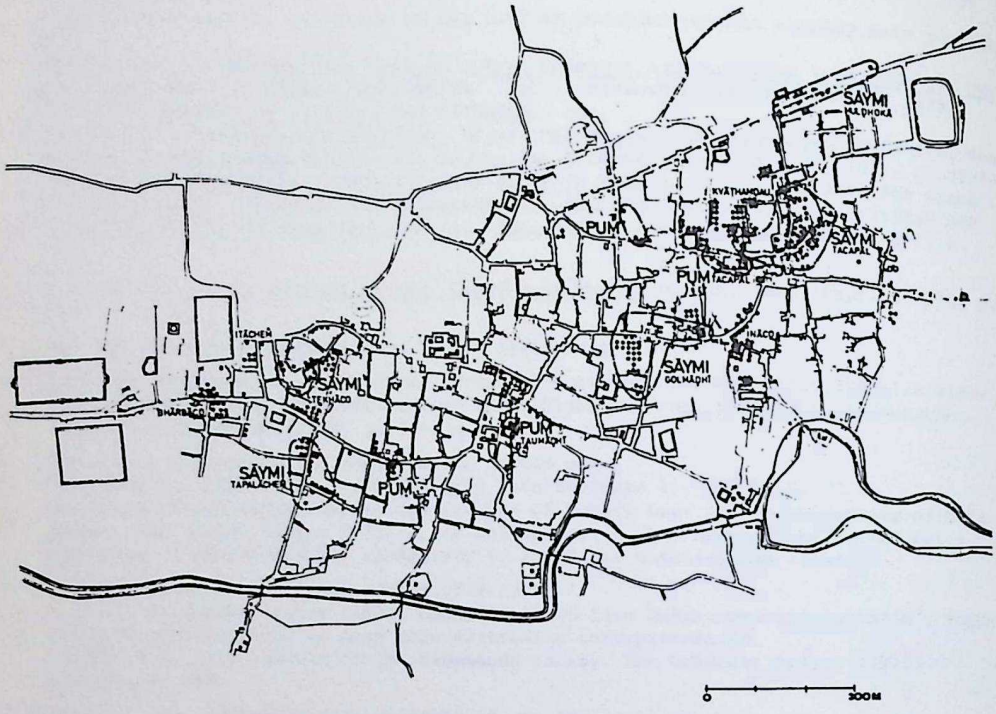


fig. 1

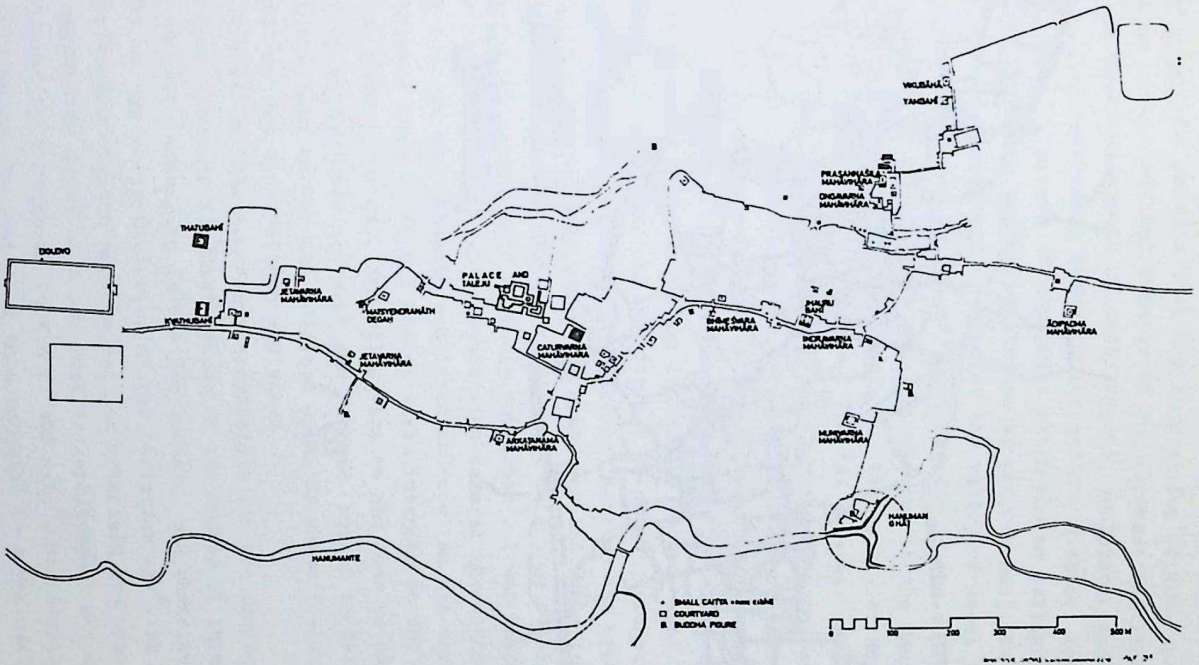

DIGUDVO
THATUBAHI
JETAVARNA MAHĀVIHĀRA
MATSYENDRANĀTH DEGAH
PALACE AND TALEJU
CATURVARNA MAHĀVIHĀRA
ARKATANAMA MAHĀVIHĀRA
JETAVARNA MAHĀVIHĀRA
BHĪMEŚVARA MAHĀVIHĀRA
JHAURU BAHĪ
INDRAVARNA MAHĀVIHĀRA
MUNIVARNA MAHĀVIHĀRA
HANUMAN GHAT
ĀDIPADMA MAHĀVIHĀRA
PRASANNAŚILA MAHĀVIHĀRA
ONGAVARNA MAHĀVIHĀRA
VIKUBĀHĀ
YAMBAHĪ
HANUMANTE
SMALL CAITYA
COURTYARD
BUDDHA FIGURE
0
100
200
300
400
500 M

fig. 2

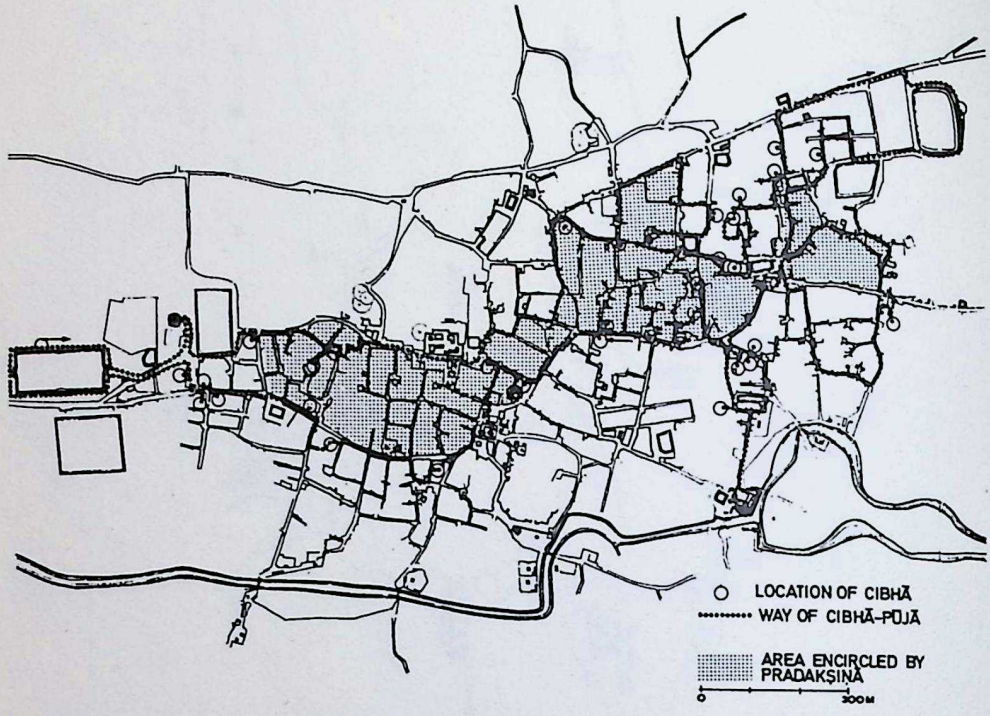

LOCATION OF CIBHĀ
WAY OF CIBHĀ-PŪJĀ
AREA ENCIRCLED BY PRADAKṢINĀ
0
200M

fig. 3

A NOTE ON THE 'ASOKAN' STŪPAS OF PĀṬAN

Frank Raymond Allchin

It is a curious paradox that the tiny valley of Nepal possesses such a wealth of archaeological remains of the Licchavi and later periods, including an enormous number of inscriptions, sculptures and monuments, but that virtually nothing is known of its earlier history. Indeed, apart from a handful of pieces of sculpture which may be earlier, virtually nothing exists which can be pointed to as pre-Licchavi. In the wider perspective the archaeological record of the valley of Nepal is far less complete than that of any of the adjacent regions to the south. Even for the Mauryan period, which is now so well documented in the Ganges valley and for that matter in part of the Tarai, for the valley of Nepal we have to fall back on legends and traditions. Special interest therefore must centre on the tradition linking Asoka with a visit to Nepal and with the foundation of a number of monuments there. The aim of this paper is to consider two questions: first, how seriously should we treat this tradition, in the light of local circumstances and of similar traditions associated with better known sites in India; and second, what is the present archaeological evidence, and how far may we expect further research, and particularly excavation, to throw further light on the problem?

When the title of this paper was announced and while it was yet in an early state Dr. Ulrich Wiesner kindly sent me a copy of his almost identically titled paper, then recently published[1]. I was happy to discover that he had dealt with the subject with careful thoroughness and has considered most of the hitherto published sources. As his treatment seemed to anticipate much of what I had at first intended to do, and as there seemed no point in merely repeating what he had done so adequately, I gratefully acknowledge his work and propose myself to deal with parts of the subject that he has not enlarged upon, or where I wish in particular to record my own observations and views.

The tradition that Asoka was responsible for the construction of eighty-four thousand Buddhist *stūpas* in the course of three years is certainly ancient, occurring in the *Divyāvadāna* and therefore dating back at least to the early centuries of the Christian era[2]. It is believed that the *Divyāvadāna* version employs earlier materials and that the section on Asoka apparently draws on a now lost *Asokarājāvadāna* which was translated into Chinese by a Parthian Fa-Kin c. 300 A.D.[3]. Winternitz follows Przyluski in tracing the source of this material to a yet earlier text compiled between 150 and 50 B.C.[4] It may well be that it was even older and arose as did other such legends in India during its subject's own lifetime[5]. Even from the Asokan inscriptions we learn of the enlargement of the *stūpa* of Konāgamana at Nigāli Sāgar, and his pious zeal in promoting

Buddhism is apparent in all his inscriptions. Certainly there seems to be every reason to believe that it was this tradition which maintained, if not created, the use of the term Dharmarājikā in relation to *stūpas* which owed their foundation to Asoka, as an extension of the term Dharmarājā being applied to Asoka himself[6]. The tradition was still full of life when Hiuen Tsang visited northern India in the seventh century, for he refers both to the story and many of the monuments involved. One is struck by the apparent consistency of his observations: for instance he mentions the polished surface of some of the Asokan pillars; he tells us in some cases which animals were represented on the capitals; and that some pillars carried inscriptions. From him we learn of over a dozen important Buddhist sites marked by pillars: two at Śrāvasti, three at Kapilavastu, one at Lumbini, two at Banāras, one at Sārnāth, one at Vaiśālī, two at Paṭnā, one at Rājagriha, another at 'new' Rājagriha, and one at Bodh Gayā. His information on the many monasteries and *stūpas* reputed to be Asokan foundations is necessarily less easily confirmed, but he mentions more than forty such *stūpas*.

Since Cunningham archaeologists have been interested to try to identify these monuments and their efforts have met with some success. Actual pillars have been identified at many of the places mentioned, etc. Of course such identifications are quite separate from the archaeological demonstration that a monument goes back to the Mauryan period, let alone that it was founded by a particular person. Such certainty can only rarely be achieved and then for the most part only when contemporary inscriptions provide a clue. Lumbini furnishes an example: since the discovery of the pillar in 1895 all doubt has been removed that this was the place visited by Asoka, and thus at that time revered by Buddhists as the birthplace of the Buddha. Yet subsequent excavations failed to produce any supporting evidence that the site was occupied in Mauryan times, and it is only with the excavations by the Nepal Archaeological Department in 1976-77 that firm evidence of building activities at Lumbini during the Mauryan period has come to light, in the shape of brick structures associated by the distinctive 'Northern Black Polished' ware, which is dated in adjacent parts of the Ganges valley by radiocarbon to from c. 500 B.C.[7] Indeed this new evidence may even indicate earlier activities from the very early Buddhist period. Interesting too is the discovery of further fragments of a chunār sandstone capital, spoken of in the published note as fragments of a horse, thereby apparently confirming the Chinese pilgrim's account and the subject matter of a fragmentary Bhārhūt relief[8].

Sir John Marshall made a number of important contributions to this aspect of research. For example, although no Asokan inscription was found near the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxilā, other clues led Marshall to assign its foundation to the Mauryan period. The discovery of the Aramaic inscription of Priyadarsi at neighbouring Sirkap lent strength to this

hypothesis;while the discovery of the silver scroll inscription of the year 136 *Ayasa*, of Azes, in one of the buildings of the Dharmarājikā complex, although its exact chronological significance may not be finally established, provides convincing proof that in the early first century A.D. the *stūpa* was already known by this name, and therefore regarded as an Asokan foundation. We must share Marshall's uncertainty whether the Asokan *stūpas* referred to by the Chinese pilgrim included the Dharmarājikā itself, as although Sirkap was ruined and abandoned at that date its fortifications must still have been visible, and may well have been pointed to as the 'city', at a date when no actual city survived at Taxilā. Marshall's work at two other sites is also relevant for our purpose. At Sāñcī the inscribed Asokan pillar beside the great *stūpa* is placed axially between the south gateway and the apsidal hall, Temple 18. This position seems to support Marshall's archaeological demonstration of the Mauryan date of both these foundations, and thus too lends support for the belief that the *stūpa* was founded by Asoka, or even before this time. The same is true at Sārnāth, where the close proximity of the inscribed Asokan pillar to the main shrine, and its axial positioning between that shrine and the early apsidal hall strongly argues for the antiquity of both. The same principals may be used to argue for an equally early and basic position of the neighbouring Dharmarājikā *stūpa* (although here the name is attested first in the inscription of Mahipāla of 1026 A.D.), and of the Dhamekh *stūpa* (presumably this name is derived from an earlier form *Dhamāk* of a 12th century inscription, and refers to the Dharmacakra *stūpa* mentioned in the Mahipāla inscription and earlier by Hiuen Tsang). In all these cases archaeology finds support and confirmation in inscriptions, both earlier or later, and tends to support the early, Mauryan, date of certain monuments. Moreover there appears to be a surprising agreement with some of Hiuen Tsang's notes on the Asokan age of certain structures. To sum up, we are led to conclude that the tradition that Asoka was associated with the foundation or aggrandisment of many Buddhist monuments is a very ancient one and that it survived throughout the first millennium, and at least into the second.

Regrettably for our purpose Hiuen Tsang did not visit Nepal and his reference to that country is short and lacking in all detail. The tradition that Asoka visited the valley and founded various monuments there rests on later sources. But this does not necessarily mean that the tradition is not ancient. Regmi has pointed to the reliability (or should we rather say unreliability) of the chronicles, particularly the later ones[9]. He states that the chronicles compiled in the Malla period make no reference to the Asokan visit, and that it is not only in the later chronicles compiled during the first half of the nineteenth century that the incident is mentioned. This might lead us to suspect that it was a fabrication of that time, but it would be unwise to do so, without further proof. Indeed I am informed that there is a manuscript of the time of

Siddhi Narasimha Malla (1620-1661) which appears to refer to the existence of the four Asokan *stūpas* at that time[10]. In the absence of any more solid evidence historians have clutched at even so tenuous a thread, and since Wright published the translation of a later chronicle in his History of Nepal (1877), there has been a general acceptance of the episode and discussion of its bearing upon various monuments[11]. Regmi remains suspicious. It must be remembered that the tradition exists in quite a different medium, among the Newars of the valley. This seems to indicate that it is indeed older than the historical sources would suggest, and as with so many other traditions in India its absence from textual sources need not indicate its lack of foundation in fact[12].

The tradition affirms that Asoka visited the valley of Nepal and founded a number of Buddhist monuments. Among these are particularly the four *stūpas* at the four entrances of Pāṭan; a *stūpa* and monastery named Cārumati *vihāra* after his daughter of that name whom he gave in marriage to a local ruler who in his turn is reputed to have founded a 'city' at Deopāṭan; a *stūpa* at Kīrtipur; and a fifth *stūpa* in the centre of Pāṭan. Asoka is also reputed to have visited the shrine at Guhyeśvarī and the *stūpa* at Svayambhu, and have worshipped there.

I have in recent years had an opportunity to visit most of these places and I have looked for archaeological traces which might support the tradition. I now wish to put the results on record, even though they are largely negative. First, the evidence from Pāṭan may be considered. The earliest historical evidence from this city is in the Licchavi inscriptions found there. Earlier than that there are a few stone sculptures which have been supposed to date from c. 3rd century A.D.[13]. But there is so far no archaeological evidence relating to the date of the foundation of the city, or its earlier occupation. It has often been remarked that the four 'Asokan' *stūpas* lay on or near the two main roads which divide the settlement into quadrants. If it could be proven that the *stūpas* belonged to an early period, it would seem to provide a definite indication that the layout of the city was at least as old. But doubt has been cast on this hypothesis by the demonstration that the two main crossing roads in question appear to relate to the re-alignment of the city in Malla times, and that two roads slightly to the north and west appear to represent the older main roads. Yet these roads do not connect directly with the Asokan *stūpas*. A fifth *stūpa* has also been attributed to Asoka near the centre of the city, and supposedly near the intersection of the roads, just south of the Darbār square which may be presumed to represent planning of the Malla period. The north-south street is paved with stone slabs, while the main east-west street has been widened and surfaced with tarmac. Incidentally I have on more than one occasion been able to inspect exposed sections of drain- and water-pipe-laying trenches in and around the Darbār square, but seen nothing

to indicate deposits of any great age. Clearly if there is such evidence in this area it will have to be purposefully hunted for. To speak of the four *stūpas* as marking the cardinal points is somewhat misleading. Properly speaking they and the intersecting roads are intermediate between them: the angle formed by joining the west and east *stūpas* by a straight line is somewhat more than forty degrees south of east, and that joining the north and south *stūpas* is about 25 degrees east of north. This orientation appears to depend not upon any desire to align on the cardinal points, but upon the direction of the flow of the Bāgmati river, that is to say more or less due north-westerly, and upon the consequent line of its alluvial terrace. Nor is the intersection, either of the direct lines or the roads, directly related to the centre of the city, nor even to the 'central' *stūpa*.

We have already alluded to the position of Pāṭan on the southern bank of the Bāgmati river. The valley of Nepal is geomorphologically speaking a trough surrounded by mountains and filled with a considerable depth of alluvial deposit. The valley is drained by the Bāgmati river and its tributaries. In the central parts of the valley the river has cut down through the alluvium and now flows through a flood plain, leaving a terrace of varying depth on either side. In the region of Pāṭan its height is about 4.5-7 m. Clearly the flood plain is not the place on which to build any permanent settlement or monument, and therefore the city and its monuments were sited on the high terrace to the south of the river.

The four 'cardinal' *stūpas* show certain common features[14]. All have a low dome which has been seen for obvious reasons to resemble those of such undoubtedly early *stūpas* as those of Sāñcī or Paunī. Three are covered with turf and one is plastered. All have a low retaining wall by way of drum around the base, made of brick and stucco, and all have small brick and stucco shrines built around the drum, for the four cardinal Buddhas. These all appear to be comparatively new, but most probably replace earlier brickwork. Each *stūpa* is crowned with a *harmikā* complex of wood or brick and stucco, and in three cases what appears to be a wooden *yaṣṭi* is visible at the top. The size is not constant: the south *stūpa* is undoubtedly the largest, the east and west appear to be about the same size and the north is slightly smaller.

The western *stūpa* is on the main terrace of the river, about 300 m from the edge of the limits of the medieval city. It is surrounded by housing which has grown up around the neighbouring Buddhist monuments, probably in Malla times. Curiously there is a low hillock immediately west of the *stūpa*, on which there stands another Buddhist monument, the Coyā Bahil. As the hillock is directly aligned on the east-west road, it is difficult to understand why the Asokan *stūpa* was not established on its top, rather than at its foot. The *stūpa* itself yields no clues to its origins, nor what is beneath the turf covering. Inscriptions record the establishment of the brick shrines for the four cardinal Buddhas in

1455 A.D., and their renovation in 1759. Both the *stūpa* and its immediate surroundings could be easily excavated, settling the antiquity beyond doubt.

The northern *stūpa* is unique among the four in that it stands on the verge of the medieval settlement area. At this point, northeast of the town centre, the edge of the settlement follows closely on the edge of the terrace, and the *stūpa* too is on the bank. The road continues northeastwards, dropping down at once to the floodplain and running between ricefields to the crossing point of the river. Thus the site of the *stūpa* is the last solid ground on the road before it reaches the river. The *stūpa* has been more fully restored than any of the others. Its dome is covered with limewashed plaster and the *harmikā* is more elaborate, recalling the standard form of the Svayambhu *stūpa*, and those of early *stūpas* of the valley generally. The monument is in a courtyard neatly floored and walled with brickwork. There are several *caityas* and good pieces of sculpture. Inscriptions record restoration work in 1615 and 1841 A.D. The area north of the *stūpa* would probably repay excavation. As this site is close to the Kumbheśvara temple, where some of the oldest sculptures of the whole valley have been noted, it may well produce important data[15].

The eastern *stūpa* lies about 650 m beyond the limits of the settlement. It too stands on the edge of the terrace, but across the floodplains of a tributary stream flowing from the south towards the river. Thus to reach it from the town one must descend on to the floodplain and then climb back at this place. The *stūpa* is in open land and reveals no more sign of its age than the other two. It was repaired in 1846, when presumably the brick shrines of the four cardinal Buddhas were added or restored.

The southern *stūpa* is also outside the town, being about 600 m from the edge of the built up area. It was restored in 1878 and the brick shrines of the cardinal Buddhas were then added. It seems probable that at the same time it was enlarged by digging out soil from the open land to its south. It stands on the same terrace, but on a low bank of gravel which here appears to be in turn covered by an occupation deposit of up to two metres in depth. There are traces of old brickwork and quantities of pottery, much of it with a bright red slip which is reminiscent of the Licchavi period. I also found a few sherds of fine black burnished pottery with a glossy surface. This contained particles of mica and was evidently of local manufacture. It bears a resemblance to the 'northern black polished' ware of the Ganges valley, and may be a local imitation of it. Such imitations are found in several outlying provinces of India. Pruscha states that a chronicle records a tradition that there was once a palace of the Licchavi ruler Anśuvarmā at this place, having seven courtyards. Although this has not been tested by excavation the surface observations could well relate to some such structure. Even more suggestive is Landon's report that when he first visited the site he noticed a small piece of a railing

stone lying near the *stūpa*, quite unlike anything else he had seen in the valley, but reminiscent of the early Buddhist railings of Gayā, Bhārhūt, etc.[16]. In the light of these two indications this site seems to demand excavation, if the early history of Pāṭan is to be discovered.

The so called 'central' *stūpa* is clearly not like any of the four cardinal *stūpas*, and indeed its identification seems to be uncertain. In these circumstances little can be said of it. There remains however the problematic mound known as Patuko Dhun which is situated in the middle of of a block of houses north of the Darbār square and between the north road and the road which Gutschow has supposed to be the old main street[17]. This mound is associated with a Kirāta ruler mentioned in Wright's chronicle source, and is regarded with special respect by the Newar community. It takes the form of a steep roughly conical mound surmounted by a *pīpal* tree and about 8 m in height. The houses on all sides abut on the base of the mound, so that its original circumference cannot be ascertained. The fact that this mound has been preserved, although in the centre of the city, seems to argue for its unique antiquity calling for special protection, even if its original meaning is forgotten. Very little can be said of the nature of the mound without excavation. The ground at the top is loose and gives the impression of recent accumulation. But it cannot be said whether the mound is artificial (perhaps originally a *stūpa*) or natural. There is a scatter of pottery but it gives the impression of being of recent date. It included sherds of black micaceous ware, like that noticed near the southern *stūpa*. Although there is little room, it would be possible to cut a small trench into the interior on the west side, so as to expose its structure, whatever it may be.

Outside Pāṭan there are Asokan associations at a number of places. It is not clear to me which *stūpa* in Kīrtipur is connected with the legend, but none that I have seen there gives any impression of special antiquity. An Asokan association with Cā Bahil, as the site of the Cārumati *vihāra* is more convincing. Here at least there is evidence of early activity, with inscriptions and sculptures of the Licchavi period. This area almost certainly would repay excavation, although it might not produce anything bearing on the Mauryan period. I also spent several hours exploring the area between Cā Bahil and Deo Pāṭan, and beyond to Paśupati. Here there are many sporadic signs of occupation since at least Licchavi times, but nothing which can be assigned to any earlier period, at least on the surface. One thing seems certain, that Deo Pāṭan was never a city in the real sense of the word. Possibly there was a palace complex at some time.

It seems strange to discuss the *stūpas* of Pāṭan without reference to Svayambhu, as it is the most holy Buddhist site in the valley, and therefore possibly the oldest. Wright's chronicle suggested that Asoka visited it for worship, thus pointing to its prior existence. Certainly the antiquity of its inscriptions indicates that it was there since Licchavi

times, at least. Its situation, on a hilltop overlooking the early settlement of Kāṭhmaṇḍu is suggestive of an Asokan context, recalling the situation chosen for Sāñcī on a hilltop overlooking the city of Vidiṣā, or that of the Asokan *stūpa* at Kapiśā mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, or for that matter the *stūpa* site at Kandahar on the ridge overlooking the old town with its Asokan edicts.

We have reached the conclusion that at present the Asokan association with the Nepal valley rests upon the later chronicles and upon Newar tradition. There is as yet no firm archaeological evidence to support it. Indeed there are several things which might argue against the probability of any of the Pāṭan *stūpas* actually being of such antiquity. There are several similar mounds which are definitely not so old.

In the valley of Nepal itself I have seen, though only from a distance, two other tumulus-shaped mounds on the plain northeast of Kīrtipur. Both are memorials of the late 18th century. The one erected by Prithivi Nārāyaṇ Shāh commemorates his minister Kāl Pāṇḍe who died at this spot; and the other Prithivi Nārāyan's brother Sura Pratap who died after being shot in the eye with an arrow (c. 1764 A.D.). Both these remind us of the Asokan *stūpas* of Pāṭan.

However, there seems to be very little doubt that the Pāṭan *stūpas* were already in existence in Malla times, and the possibility that the southern *stūpa* coincides with the site of some structures of the Licchavi period may even be supported by surface finds of pottery. Moreover, Landon's report of the stone railing bar, insubstantial as it is, may even lead us to expect remains of a yet earlier period, perhaps taking us back to within a century or two of Asoka himself. In conclusion, we believe that the tradition deserves to be investigated in a proper archaeological manner, as at almost every site there is scope for some excavation. We can only express the hope that the Archaeological Department of the Government of Nepal will initiate such work and firmly establish the facts about this important chapter of Nepal's history.

Notes and references

1 Wiesner, U., Zur Frage der vier sogenannten Asoka-Stūpas in Patan, Nepal. in: Goepper, R., ed. Zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens 50 Jahre Lehre und Forschung an der Universität Köln. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977. pp. 189-198.

2 Cowell, E.B. and Neil, R.A., Divyāvadāna. Cambridge: University Press, 1886. p. 279.

3 Winternitz, M., Ketkar, S. tr., History of Indian Literature. Vol. 2. Calcutta: University Press, 1933. p. 288.

4 Przyluski, J., La légende de l'empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna) dans les textes. in: Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Etudes, vol. 31, (1923). p. 13 ff.

5 For example see our comments on a miraculous episode in the account of the life of Tulsī Dās according to Priya Dās, the commentator on the Bhakta Māla of Nābhā Dās. An oblique reference to the episode appears in Tulsī's Vinayapatrikā (264.5), but this is incomprehensible without the later expanded version. Allchin, F.R., The Petition to Rām, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966. p. 286; Nābhā Dās, Śri Bhak-

tamāl, with commentary of Priyā Dās, Rūpkalā, SĪtārām Śaraṇ, ed., Lakhnau: Naval Kishor Press, 1926. p. 769. See also Añjanī Nandan Śaraṇ, Vinaya PĪyūṣ. Ayodhyā, 1966. Vol. 6. pp. 976-978.

6 Marshall, J., Taxila. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. pp. 234-235.

7 Rijal, B.K., Archaeological activities in Lumbini 1976-77. in: Ancient Nepal. Kathmandu: HMG Press (1977). pp. 1-14.

8 ibid. pp. 10-11.

9 Regmi, D.R., Ancient Nepal. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 3rd ed. 1969. pp. 41-44, 60; Regmi, D.R., Medieval Nepal. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1965. pp. 23-37, particularly pp. 28-33.

10 Information from N. Gutschow and Dr. Mary Slusser.

11 Notably, and among others, by: Lévi, Sylvain: Le Népal. in: Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Etudes, vols 17-18, (1905-1909); Landon, P., Nepal. London: Constable, 1928; Snellgrove, D.L., Buddhist Himalaya. Oxford: University Press, 1957.

12 See our comments on the survival of an oral folk tradition associating the ashmounds of South India with cattle herding some four millennia after the practice of creating ashmounds by accumulation and periodical burning of cowdung had ended. Later Indian textual references to the ashmounds are in the realm of mythological phantasy. Allchin, F.R., Neolithic Cattle Keepers of South India. Cambridge: University Press, 1963. pp. 88-99.

13 Pal, P. The Arts of Nepal: Part 1. Sculpture. Leiden/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1974. pp. 41-44, etc.

14 Landon, P., Nepal (see footnote 11) gives good photographs of the four *stūpas* as they were fifty years ago. North *stūpa*, vol. 1, p. 13; West *stūpa*, vol. 1, p. 16; East *stūpa*, vol. 1, p. 16; South *stūpa*, vol. 1, p. 13, and vol. 2, p. 212. For more recent photographs, useful site plans, and much other detail, see Pruscha, C. et al., The Kathmandu Valley, The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage: A Protective Inventory. Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1975. 2 vols. Particularly see vol. I. pp. 234-235; vol. II. pp. 131, 144, 170, 189. The geographical situation of Pāṭan on the terrace of the Bāgmati river can be clearly seen in the aerial photograph in the same publication, vol. I, p. 62.

15 i.e. in the Kumbheśvara temple, about 150 m to the southwest. See Pal, P., The Arts of Nepal (see footnote 13), pp. 41, 49.

16 Landon, P., Nepal (see footnote 11), p. 210.

17 Gutschow, N., Prozessionen in Patan, Nepal. in: Storia della Città. Rivista Internazionale di Storia urbana e territoriale. Vol. 4 (1977). pp. 31-44.

List of figures

1 Plan of Paṭān showing four 'Aśokan' *stūpas* (after Gutschow, 1977).

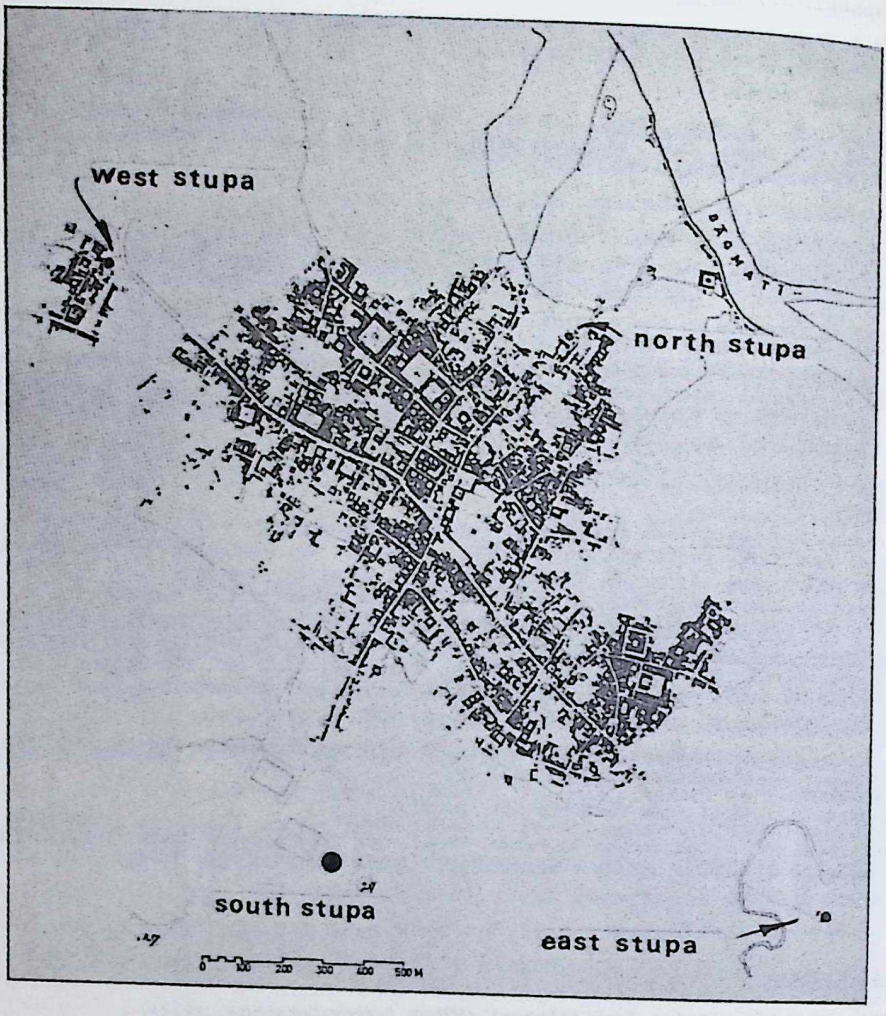

west stupa
north stupa
south stupa
east stupa
0 100 200 300 400 500 M

fig. 1

NEPALESE CAITYAS AS MIRRORS OF MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE

Mary Shepherd Slusser

I

The Kathmandu Valley is filled with architectural splendors. For the most part they appear to date from the last two centuries of Malla rule which came to a close in A.D. 1769. Among a variety of structures - the dwellings of kings and commoners, *dharmaśālās*, pillars and platforms, tanks and fountains, monastery quadrangles and temples - it is the multi-roofed temples of brick, carved wood, and metal repoussé which have commanded the most attention. While it is generally believed that almost all of these temples, the so-called "pagodas", were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a great many rise on foundations that were laid by the Licchavis, masters of Nepal from about A.D. 300 to 879.[1] Cases in point are the two most prestigious shrines of Hindu Nepal, Paśupathināth and Changu Nārāyaṇa, the foundations of both of which can almost certainly be established as no later than the fourth century A.D.[2] Furthermore, there are even some temple elevations which at least in part long predate the close of the Malla Period. One is the celebrated *dharmaśālā* and temple known as Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, the Wooden Pavilion, from which the Nepali capital city, Kathmandu, derives its name. The existence of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa can be documented to at least the mid-twelfth century;[3] it still stands as it long has, at the side of the former Trans-Himalayan trade route which bisects the old city. Another early structure, the second largest temple in Nepal, is that of Indreśvara Mahādeva in Panauti village, just east of the Valley proper. Decorated with some of the most sublime carvings in the realm, the temple was erected in A.D. 1294.[4] There is also a number of other buildings - particularly the one-time monastery quadrangles, the *vihāras* - which can almost certainly be dated at least as early as the two previously mentioned buildings. But beyond these few, almost nothing has been known about the antecedents of the traditional architecture of the Kathmandu Valley. Indeed, the chief information heretofore available appears to have been the oft-quoted commentary of the seventh-century Chinese envoy, Wang Hsüan-t'sê.[5] As is now well known, he passed through the Kathmandu Valley on three different occasions as part of embassies to the court of Harṣavardhana at Kanauj. En route, the envoy was well received by Narendradeva, the Licchavi incumbent from about A.D. 643 to 679, whose court he described together with one of the palace buildings. The envoy also referred to storeyed temples and commented on the nature of the common house.

Now, however, by following various avenues of research, it has been possible to considerably expand our knowledge about this hitherto obscure

aspect of the Nepali past. One source of information is provided by native documents. We now have almost two hundred inscriptions left by the Licchavis themselves.[6] Many have only recently come to light, and many contain important cultural information. There are also diverse, and in the cultural sense, largely untapped, documentary sources for the subsequent Transitional and Early Malla years, namely about A.D. 879 to 1482.

For illuminating the architectural past, a second source is provided by the former buildings themselves, fragments of which lie scattered over the surface of the Valley. Pending a time when traditional subsoil archaeological excavations may be undertaken in the sacred Kathmandu Valley,[7] such "surface archaeology" is very interesting indeed. At every turn one encounters a variety of architectural debris - among others, large-scale decorative fragments, door jambs, columns and pillars, whole or fragmentary, foundation courses, now for the most part functionless, or sills, their sockets now emptied of tenons. A few of the latter - foundation courses and sills - are still in situ but most architectural fragments lie forgotten or have been put to other uses (pls. XI, 1, 2). Indeed, from these two sources alone, documents and surface fragments, one can show that there are in fact surviving architectural works which may be securely dated to the seventh century A.D. at the latest. These are the *āvaranas*, the "covers", mentioned in Licchavi inscriptions,[8] simple shelters for *śivaliṅgas*. I found a whole constellation of these *āvaraṇas* still clustered around the ruins of a Śiva temple near Lele village, ancient Lembaṭidraṅga (pl. XI, 3), and quite disregarded, an almost complete example still stands in the shadow of Paśupatinātha. Parts of the shrines - monolithic roofs and distinctive columns - abandoned or serving other ends, are common elements of the archaeological surface debris (pl. XI, 1). There need be no doubt about the date of the *āvaraṇas* for there also exists part of a roof slab, now covering a spring, and a fallen column, each of which bears a dedicatory inscription.[6] While unfortunately, neither inscription contains a date, on the internal evidence of one of them and the palaeography of both, the inscriptions - and the shrines to which they pertain, therefore - may be assigned to the first quarter of the seventh century. There is also a related, but more complex, standing *śivaliṅga* shrine in Banepa village, just east of the Valley. It also very likely may be assigned to the late Licchavi- or early Transitional Period, viz., the ninth or tenth century.[10]

A third source of evidence respecting the Nepali architectural past is provided by comparative Indian materials, while the fourth, and the one which concerns us here, is the stone *caityas* of the Licchavi Period (pls. XI, 4-9). These ubiquitous little stone monuments abound in the Kathmandu Valley and beyond, and while no one has yet counted them, they certainly number in the thousands. Like *āvaraṇas* clustering around Śiva temples, the *caityas*, both Licchavi and later, gather around prestigious

stūpas such as Dharmadeva in Chabahil, or Svayambhūnātha, and are often incorporated into their platforms. *Caityas* are also typically erected in the open inner courts of monastery and domestic quadrangles, stand in the streets and squares, and are one of the most common objects encountered in the precincts of the public fountains. As objects of veneration, Licchavi *caityas* have suffered diverse fates. Some are enshrined in temples as the chief cult object under daily ministration of a priest while others are solicitously sheltered by simple *āvaraṇa*-like structures of recent date. Some are entirely incased in successive coats of whitewash which generations of crowding devotees have seen fit to bestow upon them, while others glow with offerings of vermilion. But many *caityas* are abandoned, broken and forgotten and often their scattered parts are put to other uses (pl. XI, 1). Finally, not a few *caityas* in Hinduizing Nepal are taken to be *śivaliṅgas* and are worshipped as such.[11]

II

The briefness of this paper precludes a detailed description of the Licchavi *caityas*, a subject amply covered elsewhere.[12] Suffice it to say that generally they are quite small, the average height being two and a half feet and, discounting towering latter-day finials, none exceeding four. Apart from the finial, *caityas* are monolithic or are composed of one or more separate pedestal segments upon which is seated the monolithic drum and dome (*medhī* and *aṇḍa*) (pls. XI, 4-6). The pedestal, or its several segments, alike or diverse, may be round, square, octagonal, or composed of intersected square and rectangle. The latter is the *viṃśatikona*, or platform of twenty angles, a form which the Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjika recommends for *stūpas* and the one most commonly encountered as the platform of Licchavi *caityas* (pls. XI, 4-6, 8, 9).[13]

Of considerable interest, few Licchavi *caityas* bear their original finials but are now crowned with ill-proportioned replacements crudely cemented into place (pls. XI, 4, 5). In keeping with all extant Nepali *stūpas* and votive *caityas* of later date, the replacement finials normally consist of a square *harmikā* emblasoned on each side with paired eyes and surmounted with a tall spire of thirteen stages, reference to the *bhūmis*, or thirteen stages of perfection. Such renovations, one would suppose, were dictated by doctrinal considerations, but what these were or when they took place, we do not yet know.[14] Although *stūpa* finials of thirteen stages are known in Indian texts redacted in the first three centuries of the Christian era,[15] it is evident that it was not the form favored by Licchavi builders. There are about a half-dozen Licchavi *caityas* which unaccountably escaped having their finials altered. All of the original finials are squat and none are provided with thirteen stages. Typically, they consist of a square *harmikā* expanded by successive stepped moldings to a broad cornice topped by a squat pyramid of three or four

steps (pl. XI, 6). Such finials closely compare to those of the *stūpas* carved on the walls at Ellora and Ajanta and they may be of comparable date.

That the thirteen-step finial was not a feature of Licchavi *caityas* is also attested by representations of *caityas* which occasionally figure among the pedestal ornament of the existing monuments. These figurative *caityas* bear rather undistinguished finials which seem to lie midway between the squat Licchavi survivals and the typical replacement (pl. XI, 7). Although we do not know when the original finials were removed from the old *caityas*, it seems unlikely that they began to be replaced much before the fifteenth century. *Caityas* represented in early Nepali manuscripts do not show the thirteen-stage finial (nor are there eyes on the *harmikā*)[16] nor do those which appear in the earliest known dated Nepali *paṭa*, a *Vasudhārā-maṇḍala* painted in A.D. 1367.[17] Indeed, the earliest evidence I know for the existence in the Kathmandu Valley of the distinctive finial which now typifies all Nepali *stūpas* is provided by another *Vasudhārā-maṇḍala* painted in Nepal in A.D. 1515.[18] There, accessory *stūpas* bear the distinctive *harmikā* emblasoned with eyes and crowned with the thirteen-stage spire. It is not improbable that this type of finial is related to the Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjika, a mediaeval text which from the thirteenth century, at least, was favored by Nepali builders[19] and has served them into recent times.[20] The Kriyāsaṃgraha expressly recommends the thirteen-step finial as proper to *stūpas* and it seems likely that the eyes painted on the *harmikā* beneath once signified the presence of the *Lokapālas*, the Four Guardians of the World which the Kriyāsaṃgraha affirms dwell in that very place.[21]

In terms of architectural history of the Kathmandu Valley - and pertinent to Asian architectural history in general - it is the lower portion of the *caityas* which is of greater interest. The pedestals and drums of many are carved with a dazzling repertory of motifs of human, animal, vegetal, geometric, and architectural origin, all of which have their roots in the classical tradition of Indian art (pls. XI, 1, 4-9).[22] Such motifs, to name but a few, include *kinnara*, *kalahaṃsa*, *makara*, chimera, *kīrthimukha*, foliage-holding *gaṇa*, *gandharva-mukhā*, the *stūpa*, deer worshipping the flaming wheel, and varied ornament of architectural derivation. A few *caitya* pedestals are dominated by images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, in which cases the dome is often somewhat accessory, or even vestigial.[23] Further, it is largely the *caityas'* wealth of decoration which allows us to date them on stylistic considerations, since few bear inscriptions. I know only four with Licchavi inscriptions. Of these a single one bears a date, Saṃvat 182 Āṣāḍha, corresponding to A.D. 758 (pl. XI, 5).[24] The others can be dated on palaeographic considerations to the seventh century.

III

Among the wealth of *caitya* ornament, it is the diverse architectural motifs which have the most direct bearing on architectural history. Many *caityas* bear niches carved in the form of shrines, four or more, in part depending on the number of pedestal stages (pls. XI, 1, 4-6, 8, 9). Apparently, few niches were furnished with images - unless they have been removed as Dr. Wiesner believes - although many are now occupied with recent introductions. The arched surrounds of the niches, their jambs typically offset, are flanked with meticulously carved pilasters and surmounted with a *toraṇa*, making in effect a doorway or in some instances a veritable portico (pls. XI, 1, 4, 5, 8, 9). The doorways and porticoes project from the adjacent "walls" often furnished with a molded median course and above it, a cornice (pls. XI, 5, 8, 9). Typically, from the median course depend festoons or other decoration and above it is still other distinctive ornament, frequently the *gavākṣa* (pl. XI, 8). The broad roof cornice is usually bordered below by dentils and surmounted with various ornaments, characteristically *gavākṣa*, rocky projections, and couchant lions (pl. XI, 8). More rarely there are crenelations (pl. XI, 9). Sometimes niches on the upper levels of the pedestal compare to rooftop shrines addorsed to the *caitya*'s drum. Indeed, many of the *caitya* pedestals are often veritable temples upon whose truncated roof rests the plain hemisphere of the *aṇḍa*. Such a one is the Su-bahal-hiti *caitya*, the only *caitya* to bear a dated inscription (pl. XI, 5).

The fact that the architectural motifs on the *caityas* are mirrored in early Indian architecture, again in the fragmentary above ground ruins of ancient Nepali buildings, and yet again in extant buildings of the Transitional and Malla periods helps enormously to clarify our perception of Nepali architecture. The structures which embellish the Valley today are clearly not of local inspiration. They represent end points in a long tradition whose sources lie elsewhere.

I will illustrate with a single example, namely the pilaster, a ubiquitous element of *caitya* pedestal ornament. Typically, the pilasters flank the distinctive niches I have mentioned, niches which are in effect doorways to the model temples of which they are a part. Despite the smallness of the pilasters - and some are barely a few inches high - many bear a distinctive crescent incised in the form of an inverted "U" (pls. XI, 6, 9). Many pilasters are surmounted by an *āmalaka*-like member - of varied forms - which cushions the *toraṇa* or the bracket-capitals they support (pls. XI, 4, 5, 8). The brackets themselves are no less distinctive than the pilasters. A number are very precisely carved into a particular convoluted form such as those on the well-known Dhvaka-bahal *caitya*, Kathmandu, a work of the early seventh century.[25] Many other brackets are reduced to rather nondescript flourishes (pls. XI, 5, 9) but this is in keeping with the Licchavi stonecarver's tendency to elaborate plants,

animals, or whatever else he fancied into complex and ornate scrolls. The pilasters and brackets together are, of course, the essential components of post-and-lintel architecture, the style of building fundamental to all extant traditional Nepali architecture.

Of profound interest, among the architectural debris scattered around the Valley floor, we find large scale stone columns which must have once been employed in actual buildings. Whole or in part they lie abandoned or, more often, are put to other ends. A number, for example, have been used in building a stairway to Kailāsa, the grassy hill adjacent to Paśupatināth. Others serve as sills to door- and gateways, as foundation stones, or, broken, as random building blocks and fill (pl. XI, 2). But these columns are strangely familiar, for we have seen them on many occasions and in many places. Like the miniature *caitya* pilasters, they too are often carved with an *āmalaka*-like member and, more particularly, bear on each face the distinctive incised crescent of the pilasters. Indeed, the meaning of the pilaster crescent now becomes abundantly clear. It is the motif which in the columns announces the transition from plain square base to the chamfered upper part, each individual facet of which is outlined by a similar inverted "U". That such columns were used by the Licchavis, there need be no doubt. They employed the same form for their victory pillars, the *garuḍadhvajas*, although the latter's special role as the vehicle for inscriptions forced modifications of the shaft. One of these is the famous pillar of Changu Nārāyaṇa, dated A.D. 464, and another is the inscribed Hadigaon pillar most likely erected about the mid-sixth century A.D.[26]

Such columns and pillars are by no means confined to the remains of Licchavi culture, however. For it is the selfsame column which one sees in wood in the extant post-and-lintel buildings datable to the Transitional and Malla periods (pl. XI, 10). Not only do these wooden columns bear the incised crescent and the *āmalaka*-like element, but they are joined with exactly the same distinctive convoluted brackets typified by the Dhvaka-bahal *caitya*. In wood, column and bracket are encountered in buildings of indeterminate age, in twelfth-century Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, and in many *vihāras* which I believe will be shown to long predate the Late Malla Period to which they are generally assigned.

In Nepal, then, by means of the Licchavi *caityas*, the architectural remnants, and the extant architecture, we are able to demonstrate an unbroken continuum in the column type. Similar, if sometimes less striking parallels may also be demonstrated with a host of other elements and ornaments. They may be similarly traced by means of the *caityas*, the ruins, and the extant examples.

It is not difficult to recognize in these Nepali *caitya* pilasters, *garuḍadhvajas*, fallen stone columns, and standing wooden ones, the typical columns of the Gupta order. Columns inside Temple 17 at Sāñcī provide a striking parallel. But our search for Nepali architectural origins does

not end at Sāñcī. For an examination of Kuṣāṇa remains - pedestals, railing pillars, lintels, and similar remnants - reveals the frequent use of miniature pilasters, meticulously incised with the distinctive crescent, furnished with *āmalaka*-like member, and joined to brackets which parallel those on the Nepali *caityas*.[27]

Obviously, we cannot reconstruct whole buildings on the basis of a single architectural element, namely the column, or even by means of a dozen or more. But taking the column together with other cultural aspects permits us to fill to some degree the void that has hitherto characterized the Nepali architectural past. Thus, when we look at certain of the *caitya* pedestals - pls. XI, 5, 8, 9 for example - it seems evident that the miniature temples we see there in many ways must mirror the larger buildings they stood among. Indeed, we are offered vivid confirmation of this thesis by the contemporary scene. Certainly the bracketed pilasters on *caityas* one sees standing in *vihāra* courtyards are clearly reflected in the bracketed wooden columns of the surrounding quadrangle. One day, when it becomes possible to dig beneath the surface of the Kathmandu Valley, it seems almost certain that the same will be verified for Licchavi Nepal.

Meanwhile, it seems abundantly evident that the architecture of the Malla Period is the direct descendant of Licchavi antecedents whose own essential roots are unlikely to have been nurtured in the Kathmandu Valley. Some structures, like the modest *āvaraṇas*, certain *garuḍadhvajas*, and terraced fountains we know to be Licchavi works. The houses and palaces, *dharmaśāḷās*, temples, and *vihāras* that the Licchavis frequented were almost certainly little different than those of their descendants as we know them today.

Notes and references

1 A mastery contended by the Abhīrā Guptas who were occasionally kings and often the power behind the throne. See Slusser, M. and G. Vajracharya, Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures: A Reappraisal Within Their Cultural and Historical Context. In: Artibus Asiae 35:1/2 (1973), 79-138. pp. 80-83.

2 Such dating is substantiated in the writer's forthcoming book, Nepal Mandala: A Cultural History of the Kathmandu Valley, Princeton University Press (in press).

3 Slusser, M. and G. Vajracharya, Two Medieval Nepalese Buildings: An Architectural and Cultural Study. In: Artibus Asiae 36:3 (1974), 169-218. pp. 206-207.

4 The Gopālarāja-vaṃśāvalī (fols. 26b-27a), a fifteenth-century Nepali chronicle proven extremely reliable in the cultural realm, affirms that it was built by Viramadevī, then wife of the Crown Prince (*jaurāginī*) and the mother of King Ānandadeva, in N.S. 414 [A.D. 1294]. The superb woodcarvings which decorate the temple are also stylistically consonant with that date. On the Gopālarāja-vaṃśāvalī see Slusser, M. and G. Vajracharya, Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures (see footnote 1), pp. 79-80.

5 Lévi, S., Le Népal, Étude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou. 3 vols. Paris: Ernest Léroux, 1905-1908. vol. 1, pp. 157-159, 163-166.

6 Composed in Sanskrit and inscribed in Gupta characters, almost all of the known inscriptions may now be consulted in the compendium of Vajracharya, D., Licchavikālakā-abhilekha, Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University,

1973. Since the latter's appearance, approximately another half dozen inscriptions have been found bringing the current grand total to 195.

7 To date, excavations have been limited to a month's exploration of two Licchavi occupation sites (Deo, S.B., Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu: 1965, Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 1968).

8 Vajracharya, D., Licchavikālakā-abhilekha (see footnote 6), inscr. 113, p. 429-430.

9 One of the inscriptions was published by Gnoli, R. Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 10, Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture, no. 2, 2 pts., Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956, inscr. 46, p. 61, the other by Shakya, H., Abhileka-prakāśa, Patan, Nepal: 1969, inscr. 7, pp. 14-15, and both appear in Vajracharya, D., Licchavikālakā-abhilekha (see footnote 6), inscrs. 87, 182, pp. 366-367, 596. But the use of the objects on which the inscriptions appeared has not been hitherto understood. The English rendering in the Shakya work (p. 16) is an error since the inscription itself merely says, "This is the *kīrti* [meritorious work] of Pradyumnaprāṇa" (*pradyumnaprānasya kīrti*).

10 The shrine is illustrated and discussed in my forthcoming Nepal Mandala.

11 The possibility that the *caityas* were subsequently Hinduized is discussed by Ulrich Wiesner, Nepalese Votive Stupas of the Licchiavi Period: The Empty Niche, this volume.

12 See Chapter 7 of Nepal Mandala, also Pal, P., Buddhist Art in Licchavi Nepal. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1974, 7-20.

13 Bénisti, M., Étude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne. In: Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 50:1 (1960), pp. 37-113. p. 4, fig. 6.

14 See Wiesner, U., Nepalese Votive Stupas of the Licchavi Period: The Empty Niche, this volume, for one theory.

15 As pointed out by Gustav Roth in a paper in this volume.

16 See, for example, illustrations from the two eleventh century manuscripts explored by Foucher, A., Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde. 2 vols., vol. 1, d'après des documents nouveaux. Paris: Ernest Lêroux, 1900.

17 Thanka Art (Catalog of an Exhibition, Doris Wiener Gallery, New York, January 12 to February 23, 1974), pl. T, now in a private collection.

18 Now in the collections of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, USA.

19 The date of the Kriyāsaṁgraha, compiled by Kuladatta, is unknown. Bénisti, M., Étude sur le stūpa (see footnote 13), p. 94, remarks that it is "certainly posterior to the fifth century," while Gustav Roth in a companion paper in this volume places it about the ninth or tenth century. On the Kriyāsaṁgraha see Bénisti, ibid., pp. 38, 89-108 (one of whose texts, it is interesting to note, originated in Nepal) and the above mentioned paper by Roth.

20 According to an in situ stone inscription the Kriyāsaṁgraha was used as the guide for building a *vihāra* in Kathmandu about A.D. 1592. Vajracharya, D., ed., Itihāsa-saṁśodhana pramāṇa-prameya. Patan, Nepal: Jagadamba prakāśana, V.S. 2019 [1962], main pt., p. 115, reads the date (recorded in words) as N.S. 712 [A.D. 1592]. Regmi, D., Medieval Nepal. 4 pts. Calcutta and Patna: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay and self-published. Pt. 4, inscr. 27, pp. 37-44 reads the date as N.S. 713 [1593].

21 Bénisti, M., Étude sur le stūpa (see footnote 13), pp. 100-101.

22 Further examples may be seen in Pal, P., Buddhist Art in Licchavi Nepal (see footnote 12), figs. 11, 13-15, 22-36.

23 See, for example, Pal, P., ibid., figs. 29, 36.

24 All the *caitya* inscriptions are now published in the compendium of Vajracharya, D., Licchavikālakā-abhilekha (see footnote 6), inscrs. 98, 165, 167, 174. Pal, P., Buddhist Art in Licchavi Nepal (see footnote 12), p. 7 mentions a Licchavi inscription on a *caitya* at Chabahil but I was unable to find it. However, there is a Chabahil *caitya* which is inscribed in Bhujiṇmol characters, belonging to about the fourteenth century.

25 Illustrated by Pal, P., Buddhist Art in Licchavi Nepal (see footnote 12), figs.23, 25-28.

26 The Hadigaon pillar is undated but both palaeography and internal considerations argue for this date (Vajracharya, D., Licchavikālakā-abhilekha (see footnote 6), inscr. 35, pp. 158-164).

27 Cf. Rosenfield, J., The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, figs. 29, 38, 40b.

NEPALESE VOTIVE STŪPAS OF THE LICCHAVI PERIOD: THE EMPTY NICHE

Ulrich Wiesner

Quite a number of votive *stūpas* from the Licchavi period (c. 4th-8th century) have survived in the Kathmandu Valley. One outstanding feature of these *stūpas* distinguishing them from those of a later date is their empty niches. Noting this, Regmi remarks, "There are no images attached or carved in such constructions. The niches are there, but they are empty."[1]

Pratapaditya Pal proceeds from this fact and speaks of a "non-figurative" type:[2] "It may be pointed out that these are characterized as 'non-figurative' only because they are n o w without images in their niches."[3] To date, no attempt has been made to account for the now empty niches.

So much for observations and speculations made until now with respect to what is an extremely odd phenomenon. In what follows, an attempt will be made to shed more light on the matter.

An important example of a votive *stūpa* of the period is located at Teku in the south of Kathmandu, now set on a new brick base. The old socle is missing, as is tho whole of the finial over the dome (pl. XII, 1).

The cult object is architectural in concept. The three lower cylinders represent three different storeys separated by continuous moulding that stands for a roof with a console cornice. Each of the three storeys has 16 niches with sculptured frames. The various niche forms and frames as distributed over the monument add up to a fanciful and ingenious composition. As an analysis reveals, the farther up we go, the less dynamic are the treatment and distribution of the niche forms and frames. The variety of forms encountered below gradually gives way to the simplicity of the dome shape at the top.

In the uppermost storey, the monumentality of the *stūpa* dome is stressed by regularly spaced round windows set in uniform floral frames. In the lowest storey, on the other hand, we find alternating wider and narrower door-shaped niches. The latter have different tops and each type has a different crowning member.

Various expedients were adopted to enhance the effect of the wider niches (pl. XII, 2): 1. the crowning mask overlaps the console cornice, 2. the frame elements formed by the floral tails of the two *makaras* are extended in wing fashion, 3. the *makaras* have their heads turned inwards away from the direction the body is facing, which produces a triangular scheme that also includes the two narrower niches. The latter now have a flanking function, and this is underlined by another feature: the narrower niches, too, are each framed by two *makaras*. All we see of these are their heads, since they are otherwise concealed behind their bigger colleagues, on whose shoulders they place a paw. Now, these *makaras* are not looking to-

ward their own niches, but toward the wider niche. What emerges as a result is a continuous horizontal system of convoluted and intertwined motifs and relationships, and the overall impact of the apparently regular rhythm of narrower and wider niches is of a coherent pattern. This principle of composition has also been employed for the middle zone, where the niche forms and frames act as mediator between the architectonic schemes of the other two storeys.

Both Hermann Goetz[4] and Pratapaditya Pal[5] point out that the round plan of the early Nepalese votive *stūpa* is closely related to the *stūpas* of Gandhāra. A comparison does confirm this, but also reveals important differences in detail.

Although both types have a clear arrangement of piled-up cylinders and horizontal boundaries with no overlapping, these boundaries are treated in a completely different fashion. In the Gandhāra type, there is sharp-edged moulding which is flat at the top, while in the Teku case we find soft, rounded-off transitions meant to stand for continuous roofs. Such a type having a boundary meant to be a roof has not turned up in the Gandhāra region, so another source will have to be sought for this form.[6] One difficulty in this respect is that the number of comparable monuments in North India is astonishingly meagre considering the abundance of specimens that have survived both in Gandhāra and Nepal.

The idea underlying a massive, yet tall structure such as that exemplified at Teku does suggest the representation of a cult building from the Amaravātī region[7] and, in fact, the Nepalese votive *stūpas* are indeed meant to reproduce multi-storeyed buildings and not, say, architecturalized socle zones as is the case in Gandhāra.

The votive *stūpa* at Chabahil[8] (pl. XII, 3, 4), too, looks like the miniature version of a piece of large-scale architecture, but whether the architecture shown reproduces actual structures built in those days or is a phantasy product is an open question. What is certain is that various elements employed in this *stūpa* do derive from the architecture of that time. The corner column, in particular, used in timber constructions till recent times in this very form (also as monoliths, of which there is evidence in the Kathmandu Valley[9]), demonstrates how old architectural motifs may live on for over a thousand years.[10] Still, the survival of one or another architectural motif need not imply that the overall conception behind such a votive *stūpa* must necessarily reproduce actual Nepalese architecture of those days.

This example of a votive *stūpa* at Chabahil has four storeys and a dome. Crucial for the design of this *stūpa* is the square plan of the two lower storeys, with each side being given the same emphasis by a middle projection. This gives the votive *stūpa* four cardinal faces which give way, in the two upper storeys only, to an unaccentuated arrangement, just as is the case at Teku.

In spite of the different groundplans for the various storeys - sqaure

with middle stress, dodecagon, circle - the number of niches on every level is the same, viz. 12. However, the function of the niches is much more differentiated, especially in the two lower storeys, than in the Teku example.

Some affinity to the votive *stūpa* at Chabahil may be detected in a comparatively homogeneous group of *stūpas*, each having two layers of niches and a dome (pl. XII, 5)[11]. Yet, there is one important difference. Although the lower storey in both cases has a square plan with the middle of each side being stressed, the four cardinal faces of the lower storeys at Chabahil give way, in the upper storeys, to an unaccentuated arrangement, whereas the distinguishing feature of the other group is to be seen in the four cardinal faces for the niches of the topmost storey. This group reflects a completely different approach, therefore, and that has implications for the design of the lowest storey (as a clear departure from the instance at Chabahil). No standard storey height is now observed, this being sacrificed in the area of the central projection in favour of a separate building element (see profile).

It would appear that the members of this group have a form that plays an intermediary role between two quite different types, viz. between the type exemplified at Chabahil and another type having four cardinal sides as its distinguishing feature.

The fragment of a votive *stūpa* now serving as a corner stone in a well-structure at Deopatan is unique in Nepal, both in its uncompromising approach to form and in the nature of its low relief (pl. XII, 6). The fragment has a square plan with a slightly projecting middle section on each side containing a high niche without any actual projecting frame. Distinctive of the idea behind this specimen is the finely patterned low relief covering the offset and vertically staggered surfaces, which produces an effect that is more pictorial than architectural.

Although this fragment may be unique in its execution in Nepal, the type is not. The many votive *stūpas* in this group[12] that have survived all have four cardinal faces, with one single niche on each side (and on each level). What is more, the basic scheme of these monuments is no longer architectonic, as was the case in all the instances cosidered so far, which were supposed to reproduce a building, but sculptural in concept. The niches themselves become autonomous elements, made to stand out from the main body, overlapping its structure and design. To the extent that the votive *stūpa* no longer represents some conceivable piece of architecture (which might contain something), it becomes sculpture in its own right fronted by niches as separate elements. This process seems to coincide typologically with the move to one single type having four cardinal faces[13].

Most of the votive *stūpas* from the Licchavi period are now in a dilapidated state, and few are integrated into the Buddhist cult. Nor does the "use" made of these votive *stūpas* seem in general to be continuous.

An interesting example of the reactivation of a *stūpa* has been preserved in the Naka-bāhā (Lokakīrtimahāvihāra) at Patan (pl. XII, 7).

The actual votive *stūpa* with its two niche zones is located above a layer of profuse moulding. The lower niche zone has a continuous architectural scheme based on pilasters, with the niches placed in the intercolumniation and filled with masks apparently looking out of windows. While this storey has 20 niches, with 5 on each side, the storey above has only 4, i.e. one on each side. The empty niches in this zone are part of an autonomous projection crowned by a gable with a round window and behind which stark moulding marks the transition from square to circle.

Using the above typological analysis, we recognize that the two niche zones in this specimen are the expression of two different design principles. Moreover, a different measure has been employed for each zone, so that one niche in the upper zone corresponds to three in the lower zone. One possible explanation for these remarkable inconsistencies in one and the same structure is that the two niche zones belong to two different votive *stūpas*, both deriving from the Licchavi period, which have here been reactivated and combined to form the main section of another *stūpa*. To complete the whole, a new base was executed and a simple monolithic spire mounted as finial. Yet this does not account for why the niches in one storey have retained their contents, but not in the other. Still, the lower zone does show that such niches had an iconographical content and that the niche and its content were executed in one piece.

This particular mask motif is not unique. A second architectural fragment, likewise showing masks within niches set in an architectural scheme has been preserved, and is now used as a door lintel (pl. XII, 8).

Another *stūpa*, reinstalled but not reactivated in the cult, is situated opposite the Mahākāla temple on the Kanthipath in Kathmandu. Standing on a brick base is a wide square socle with one niche on each side. Above this are two cylinders with a hemispherical dome. Obviously, fragments from two different *stūpas* have been combined here. Only the two cylinders are of interest for the purposes of this study (pl. XII, 9).

The niches of the lower cylinder are topped with *kīrttimukha* masks and are framed by hovering *kinnaras* turned reverently toward a fully opened lotus - hardly a meaningful gesture, since the lotus bloom is empty. Evidently, there is something missing visually at this point, particularly when we consider the exuberant treatment of the upper cylinder. A close look at the surface structure here reveals unmistakable traces of a revision, i.e. the figures once borne by the lotus blooms were subsequently removed (pl. XII, 10).

Here, then, we have tangible evidence of an iconographical detail being chiselled away, but without affecting the overall character of the cult object. This fact is significant, as the reworking must be regarded as a form of censorship and not as an act of destruction. Since the representation of the *stūpa* in the upper cylinder between the niches has

survived, we may assume that what was shown on the lower cylinder was not an analogous representation of a *stūpa*, but a different iconographical element.

One further alteration can be observed in this *stūpa*: when we compare the surfaces of the reworked areas above the lotus blooms with the rear walls of the niches we find the same "hand" has been at work, and that the contents of the niches have been chiselled away[14].

In later times, the gap left in the niches was occasionally regarded as a defect, as can be demonstrated with a few examples.[15] However, the iconographical scheme of what was added to fill the gap does not allow any inferences to be made as to the original iconography[16] (pl. XII, 11).

Instances where the original content of the niche has survived are absolute exceptions (pl. XII, 12, 13). The most important is the famous monolithic votive shrine of the Dhvāka-bāhā[17] in the north of Kathmandu which has a dome-shaped roof in the form of a votive *stūpa*. This votive *stūpa* is fronted by four niches - one for each cardinal point - each containing a meditating Buddha. At least one further example is in keeping with this iconographical type.

Votive *stūpas* of the Licchavi period are incomplete not only on account of the empty niches, but also owing to the absence of a base stone and - much more serious for the cult - of a finial.

One Licchavi *stūpa*, located in Patan, is of interest in this connection because it has preserved its base stone (pl. XII, 14). This is evidence that the votive *stūpas* of that period did not necessarily stand on the bare ground, as those at Chabahil may suggest today. Those votive *stūpas* used again in the cult, on the other hand, are placed as a rule on a relatively high pedestal. However, if we examine the bases of Licchavi votive *stūpas* situated now in *vihāras* we find that none can be said to stand on their original bases.[18]

A very fine specimen of a base stone is now a step in front of a temple at Deopatan.[19] What is now the cardinal face has a slightly projecting middle section showing antelopes and wheel, while the sides are set with lions, each disposed on two faces as in the above example. As far as can still be seen today, the sides of the slab are treated analogously to the cardinal face, i.e. the slab now used as a step should be visualized as a square with a projecting middle section on each side. A closer look at this slab reveals semicircular moulding on the top side which can be imagined continued to form a full circle. This moulding marks the dimensions of the votive *stūpa* that once stood on this base slab.

Much graver than the lack of a base stone, however, is the absence of the finial, for this was certainly an essential element for the cult. Those Licchavi *stūpas* which were reactivated at a later date have a finial modelled on the superstructure of the *stūpa* of Svayambhunāth - found strangely enough in what is otherwise an intact monolithic votive shrine with *stūpa* as a dome-shaped roof in the Dhvāka-bāhā at Kathmandu.

What has survived of the votive *stūpas* of the Licchavi period is their most general form. The structure consists of several layers with framed niches and topped by a dome. The various motifs in the niche frames, such as *kīrttimukha, kalahaṁsas, makaras, kinnaras*, floral decoration and lions are derived from a stock of free forms[20] that cannot be described as specifically Buddhist but are of more general application. This, however, raises the question of what can in fact be called specifically Buddhist in such fragmentary cult objects.

In 1827, Brian H. Hodgson published the text of the account given by a Nepalese Buddhist informant of a visit to Bodh Gaya that must have taken place about 1800 or even earlier.[21] This report and Hodgson's comments contain information on the subject of the identity of the mere form of the *stūpa* without finial:

The pious pilgrim writes, "At a little distance to the north of the great Mahā Buddha temple are many small chaityas, which the Brahmans call Siva Lingas, and as such worship them, having broken off the Chūrā Mani from each.[22] This account is tangible evidence that former votive *stūpas* were being venerated in Bodh Gaya as Śiva *liṅgas* and that Buddhist cult objects could be revised to fit into the context of another cult.[23]

Hodgson was reminded by this Bodh Gaya report of conditions in Nepal itself, and comments, "The like metamorphosis of the Chaitya into a Lingam and its worship as the latter may now be seen in numerous instances in Nepaul, e.g. at Kali's temple on the road side near Tundi Khēl."[24] This makes Hodgson a material witness of conditions in the Kathmandu Valley such as were still observable before 1827.[25]

Even though the phenomenon Hodgson describes, viz. that votive *stūpas* lacking a finial were being revered in Nepal as *liṅga*, might be construed merely as the outcome of a process of long decline in the Buddhism of that country going hand in hand with a general convergence of the various religions, we will have to come to a more definite opinion after viewing the votive *stūpas* of the Licchavi period. The present state of these *stūpas* is not the result of general neglect over a long period, but of a once-for-all and conscious act, of a revision. This revision cannot be accounted for as a random measure, since all the votive *stūpas* of the Licchavi period are affected, but must be regarded as a centrally organized, large-scale operation (comparable, perhaps, with the recall of all the cars in a certain series for repairs)[26]. All the votive *stūpas* were systematically revised, so that what had once been cult objects specific to one definite cult now became ambiguous monuments that could be adapted for the purposes of other cults.[27]

This very rigour that can be demonstrated in connection with the empty niche in Nepalese votive *stūpas* of the Licchavi period opens up a new dimension in Nepalese history. It is in contradiction to the assumption propagated hitherto as a sort of creed or fundamental truth in virtually

every scientific work on the country: "Religious tolerance may be regarded as the most remarkable phenomenon of Nepali culture"[28], or, with a qualification: "But even if the kings were partial to one sect or another, the religious climate among the common people, particularly the Newars, must have been characterized by mutual reverence and tolerance to one another's gods."[29]

Such an idea that the 2000-year history of a people could have borne such a stamp would make that history a singular one indeed, and is therefore highly unlikely.[30] At any rate, this view, although axiomatic in Western scientific literature,[31] is firmly rejected by native Nepalese tradition as reflected in local chronicles.[32] These, which abound in reports of religious pogroms, devote much attention to a detailed and vivid account of the destruction of Buddhism by Śaṅkarācārya.[33] The latter, we are expressly informed, was the seventh reincarnation of the renowned Śaṅkarācārya[34] - which would relocate the event in time relative to the original Śaṅkara and lend more credibility to the account as a whole.[35]

Add to this the report contained in Wright's chronicle concerning a certain King Sivadeva: "Being a wise monarch, he caused to be uncovered in the city a chaitya which Shankarāchārya had concealed"[36], and we have turned full circle.

Notes and references

1 Regmi, D.R., Medieval Nepal, I. Calcutta, 1965, p. 605. Pl. 10 (with wrong caption) shows the votive *stūpa* opposite the Mahākāla temple in Kathmandu.

2 Pal, Pratapaditya, Buddhist Art in Licchavi Nepal. Bombay, 1974, p. 7.

3 ibid.
In another context, he remarks on the same page: "Curiously all the niches in these early caityas are now gapingly empty."

4 Goetz, Hermann. In: Encylclopedia of World Art, Vol. X.
New York/Toronto/London, 1965, col. 565.

5 Pal, Pratapaditya, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), p. 8. The author cites in particular the instance in Mohra Moradu, cell no. 9.

6 A comparable architectural motif has been preserved in a votive *stūpa* in the Allahabad Museum. See: Chandra, Pramod, Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue. American Institute of Indian Studies Publication No. 2, cat. no. 225.

7 On this often cited representation of a cult building from Ghaṇṭaśāla, see: Barrett, Douglas, Two unpublished sculptures from the Āndhradeśa. In: Arts Asiatiques, 3, 1956. The author defines this as a four-storeyed shrine but having a function that he, no more than his predecessors, is able to identify.

8 The many votive *stūpas* in Chabahil are quite well documented by illustrations. See: Pal, Pratapaditya, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), figs. 9-15, 17-19. Pal. Pratapaditya, The Arts of Nepal, Part I, Sculpture. Leiden/Cologne, 1974, Pls. 155, 156. On the history and significance for the cult of this important district, see: Wiesner, Ulrich, Nepal, Königreich im Himalaya: Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur im Kathmandu-Tal. Cologne: DuMont Kunst-Reiseführer, 1976, pp. 186-188, 205.

9 Cf. Wiesner, Ulrich, Nepal (see footnote 8), Pl. 121. Here we see a stairway incorporating a large number of monolithic pillars deriving from no longer existing build-

ings and now used as steps. They are evidence that there must once have been a stone architecture in Nepal in addition to the brick-and-timber construction form now regarded as traditional, and that the former borrowed some at least of its design elements from the latter.

10 On the subsequent history of architectural motifs of the Kuṣāna period in Nepalese architecture, see: Wiesner, Ulrich, Nepalese Temple Architecture: Its Characteristics and Relations to Indian Developments. Leiden: Studies in South Asian Culture, 1978.

11 A group of what are, interestingly enough, largely identical votive *stūpas* can be found scattered across Patan in the Uku-Bāhā (Rudravarṇamahāvihāra), in front of the the Minanātha temple and at the Kumbheśvara temple.

12 Instances of this type can be found in: Pal, Pratapaditya, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), Figs. 13-15, 21.

13 Cf. Franz, Heinrich Gerhard, Der Stūpa mit Kultnische. In: Artibus Asiae, 23, 1960, in particular at pl. 249. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconcile Franz's ideas with the monuments that have actually survived in Nepal.

14 On the rough structure of these rear walls, cf. Bénisti, Mireille, Le stūpa monolithe du Musée National de Phnom Penh. In: Arts Asiatiques, 8, 1961, Fig. 3, p. 59, where again the content of the niche has been hewn away.

15 In the process, the empty niches of the monolithic votive *stūpas* are given figures in another material, e.g. clay or even metal. The images in major *stūpas* and in non-monolithic votive *stūpas* had, of course, to be executed in a separate process.

16 On the iconographical range in the contents of the niches in votive *stūpas* of the Licchavi period, see: Pal. Pratapaditya, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), pp. 7, 9.

17 Snellgrove, David L., Shrines and Temples of Nepal. In: Arts Asiatiques, 8, 1967, Fig. 8 and p. 97. Kramrisch, Stella, The Art of Nepal. New York, 1964, pp. 27-29. Pal, Pratapaditya, The Arts of Nepal, I (see footnote 8), Pls. 13-16, p. 27 ff. Pal, Pratapaditya, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), Figs. 23-28 and p. 8 ff. This type is described by Pal as the second, the "figurative type of Licchavi caityas" (Buddhist Art, p. 8). Since the *stūpa* itself plays only a secondary role as dome-like roof on a "miniature, monolithic temple" (see Pal, The Arts of Nepal, I, p. 27), this monument as such is beyond the scope of the present study.

18 A statement like "Of the more ancient caityas some still enjoy a position of pre-eminence as they adorn courtyards of temples and are continually venerated" (Pal, Buddhist Art, op. cit., p. 7) takes no account of the fact that the votive *stūpas* now located in the courtyards of *vihāras* may just as much have been reused as spoils, as can be seen in the instance treated above of the Naka-bāhā in Patan.

19 Published by Pal, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), Fig. 90 and simply referred to as "fragmentary relief".

20 This list of free forms must also include the representation of a *stūpa*, as the example in front of the Mahākāla temple in Kathmandu shows.

21 Hodgson, Brian H., On the Extreme Resemblance that Prevails between many of the Symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. In: Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet. Reprinted New Delhi: Bibliotheca Himalayica, 1972, pp. 135-136.

22 ibid., p. 136.

23 For an instance of an iconographical reinterpretation by reworking in Cambodia, see: Bénisti, Le stupa (see footnote 14), p. 65, Fig. 12 and p. 66.

24 Hodgson, B.H., Essays on the Languages (see footnote 21), p. 136, note. It is quite possible that "Kali's temple on the roadside near Tundi Khēl" refers to the Mahākāla temple, so that the votive *stūpa* Hodgson mentions is identical with the one treated above.

25 This must have been a widespread practice. Besides the instances cited by Hodgson for Bodh Gaya and Nepal, there is another in Orissa, see: Willetts, William, An 8th Century Buddhist Monastic Foundation Excavation at Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District of Orissa. In: Oriental Art, N.S., 9, 1963, p. 21.

26 Bénisti, Le stūpa monolithe (see footnote 14), p. 66. The author describes conditions in Cambodia: "Or, il y a une chose frappante quand on visite à Angkor les monuments du style Bayon, c'est le martelage systématique des représentations du Bud-

dha. Partout, dans les frontons, dans les frises murales, dans les niches ... les effigies ont été martelées; extrêmement rares sont celles qui ont échappé à cette destruction générale, qui a dû avoir lieu lors du retour en prééminence de l'hinduisme après le XIIe siècle. La photographie, que nous présentons en figure 10, a le double intérêt de montrer la généralité de la destruction et, dans une niche, l'un des rares exemples de Buddha non bûché."

27 Instances of such adaptations can be found in other cultures, e.g. the large bronze doors of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul each of which was adorned with a large applique cross on a globe. The Mohammedan conquerors simply removed the crossbar from each cross leaving the perpendicular bar, which could be retained as an ornamental feature devoid of any meaning.

28 Pal, The Arts of Nepal (see footnote 8), p. 13.

29 ibid., pp. 13, 14.

30 On this question, see: Wiesner, Ulrich, Nepal (see footnote 8), pp. 31, 32, 45, 46.

31 A rather similar research situation is described by Kumar, Krishna, The Buddhist Origin of Some Brahmanical Cave-Temples at Ellora. In: East and West, N.S., 26, 1978, p. 259: "Distinguished for its Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina Cave-temples, Ellora has created an impression of a perfect religious harmony and peaceful co-existence in the age when those excavations were made. A careful examination of the various caves and their relative location, however, leads us to doubt the validity of this belief."

32 Wright, Daniel, History of Nepal: Translated from the Parbitya. Reprint of the 1977 edition. Kathmandu, 1972. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, History of Nepal, As Told by its own and contemporary Chroniclers. Hoshiarpur, 1970.

33 The view propagated in Western research that Nepal's history is marked by religious tolerance leads logically to the following statement: "Seemingly, however, like the stories of the Buddha's and Asoka's visits to the valley, that of Śaṅkarācārya is also a pious fabrication": Pal, Buddhist Art (see footnote 2), p. 28.

34 Wright, History of Nepal (see footnote 32), p. 118: "At this time the incarnation Shankarāchārya was born in the Deccan of an immaculate Brahmanī widow. This Shankara in his six former incarnations had been defeated in religious discussions by the Bauddhamārgīs, and had been cast into the fire. At the time of his seventh incarnation there were no learned Bauddhamārgīs ..."

35 This item of information from the chronicles has been ignored in the histories published so far. Hence, Petech, Luciano, Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750 - 1480), Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1958, at p. 181n, in his repudiation, proceeds from the assumption that the Śaṅkara concerned must have been the 'original' one: "A journey of Śaṅkara is accepted by all the modern chroniclers, but can hardly have any basis on real fact. Not even the account of his spiritual conquests (*digvijaya*) takes him farther north than Gauḍa (Bengal); ..."
Incidently, quite apart from the Buddhist tradition reflected in, e.g., Wright's chronicle (see footnote 32), which records various repetitious versions of the acts in Nepal of one of Śaṅkarācārya's incarnations, another tradition has survived at the Paśupatināth that one line of incarnations had been temple priests there (according to information kindly supplied by Thakur Lal Manandhar). On the custom initiated therewith, and renewed by Yakśamalla (1428-1482), of filling the office of priest at the Paśupatināth with brahmans from South India, see Wiesner, Nepal, op. cit., pp. 210, 211.

36 Wright, History of Nepal (see footnote 32), p. 126.

STŪPAS OF THE TIBETAN BONPOS

Philip Denwood

The Bonpos

Who are the Bonpos? Thanks to works published in the past fifteen years, notably by Snellgrove, Kvaerne and Karmay[1], our knowledge of them, though still sketchy, is now on a firm basis. Forming an organised monastic order of Tibetan religion with its supporting layfolk, they have been numerically strong in many areas of Tibetan culture, particularly eastern Tibet and Tsang province, and they are well represented among the Tibetan refugees now in exile. Their precise characterisation must depend somewhat on one's point of view. Their doctrines are traced back to one Shenrap (pl. XIII, 1), born as a native of *sTag-gzigs*. This is a western land corresponding, if to anything, to the Iranian world, though the derivation of the term from an Arabic word for a muslim Iranian would put its introduction into the Tibetan language not earlier than the 7th century A.D.

From the Bonpos' own viewpoint theirs is simply an autonomous religion, existent in Tibet since its promulgation in stages in the remote and the early historical past, any similarity with Buddhism being the result either of plagiarism on the part of the latter or of teachings stemming from Shenrap in the guise of Sakyamuni Buddha. From the Buddhist viewpoint the Bonpos represent the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet which after the introduction of Buddhism from the 7th century stole the Buddhists' clothing wholesale without acknowledging its Indian source. For our part there is no need to engage in polemic one way or the other. We may regard the Bonpos as practising simply a form of Tibetan religion, generally ready to accept, synthesise and re-create, and yet retaining in their mythology, pantheon, ritual and perhaps even philosophy much that is certainly not Buddhist in origin (as of course do the Buddhists themselves). At the same time they are recognisably moulded, in form, content and spirit, along Indian and specifically Buddhist lines. Both religions, in Tibet, describe themselves as *Sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa*: doctrines of enlightenment, or *bodhiśāsana* if rendered back into Sanskrit.

Bonpo *stūpas*

The Bonpos build *stūpas* just as enthusiastically as do the Tibetan Buddhists. Most of the examples I have seen either conform to the standard pattern for a basic *stūpa* as described in the Buddhist literature (pl. XIII, 2, fig. 1), or else they follow local Tibetan models which are often rather rectangular than rounded in outline (pl. XIII, 3 and 4). But

the Bonpos, like the Buddhists, have literary texts relating to *stūpas*, and it is these on which I concentrate in this paper.

Bonpo literature

Bonpo literature, although perhaps not so voluminous as Tibetan Buddhist literature, is nonetheless extensive, and falls into many of the categories of the latter. Thus the core of its doctrines is the purported actual words of, or direct inspiration from, the religion's founder, Shenrap. This is termed the Kanjur: the 'translated word' turned into Tibetan from the language of *Zhang-zhung* (ancient western Tibet) as the Buddhist Kanjur was translated from Sanskrit. My textual material is taken mostly from the gZi-brjid, the longest version of the biography of Shenrap dating in its present form from the late 14th century and classed as Kanjur, therefore of the highest authority. Doubtless among Bonpo writings inacessible to me there is other material on Bonpo *stūpas* which might add a good deal, though I doubt if it would bring any serious contradictions.

Description of a Bonpo *stūpa*

A brief description of the lineaments of a basic Bonpo *stūpa* is given in the gZi-brjid[2]. The lowest part of the *stūpa* is a five-stepped stereobate bearing designs or colours to symbolise the five elements. On this rests something referred to a 'four sides' or 'four walls' with four doors, the walls bearing a lattice-like design incorporating *svastikas* and the doors surmounted by fivefold *toraṇas* in white, green, red, yellow and blue. Then comes the dome, the box-like *droṇa*, the spire made up of discs supporting the umbrella, and at the very top a finial. This last can be seen from drawings to consist of an orb flanked by two projections rather like the outer prongs of a trident and topped by a blazing sword. This basic form is sketched in fig. 1.

Several differences between this and the classic basic form of Tibetan Bhuddhist *stūpa* are apparent. The Buddhist *stūpa* may be perched on an optional throne, like that of a deity. Above this it has only four steps, not five, it has no rectangular element between steps and dome, and it has a finial composed of a crescent moon, sun disc (originally a mirror) and a small disc or sphere.

As far as the part below the dome is concerned, we might postulate that the Bonpo form derives from a rearrangement of elements of the steps and the throne of the Buddhist version. A point to notice, straight away is that the rectangular portion below the dome gives the Bonpo *stūpa* something of the form of a building in the usual sense of the word: a hollow construction with a means of entry.

Types of Bonpo *stūpa*

Like the Buddhists, the Bonpos recognise other patterns of *stūpa* besides their basic type. The Buddhists enumerate and describe an additional eight forms of *stūpa*[3], the prototype of each form being traced to some historical event connected with the life of Sakyamuni Buddha. The corresponding Bonpo number is the familiar figure of 108[4], and although two of them have the same names as *stūpas* in the Buddhist list, no attempt is made to connect any of them with historical events in the life of Shenrap or in any other period. Their prototypes are located in supramundane or mythological realms. All are seen as manifestations of one primordial *stūpa*, the so-called 'all-mastering *svastika-stūpa* in which everything is united'. From this have arisen 25 *stūpas*, five of them associated with each of the five types of wisdom (*jñāna*). Then there are the five *stūpas* of the five elements and the seven types of *stūpa* which stand on the various stages of Mount Meru. A further five groups of *stūpa*-types, not individually named, make the total up to 108.

Stūpas in the Bonpo scheme of things

Stūpas enter into two separate classifications in the gZi-brjid. The first is that of the *rten gsum* or 'three kinds of support' familiar from Tibetan Buddhism[5]. The Buddhists generally talk about *thugs-rten*, 'mind supports' or *stūpas*, *sku-rten* 'body supports' or images and paintings, and *gsung-rten* 'speech-supports' or written scriptures, basing themselves on the triad body, speech and mind, and the *stūpa* here being in the first place a symbol of the enlightened mind of Sakyamuni Buddha. The corresponding Bonpo terminology is *sku-gdung* 'relics', 'reliquaries' which include *stūpas*, *sku-gzugs* 'bodily forms' and *gsung-rab* 'best of speech'. Thus their term which includes *stūpas* makes no express reference to 'mind'. Moreover it definitely covers temples as well as *stūpas*, for the artifacts discussed under this heading are as often denominated 'temples' (*gsas-khang*, *gzhal-yas*) as '*stūpas*'(*mchod-rten*).

The second classification is that of the five branches of learning or *rig-gnas*[6]. The fivefold scheme obviously parallels that of the Buddhists. The last branch to be name is *bzo-rig-pa* (Sanskrit *śilpavidyā*) or 'arts and crafts'. It is itself subdivided into five parts: 1 'textile arts', 2 'woodwork', 3 'metal casting', 4 'forging and smithing', and 5 'architecture and graphic arts'.

'Architecture' is denoted by the rather vague term *bkod-pa* which might be paraphrased by something like 'working with plans', and it is further split into the topics 'temples' and '*stūpas*'. At the end of the section in which this classification is expounded, however, both temples and *stūpas* are subsumed under the category not of *bkod-pa* but of *gzhal-yas-khang* (Sanskrit *vimāna*) or 'temple'.

Under the one classification then the class '*stūpa*' evidently includes temples; under the other the class 'temple' effectively includes *stūpas* as a kind of distinct but subordinate subspecies. Indeed we do not have to look very far to find a piece of architecture which is called simultaneously a 'temple' and a '*stūpa*'. I acquired the hand-coloured print shown in pl. XIII,5 from the Bonpo settlement at Dolanji, H.P., India. It happens to show one of the two types of Bonpo *stūpa* whose name is identical with that of a Buddhist type, the '*stūpa* of many doors'. It is captioned 'the *sugata*-temple, the auspicious many-doored *stūpa*'.

The identity of *stūpa* and temple

On a number of occasions during Shenrap's earthly life[7] he is asked for instructions as to how to design and erect religious buildings. All turn out to be, as might be expected, idealised forms, reducible to a basic *maṇḍala*-like scheme with an outer perimeter wall and a plan showing fourfold symmetry. It is instructive to examine the terminology employed in referring to these constructions. We immediately see that it is quite usual to call one and the same building by different names. Thus when the Nagas ask Shenrap to build them a *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*) he agrees[8], but in the whole of the ensuing discussion it is referred to as a *gzhal-yas-khang* (*vimāna*) or sometimes as a *gsas-khang* (equivalent to Buddhist *lha-khang*, 'temple') or a *mchod-gnas*. One building is called in a single phrase a 'great temple' (*gsas-khang*) which is a reliquary-*vimāna*! By drawing up lists of terms in this way I have established a circular series of names, all of which thus become the equivalents of each other. The list comprises the following terms: *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*), *gzhal-yas (-khaṅ)* (*vimāna*), *sku-gdung* (reliquary), *gsas-khang* (= Buddhist *lha-khang*, 'temple'), *gsas-mkhar* and *gsas-kyi sku-mkhar* (same as *gsas-khang*), *gzhal-yas-gnas* ('immeasurable place'), *gzhal-yas pho-brang* ('immeasurable *prāsāda*), *pho-brang* (*prāsāda*), *mchod-gnas* ('place of worship'), *dkyil-'khor* (*maṇḍala*).

All these buildings whose specifications are supplied by Shenrap may incorporate pillars, beams and doors, walls and roofs; all may house images and paintings of deities, whether singly or in groups, or arranged in complex *maṇḍalas*. All are variants of the *maṇḍala*-palace; the deity enthroned in the mystic dwelling-circle appropriate to his state of being.

Some examples

Let us now examine some depicted examples of Bonpo *stūpas* with the above observations in mind, and in comparison with the standard Buddhist *stūpa*, for which a scheme of proportions is available.

In the '*stūpa* of many doors' (pl. XIII,5) the lower parts, comprising the steps and the two tiers of doorways are much expanded at the expense of the dome and, to a lesser degree, the spire. The addition of mouldings, canopies and lean-to roofs with roof-ornaments increases the resemblance of this lower part to a two-storey temple, as do the small extra *stūpas*. (Incidentally these small *stūpas* are almost identical in elements and proportions to the basic Buddhist *stūpa*: only the finial and the colouring on the steps follow the Bonpo pattern.) Even the dome with its doorways and rectilinear outlines seems to be disintegrating and moving towards a squarish shape. The high tier of steps below the dome is something which does not appear in the description of the standard *stūpa*; its presence effectively reduces the size of the dome in relation to the lower parts, helping to give the impression of a *stūpa* perched on top of a temple.

One interesting section of the gZi-brjid describes the idealised landscape formed by the 'Nine-stage *Svastika* Mountain' (representing the 'nine ways' of Bonpo doctrine) and its surrounding districts[9]. Around the central mountain are grouped what are in the first place called the 'eight great palaces' (*pho-brang*). Those to the four cardinal points are first described; they are all temple-like in form and are indeed called by various words translatable as 'temple' (pl. XIII, 6).

The four to the intermediate directions are then referred to as 'the four self-originated *stūpas*, and a glance shows *stūpa*-like elements in their makeup. The one to the south-east (pl. XIII,6 bottom left) is called 'Temple of blissful realisation' (in the text; there are slight discrepancies of nomenclature between text and drawing). It is modelled on something called a 'nine-staged lamp temple'. Only four steps appear on the drawing, though the text suggests five. The 'cella' as we may call the rectangular part above the steps is topped by a roof incorporating nine further steps, and inside dwell the divinities which cleanse defilements and their *maṇḍalas*. No mention is made in the text of the dome.

The south-west *stūpa* (pl. XIII,6 top left) is called the 'temple of self-originated compassion', built on the model of a temple on Mount Meru. On steps which again should be fivefold the roof is held up by pillars made of piled-up skulls. The roof has three steps which support a central element and eight flanking ones which look like simple *stūpas* but are referred to simply as *tog* 'finials'. Inside are *maṇḍalas* of tantric divinities and oath-bound deities.

To the north-west (pl. XIII,6 top right) is the so-called 'pure white one', copied from the '*stūpa* of the descent from the gods' (another name shared with a Buddhist *stūpa*). On the fivefold steps a roof with five more steps is supported by pillars of precious metals. The dome is here again called simply a 'finial'. Inside are the gods of the vinaya.

To the north-east (pl. XIII, 6 bottom right) is the so-called 'measure of Shenrap'. Above its steps the roof is held up by pillars of *vajras*.

On the five steps of the roof is a finial described as a 'five-pinnacled palace', and inside are deities relating to consecration and the seven enlightened ones.

It is apparent from these descriptions that while there is a recognisable entity which can be, and sometimes is called a *stūpa*, the Bonpos do not bother to make the distinction very systematically. Their '*stūpa*' would be more accurately described as a type of temple which has been given a more or less *stūpa*-like appearance, and the Bonpos themselves are as likely to call it a 'temple' as a '*stūpa*'

Conclusions

In presenting some evidence for a degree of fusion between the *stūpa* and other forms of religious building in Bonpo thought, I am not suggesting that to the Bonpos all the various terms for what are to Buddhists different structures have become synonymous, or that the Bonpos cannot tell the difference between them. On the contrary: the Bonpos know as well as the Buddhists how to build a *stūpa* of conventional form to enshrine the relics of a revered lama, or how to build and equip a temple as the dwelling of a deity where it may be worshipped.

What the texts do offer is a view of a single, idealised, archetypal religious edifice, which underlies and therefore unifies any and all diverse actual buildings which may be erected, in one form or another, from time to time. They also offer many examples of variations of the theme in literary descriptions and drawn and painted form. Both *stūpa* and temple are manifestations of the archetype therefore, it does not matter very much what any given building is called on a particular occasion.

Such notions, of course, are familiar in their essence to the Buddhists, from whom the Bonpos presumably took them in the first place. But nowhere in Tibetan Buddhist literature have I seen them taken to such lengths, particularly with regard to *stūpas*. The Tibetan Buddhists retain a fairly strong tradition of the *stūpa* as a reliquary of or a cenotaph for Sakyamuni Buddha, though of course this does not stop them from building *stūpas* of elaborate *maṇḍala*-palace form on the ground. The Bonpos seem to have lost the more primitive ideas of the *stūpa*, at least from their literature. They concentrate on making explicit or semi-explicit the more complex conceptions which they received from the Buddhists, and on allowing their imaginations free play in elaborating them. Thus they are at one and the same time copying the Buddhists, and moving one step ahead of them. It cannot be denied that the Tibetan Bonpos have made their own contribution to the theory and art of the *stūpa*.

Notes and references

1 See, e.g. Snellgrove, D.L., The Nine Ways of Bon, London 1967; Karmay, S.G., The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon, London 1972.

2 See Blo-ldan-snying-po, 'Dus-pa rin-po-che dri-ma med-pa gzi-brjid rab-tu 'bar-ba'i mdo, Dolanji, H.P., India, n.d., vol. kha, chapter 6, p. 365.

3 For a good discussion of Tibetan Buddhist *stūpas* see Tucci, G., Indo-Tibetica vol. I, "Mc'od rten" e "ts'a" nel Tibet Indiano ed Occidentale, Rome 1932.

4 gZi-brjid, vol. kha , chapter 6, p. 365 ff.

5 ibid., vol. da, chapter 50, p. 246.

6 ibid., vol. kha, chapter 6, p. 328 ff.

7 ibid., vol. kha, chapter 2, p. 426 ff., chapter 5, p. 32 ff., vol. ga, chapter 10, p. 29 ff., 513 ff., vol. nga, chapter 18, p. 571 ff., chapter 20, p. 689 ff., vol. ca, chapter 24, p. 628 ff., vol. cha, chapter 28, p. 616 ff., vol. ja, chapter 30, p. 132 ff., chapter 32, p. 375 ff., vol. nya, chapter 36, p. 109 ff., chapter 42, p. 681 ff., vol. tha, chapter 48, p. 571 ff., vol. da, chapter 50, p. 205 ff.

8 ibid., vol. nya, chapter 36, p. 109 ff.

9 ibid., vol. ka, chapter 3, p. 454 ff.

List of figures

1 The basic form of a Bonpo *stūpa* according to the gZi-brjid.

2 The parts and proportions of a Tibetan Buddhist *stūpa*. From Tucci, op. cit.

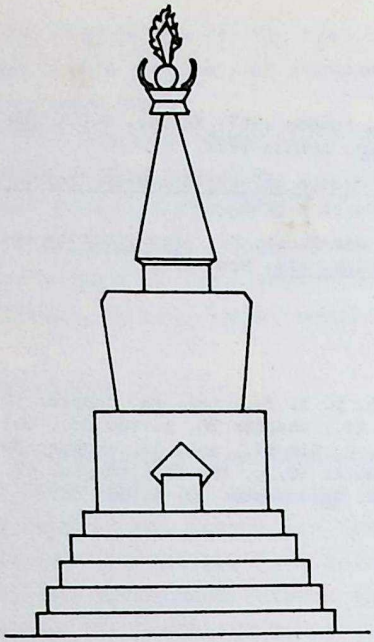


fig. 1

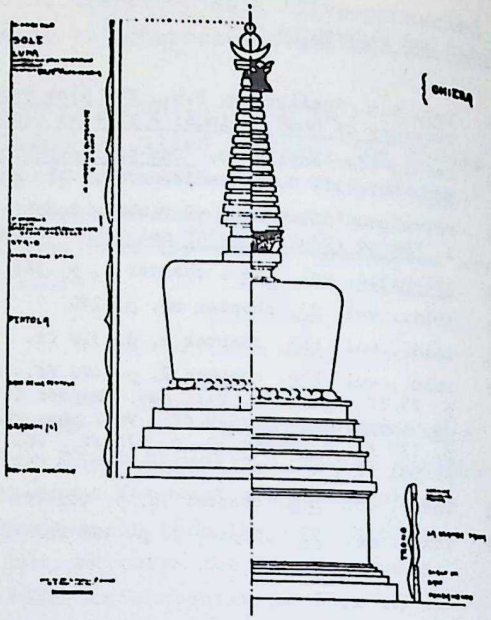


fig. 2

SYMBOLISM OF THE BUDDHIST STŪPA

according to the Tibetan version of the Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra, the Sanskrit treatise Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana, and a corresponding passage in Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgraha

Gustav Roth

§ 1. According to the tradition of the Pāli Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta of Dīghanikāya 16.5.10, and its Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese parallels of MPS 36.2-3,[1] Ānanda asked the Buddha, how to deal with the Tathāgata's physical body.[2] The Buddha replies that he should not bother about the worship of the Tathāgata's physical body, this would be the task of learned *Kṣatriyas*, learned *Brāhmaṇas*, and learned householders. Buddha insists that Ānanda should better strive for the highest good (... *sad-atthe ghaṭatha sad-attham anuyunjatha*) according to the Pāli version. By this statement the Lord did not exclude the worship of his relics, he only wanted to make it clear that this was not the concern of the Order of monks and nuns, the *Saṃgha*, but of the laity. When Ānanda asks how then the funeral rites of the Buddha should be performed, the Buddha replies that they should be performed according to the funeral rites of a *Cakravartin*, a ruler of a *cakra*, by custom due to an emperor. The Lord gives further details how to proceed with the funeral rites concluding that the bones should be deposited in a golden urn (*sauvarṇe kumbhe*), a *stūpa* of his physical body (*śārīra-stūpa*) at the crossing of four main roads (*cātummāha-pathe*) built, along with umbrellas, banners, flags (*chatra-dhvaja-patāka*) according to MPS 36.7. In this passage the main items belonging to a *stūpa* are mentioned in the Sanskrit, and its Tibetan and Chinese versions, which are plain symbols of royal authority and power. It is noteworthy that in the Sanskrit version and its parallels the word *kumbha* "pot", "urn" is used which later became one of the designations for the dome of the *stūpa*. With this passage we have met with one of the oldest *stūpa*-references in the Buddhist Canon, where a kind of symbolism drawn from universal kingship can be clearly recognised.

§ 2. The importance of the lay nobility with regard to the worship and the construction of a *stūpa* is well illustrated in the chapters 21 - 22 in the Tibetan version of the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*[3] where Śāriputra's *Nirvāṇa* is related. Cunda, a disciple of Śāriputra, we learn, collected the corporeal relics, the alms-bowl and the robe of Śāriputra, and handed them over to Ānanda. Both go to the Buddha, where Ānanda expresses his deep concern about the demise of Śāriputra by confessing distress and confusion of his mind. The Buddha consoles him by putting the following questions: "Has the monk Śāriputra taken the *śīla-skandha*,[4] the *samādhi-skandha* etc. with him? Or has he taken away that which is the sub-

stance of my enlightened perception: the four applications of mindfulness (*catvāri smṛty-upasthānāni*)[5], the four exertions (*catvāri prahānāni*) etc. Ānanda replies to each question: This is not the case. By this Ānanda acknowledges that only the precepts of Buddha's doctrine matter. Yet Ānanda insists that the venerable Śāriputra possessed *śīla*, was very learned (*bahu-śruta*), content (*saṃtuṣṭa*), unassuming (*alpeccha*), in solitude (*praviveka*), possessed energy (*vīrya*), and observed the four applications of mindfulness etc. Thus, Ānanda keeps the relics with himself.

§ 3. Anāthapiṇḍada, a rich layman, hears that Śāriputra's relics, and the other things are with Ānanda. So he asks Ānanda to hand them over to him. Ānanda, however, does not give them to him. The matter is reported by Anāthapiṇḍada to the Buddha, who moves Ānanda to give Śāriputra's relics, alms-bowl and robe to Anāthapiṇḍada, as to enable him to worship them. Buddha motivates his order by pointing out to Ānanda that *Brāhmaṇas* and laymen are accustomed to such a type of worship, through which they manifest their faith.[6]

Anāthapiṇḍada now takes Śāriputra's relics and other utensils home and places them on a prominent place of his house to enable people to come and pay their homage. One day he has to go out and locks the door of his house. when people came to worship they found the door locked and became angry. When Anāthapiṇḍada returned he heard about the complaints and placed the matter before the Buddha, whom he asks to give his consent to have a *stūpa* built for the venerable Śāriputra.

§ 4. The Buddha gives his consent, and asked how to build the *stūpa*, gives the following instructions:

"(1) In due subsequent order at first "four terraces" (*baṅ-rim bźi*)[7], and after that (2) "the receptacle for the pot" (*bum-rten*) are to be made. Then (3) the "pot" (*bum*), (4) the "vessel" (*bre*), (5) the "pole" (*srog-śiṅ*), (6) the "umbrella canopy" (*gdugs*) whether it be one, or two or three, or four up to thirteen (superimposed) umbrella canopies, and (7) the "protection agains rain" (*char kebs*) are to be made."

This would correspond with the following Sanskrit terms: (1) *catasro vedyaḥ* (or: *vedikāḥ*),[8] (2) *karaṇḍaka*,[9] (3) *kumbha*,[10] (4) *droṇa = harmikā*, (5) *yaṣṭi*, (6) *chatra* (upto *trayodaśa chatrāvalyaḥ*), (7) *varṣa-sthālī*.[11]

§ 5. Regarding the different numbers of superimposed umbrella canopies, the Buddha observes, that *stūpas* for Tathāgatas should be made complete (with 13 umbrella canopies), for Pratyeka-buddhas without any "protection against rain", *stūpas* of Arhats should have four umbrella canopies (pl. XIV, 1), of those who do not return (*an-āgāmin*) three only (pl. XIV, 2), of those who return (*āgāmin*) two, and of those who have entered the stream = being converted (*śrota-āpanna*) only one. *Stūpas* for laymen are to be constructed without umbrella canopies.[12] (With reference to only odd numbers see §§ 14, 15).

Asked by Anāthapiṇḍada in which place Śāriputra's *stūpa* should be erected, the Buddha replies that it should be in accordance with the rank or order of seats which both Śāriputra and Maudgalyāna occupied in the

Saṃgha in relation with the seat of the Tathāgata. Respectively *stūpas* of other Elders have likewise to be arranged in the due order of their rank (*vṛddhānta*). *Stūpas* of the ordinary people, however, have to be erected outside the *Saṃgha*-compound (*dge-'dun gyi kun-dga'-ra-ba = saṃghārāma*).[13]

§ 6. The narration of this important passage illustrates that it is the laymen who are concerned with the construction and worship of a *stūpa* and the relics, which is in line with our observations in § 1 of this paper. Secondly, we are informed about the meaning of the different numbers of umbrella canopies with regard to the specific classes of saints.

Very close to the above-mentioned Tibetan account, the parallel Chinese version of the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins runs which also refers to the different numbers of umbrella canopies and their connections including the range of thirteen superimposed ones, of which passage A. Bareau[14] gave a detailed note. The main portions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Canon were translated into Chinese by I-tsing in the years 700-702 A.D.

Further we have learned that the *stūpas* of the saints are supposed to be located within the precincts of the residential quarters of the monks (*saṃghārāma*), while those of the laymen are kept outside of it. This means that in our passages a development is reflected through which the *stūpas* are enclosed by a bigger unit, the *stūpa* compound, called *vihāra* and *saṃghārāma*. A. Hirakawa[15] has shown that in certain older Chinese translations of the second and third centuries A.D. a term is used equivalent to *stūpa* while in later translations of the same texts a term is employed equivalent to *vihāra* and *saṃghārāma* indicating the growing importance of the *saṃgha*-compound enclosing a *stūpa* and *stūpas*.

The authoritative importance of our *stūpa* passage under discussion is underlined by the fact that Bu-ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) closely follows it in the chapter *Byaṅ-chub-chen-po'i mchod rten gyi tshad* (*Mahābodhi-caitya-mānam*) of his Collected Works,[16] to which Rev. J. Zongtse, lecturer of Tibetan in the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Göttingen, kindly drew my attention. Of course, Bu-ston, one of the chief editors of the bKa'-'gyur and the bsTan-'gyur knew the above passage of the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu well.

§ 7. This Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya passage refers to a *stūpa* containing relics in the sense of a *śarīra-stūpa*. There are no particular symbolic meanings attributed to particular structures of the *stūpa*. The same holds good for the other *stūpa*-passages included in the Canonical *Vinaya* literature in Chinese translations of the *Māhīśasakas, Dharmaguptakas, Mahāsāṃghikas,*[17] *Sarvāstivādins*, and in the Nidāna-mātrikā of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*, of which A. Bareau has given us a very useful account, based on the Chinese versions, included in the Taisho edition.

The *Khandhaka*-portion of the Pāli Vinaya does not contain any *stūpa*-passages, as are to be found for instance in the Prakīrnaka-Vinayas of the

Mahāsāṃghikas and *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*.[18] The Pāli tradition apparently did not include such a section, as the compilers of the ancient Pāli canon were governed by a tradition according to which the construction and worship of a *stūpa* was the concern of laymen, and not of monks Therefore, there was felt to be no need for a particular *stūpa*-section to be included in the *Khandhaka*-section of the Pāli Vinaya. Thus Pāli tradition keeps to ancient principles (see § 1, of this paper) by not including a particular *stūpa* chapter in their Vinaya sections.

Why then have the Kṣudraka-vastu- and Prakīrṇaka-sections in the Vinayas of the above mentioned schools of non-Pāli traditions included specific *stūpa* passages, and whole chapters dealing with the cult and worship of the *stūpa*? I may only draw your attention to the last chapter of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka attached to the Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya[19] of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, called *stūpa-varga*, which has its correspondence inthe Chinese version of the Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya (translated into Chinese by Fa-hsien in 416-418 A.D.).

The reason seems to be the change which had taken place when the *stūpa* compound extended its function by becoming a *stūparāma*[20] and a *vihāra* including residential quarters for monks and nuns. This development realized at a rather early stage when we think of the Bhājā *Vihāra* (ca. 2nd cent. B.C.). This brought the recluses into closer contact with the *stūpa* which could not be excluded from their daily duties any longer. Thus, the need was felt to have a *stūpa*-section included in the *Khandhaka*-sections of the above-mentioned schools, in order to regulate conduct and relations of the *Saṃgha* with regard to the *stūpa*.

This development brought about new reflections which were now more concerned with the meaning than with the relics of a *stūpa*. In the ancient parts of the Pāli Canon we already find the view expressed that the ordinary body of the Buddha, its physical condition is of no significance, the only thing that really matters is his real body, his true image, the *Dharma* pronounced by the Lord.[21] This view led to the conception of the *stūpa* as the representation of the essential body of the Tathāgata which is the *Dharmakāya*, the body of the law of the Tathāgata. In order to fulfil this task, the structure of the *stūpa* had to become more varied which led to an increase in the number of its parts.

§ 8. It is therefore no surprise to find a systematic "catalogue" of dogmatic issues related to each structure of the *stūpa* arranged in the due order of their sequences also included in a section of the Vinaya. By this a recluse contemplating round a *stūpa* is put into the position of memorising a particular dogmatic notion while looking at a particular *stūpa*-structure with a concentrated mind. This purpose is served by the treatise mchod-rten gyi cha-dbye-ba 'dul-ba-las byuṅ-ba'i mdo which is a Tibetan translation of the lost Sanskrit original Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra, which is included in Peking Tanjur,[22] rGyud-'grel, vol. Tu, fol.

187 b.4-189b.7, and by a passage included in the Sanskrit manuscript[23] entitled Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana which is expressly attributed to the Prakīrṇaka-Vinaya of the *Lokottaravādins* at the very end of this passage which is edited in this paper (see § 10).

The Caitya-vinayodbhāva-sūtra, to which G. Tucci[24] already referred by translating most of it into Italian, is a fragment from an unknown collection of *Vinaya* rules without any note about the author and the name of the translator who prepared the Tibetan translation.

The text begins with an explanation of the *Dharma-kāya* of the Tathāgata. We read: "The substance of the Dharmakāya are the applications of mindfulness, the exertions, the moral faculties,[25] the abilities, ..." (*de bźin gśegs pa chos kyi sku'i bdag ñid dran pa ñe bar bźag pa daṅ yaṅ dag par spoṅ ba daṅ dbaṅ po*[25] *daṅ stobs daṅ ...* = Sk. *Tathāgata-dharma-kāyasya ātmā smṛty-upasthānāni ca prahāṇāni ca indriyāṇi*[25] *ca balāni ca*[26] ...), which are listed in Mahāvyupatti (Mvy) 952-956 (1-4), 957-961 (1-4), 976-981 (1-5), 982 (1-5). This set of dogmatic notions is continued in our Tibetan treatise, which is in accordance with Mvy 988-995 (1-7), 996-1004 (1-8), 109-114 (1-5) or Mvy 1233-1243 (1-10), cf. § 9 of this article, Mvy 119-129 (1-10), of which I need not give the details here, upto *ma 'dres pa'i dran pa ñe bar bźag pa daṅ sñiṅ rje chen po* = Sk. *āvenikāni smṛty-upasthānāni* (Mvy 187-190 (1-3) *mahā-karuṇā* (Mvy 154) "Applications of mindfulness characteristic [of Buddha], and Great Compassion".

Concluding, *stūpa* and *Dharma-kāya* are again closely connected by the following remark: "The stūpa is the reflected image of these (the dogmatic notions mentioned above), i.e. the reflected image of the Dharmakāya (*de dag gi gzugs brñan la mchod rten źes bya'o chos kyi sku'i gzugs brñan źes bya'o*)."

A list of the structures of the *stūpa* follows, which later are related to their symbolic meanings in the following chapter in great details. They are:

"(1) Four terraces in steps, (2) receptacle for the pot (= basis of the pot), (3) pot (= dome of the *stūpa*), (4) top enclosure, (5) axle-tree (= pole of the *stūpa*), (6) thirteen superimposed discs, (7) rain canopy, they all belong to the structure of a *stūpa*. (See the corresponding list in § 4 of this article). The Tibetan reads: *(1) baṅ rim bźi daṅ (2) bum rten daṅ (3) bum pa daṅ (4) pu šu daṅ (5) srog śiṅ daṅ (6) 'khor lo rtseg ma bcu gsum daṅ (7) char khab (kheb) rnams ni mchod rten gyi dbyibs yin no* (Tu, fol. 187b.8-fol. 188a.1 = Pe 79-287-2.8, 3.1)."

§ 9. After that the structures of the *stūpa* together with their dogmatic notions, respectively attributed to each of them, are treated in details:

I (1) The first terrace in steps [represents] the four applications of mindfulness (Tib. *baṅ rim daṅ po ni dran pa ñe bar gźag pa bźi ste* = Sk. *catvāri smṛty-upasthānāni adharā vedī* (cf. Caitya-L. 6 in § 10).

Then the four applications of mindfulness are quoted in Tibetan with reference to *kāya, vedanā, citta,* and *dharma* precisely in the same order as in Mvy 953 (1) till 956 (4). In the following only Sk.-renderings of

I (2) The second terrace in steps [represents] the four right exertions (Tib. *baṅ rim gñis pa ni yaṅ dag par spoṅ ba bźi* = Sk. *catvāri samyak-prahāṇāni dvitīyā vedī* (cf. Caitya-L. 7)).

The four are quoted in Tibetan which corresponds with Mvy 959 (2), 958 (1), 960 (3), 961 (4) in this order with the exception that they all end with .. *brtson pa* "to exert one's self for" instead of *'dun-pa* "wish" with which the four of Mvy end.

I (3) The third terrace in steps [represents] the four psychic powers (*baṅ rim gsum pa ni rdsu 'phrul gyi ṙkaṅ pa bźi ste* = Sk. *catvāra ṛddhi-pādās tṛtīyā vedī* (cf. Caitya-L. 8)).

Then the four are quoted in Tibetan which correspond with Mvy 967 (1) till 970 (4).

I (4) The fourth terrace in steps [represents] the five moral faculties (Tib. *baṅ rim bźi pa dbaṅ po lña ste* = Sk. *śraddhādīni paṃcendriyāni cathurthā jaṃghā-vedī* (cf. Caitya-L. 9)).

Then the five are quoted in Tibetan which correspond with Mvy 977 (1) till 981 (5).

II The container of the pot = base of the pot [represents] the five moral powers (Tib. *bum rten ni stobs lña ste* = Sk. *śraddhādīni pañca balāni kaṇṭhakaṃ* (cf. Caitya-L. 10)).

Then the five are quoted in Tibetan which correspond with Mvy 983 (1) till 987 (5),

III The pot = dome [represents] the seven constituents of enlightenment (*bum pa ni byaṅ chub kyi yan lag bdun te* = Sk. *sapta bodhy-aṅgāni kumbhaḥ*, but *an-āsrava-prathama-dhyāna-bhūmi-ja-prasrabdhi-bodhyaṅgaṃ sambodhyaṅgaṃ kaṇṭhakaṃ* in Caitya-L. 12).

Then only six are quoted in Tibetan which correspond with Mvy 989 (1), 990 (2), 992 (4), 993 (5), 994 (6), 995 (7). The correspondence with Mvy is missing in our Tibetan text.

IV The top enclosure [represents] the Eightfold Path (*pu śu ni lam yan-lag brgyad pa ste* = Sk. *aṣṭāṅga-mārgo harmikā*, but see Caitya-L. 14).

Then the eight notions are quoted in Tibetan which correspond with Mvy 997 (1) till 1004 (8).

V The axle-tree (= pole of the *stūpa*) [represent] the ten perceptions (Tib. *srog śiṅ ni śes pa bcu ste* =Sk. *daśa jñānāni yaṣṭiḥ*, but *āryāṣṭāṅga-mārgo yaṣṭiḥ* in Caitya-L. 16).

Our Tibetan text has only eight perceptions which correspond in different order with Mvy 1237 (4), 1235 (2), 1234 (1), 1236 (3), 1239 (6), 1241 (8), 1242 (9), 1243 (10). Mvy 1238 (5) and 1240 (7) are missing in the Tibetan text.

Tucci (p. 42), however, translates ten perceptions, precisely following Mvy 1234 (1) - 1243 (10), but not our Tibetan text.

VI (1) The first disc [represents] the ability to perceive what is the position and what is not the position (Tib. *'khor lo daṅ po ni gnas daṅ gnas ma yin pa mkyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *sthānāsthāna-jñāna-balam*. Corresponds with Mvy 120 (1)).

VI (2) The second disc [represents] the ability to perceive that everybody is responsible for his *karma* (Tib. *'khor lo gñis pa ni las bdag gir mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *karma-svaka-jñāna-bala*[27]). This agrees with W.s reading, and not precisely with Mvy 121 (2), followed by Tucci (p. 42).

VI (3) The third disc [represents] the ability to perceive what meditation, liberation, concentration, and accomplishment are (*'khor lo gsum pa ni bsam gtan daṅ rnam par thar par daṅ tiṅ ṅe 'dsin daṅ sñoms par 'jug pa mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti-jñāna-bala*). This goes with W.s reading (p. 350), and not precisely with corresponding Mvy 126 (7).

VI (4) The fourth disc [represents] the ability to perceive the high and low moral faculties (Tib. *'khor lo bźi pa ni dbaṅ po mchog daṅ mchog ma yin mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *indriya-parāpara-jñāna-bala* = Mvy 124 (5)).

VI (5) The fifth disc [represents] the ability to perceive the various inclinations [of the beings with regard to salvation] (Tib. *'khor lo lṅa pa ni mos pa sna tshogs mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *nānādhimuktijñāna-bala*) = Mvy 122 (3).

VI (6) The sixth disc [represents] the ability to perceive the various elements (Tib. *'khor lo drug pa ni khams sna tshogs mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *nānā-dhātu-jñāna-bala* = Mvy 123 (4)).

VI (7) The seventh disc [represents] the ability to perceive to which end everything goes (Tib. *'khor lo bdun pa ni thams cad du 'gro ba'i lam mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *sarvatra-gāminī-pratipaj-jñāna-bala* = Mvy 125 (6)).

VI (8) The eighth disc [represents] the ability to remember former existences (Tib. *'khor lo brgyad pa ni sṅon gyi gnas rjes su dran pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *pūrva-nivāsānusmṛti-bala*. But Mvy 127 (8)).

VI (9) The ninth disc [represents] the ability to perceive [how and where] the beings die and are reborn (Tib. *'khor lo dgu pa ni 'chi 'pho ba daṅ skye ba mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *cyuty-utpatti-jñāna-bala* = Mvy 128 (9)).

VI (10) The tenth disc [represents] the ability to perceive in which way the sinful passions are removed (Tib. *'khor lo bcu pa ni zag pa zad pa mkhyen pa'i stobs so* = Sk. *āsrava-kṣaya-jñāna-bala* = Mvy 129 (10)).

The order of terms in VI (1-10) precisely agrees with the ones of the Sk. Daśabalasūtra quoted above.

VI (11) The eleventh disc [represents] the first application of mindfulness characteristics [of the Tathāgata], by which, when the Tathāgata teaches the *dharma* to the circles of his adherents, a sense of joy does not arise [in him even] when all disciples listen in compliance and

respect (Tib. *'khor lo bcu gcig pa ni ma 'dres pa'i dran pa ñe bar gźag pa daṅ po ste gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pa'i 'khor rnams la chos ston pa na slob ma thams cad mthun par gus par ñan pa la dga'i sems mi 'byuṅ ba'o.* Mvy 188 (1) slightly different: *gus par ñan pa rnams la sems sñoms pa* = Sk. *śuśrūṣamāṇeṣu samacittatā*). Cf. Caitya-L. 17 (§ 10).

VI (12) The twelfth disc [represents] the second application of mindfulness characteristic [of the Tathāgata], by which, when the Tathāgata teaches the *dharma* to the circles of his adherents, anger does not arise [in him even] when all disciples do not listen in compliance and respect (Tib. *'khor lo bcu gñis pa ni ma 'dres pa'i dran pa ñe bar gźag pa gñis pa ste, gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pa'i 'khor rnams la chos ston pa na slob ma thams cad mthun par gus par mi ñan pa la khoṅ khro ba mi 'byuṅ ba'o.* Mvy 189 (2) slightly different: *gus par mi ñan pa rnams la sems sñoms pa* = Sk. *a-śuśrūṣamāṇeṣu sama-cittatā*).

VI (13) The thirteenth disc [represents] the third application of mindfulness characteristic [of the Tathāgata], by which, when the Tathāgata teaches the *dharma* to the circles of his adherents, both joy and anger do not arise [in him even] when some disciples listen with respect, and some do not listen with respect (Tib. *'khor lo bcu gsum pa ni ma 'dres pa'i dran pa ñe bar bźag pa gsum pa ste, gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pa 'khor rnams la chos ston pa la slob ma la gus par mñan pa la la gus par mi ñan pa rnams la dga' ba daṅ khoṅ khro ba gñis mi byuṅ ba'o.* Mvy slightly different: *gus par ñan pa daṅ gus par mi ñan par rnams la sems sñoms pa'o* = Sk. *śuśrūṣamānāśuśrūṣamāṇeṣu sama-cittatā).*

VII The rain canopy [represents] the great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) by which the Tathāgata examines the gain of those in whom [the roots of merit][28] in the mental disposition were ripened through discipline, in whom they were not yet ripened, and in whom they are ripened at present[29] (Tib. *char khab (khebs) ni sñin rje chen po ste gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pa'i 'dul-ba'i rgyud smin pa daṅ ma smin pa daṅ da ltar smin pa rnams kyi don dpyod ciṅ*).

With VI and VII compare Caitya-L. 17 and 18: *kṣīṇāsravabalāni trīṇi cāveṇikāni smṛty-upasthānāni trayodaśa cchatrāvalyaḥ, uṣṇīṣo mahā-karuṇā-viśuddhiḥ.*

With regard to VI (1-10), 11-13, VII, and the following VIII it is to be noted that the interconnected order of these dogmatic notions can also be traced in Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch edited by D. Schlingloff[30] where (162V 1) the following order of dogmatic terms is observed: *bala-vaiśāradyāveṇika-smṛtyupasthāna-mahākaruṇā.. .*

With *mahā-karuṇā*, preceded by the *bala* and the *āveṇika-smṛtyupasthāna* complex of dogmatic notions in both the Tib. Caitya-v. and Sk. Caitya-L., the list of dogmatic identifications of the main structures of the *stūpa* proper are concluded in their due order. Our Tibetan fragment, however, continues to enumerate the additional parts and ornaments, connected with the *stūpa* together with their respective dogmatic identifications in Tu fol. 189a.5 - 189b.7 = Pe 79, 287.5.5 - 288.1.7.

VIII The [four (?)] stone pillars [represent] the four types of self-confidence (Tib. *rdo riṅs rnams ni mi 'jigs pa bźi bstan te* cf.Sk. *vaiśāradyāni stambhāḥ* in Caitya-L. 5.)

Then the four types are mentioned: (1) the sinful passions have disappeared (Tib. *zag pa zad pa* = Sk. *kṣīṇāsrava*, cf. Mvy 132 (2)).

(2) *Samyak-saṃbuddha* (Tib. *yaṅ dag par rdsog pa'i saṅs rgyas* which is nearer to Sk. *samyak-sambuddhatve* (1) in W. 349, R 3-4, than the wording in corresponding Mvy 131 (1)).

(3) The factors causing hindrances have not been incorrectly explained (Tib. *bar du gcod pa'i chos rnams phyin ci ma log par bstan pa*, cf. Sk. *antarāyika-dharma-samākhyāne* (4) in W. p. 349 R 5-6, and Mvy 133 (3)).

(4) [The eightfold noble] path which sets out [for salvation] has not been incorrectly explained (Tib. *ñes par 'byuṅ ba'i lam phyin ci ma log par bstan pa'o*, cf. Sk. *nairyānika-mārga-samākhyāne* (3) in W. p. 349 R 4-5, and Mvy 134 (4)).

As the references quoted above from the Sk. Daśabalasūtra fragment edited by W. p. 349 R 3-7 show striking parallels with VI (11-13), VII, and VIII (1-4), let me quote the whole passage here, which follows the preceding *daśa-bala* complex: *imāni catvāri vaiśāradyāni: samyak-saṃbuddhatve vaiśāradyaṃ, kṣīṇāsravatve vaiśāradyaṃ, nairyāṇika-mārgatve vaiśāradyaṃ, antarāyika-dharma-samākhyāne vaiśāradyaṃ, ... tathāgatasya smṛtyupasthānāni m a h ā - k a r u ṇ ā.*[31]

Precisely as it is the case with VI (11-13) and VII, as well as with Caitya-L. 17-18, and Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch referred to under VIII, where *mahā-karuṇā* is preceded by the *trīṇy āveṇika-smṛtyupasthānāni*, they also precede *mahā-karuṇā* in the Daśabalasūtra fragment, indicative of *Mahāyāna* trends.[32] In the light of the above quoted references it is clear that *tathāgatasya smṛtyupasthānāni* of the Daśabalasūtra passage mean the t h r e e[33] applications of mindfulness characteristic of a Tathāgata, and not the four as suggested by W. pp. 347-348.

IX The flight of steps [represent] the four points that need not be guarded (Tib. *them skas kyis ni bsruṅ ba med pa bźi bstan te* = Sk. *catvāry arakṣyaṇi sopānāni*, in Caitya-L. 4: *catvāry ārya-satyāni sopānāni*

Then in our Tibetan text the four are mentioned which refer to the perfect purity of the body (*kāya*), speech (*vāc*), mind (*manas*), and livelihood (*ājīva*), which corresponds with Mvy 192 (1) - 195 (4).

X The standard of the sea-monster (*makara-dhvaja*) [represents] the crushing the standard of Māra (Tib. *chu srin rgyal mchan rnams kyis ni bdud kyi rgyal mchan bsñal bar bstan te*). It is specified as follows: (1) the crushing the god-demon (*Devaputra-māra*),[34] (2) the crushing the demon of impurities (*Kleśa-māra*), (3) the crusing the demon of the (five) agglomerations (*Skandha-māra*), (4) the crushing the demon of death (*Mṛtyu-māra*) (Tib. *'di-ltar lha'i bdud bsñal ba daṅ ñon moṅs pa'i bdud bsñal ba daṅ phuṅ po'i bdud bsñal ba daṅ 'chi bdag gi bdud bsñal ba'o*).[35]

XI The flower garlands [represent] the uppermost sections of morality (Tib. *me tog gi phreṅ bas ni bla na med pa'i tshul khrims kyi phuṅ po bstan to* = Sk. *anuttara-śīla-skandhāḥ puṣpa-mālāḥ*). Cf. Caitya-L. 11, and Kriyā-s. (b) 10 (p. 91): *puṣpa-grahaṇī*.

XII The four guardians of the world [represent] the four noble Truths which, after they have been explained, are a doctrine beneficial to the four inhabitants of the world: (1) they are beneficial to ordinary people, (2) they are beneficial to those who have entered the stream (by being converted), (3) they are beneficial to those who are destined to return only once (to the *saṃsāra*), (4) and they are beneficial to those who are destined no more to return to this world (Tib. *'jig rten skyoṅ ba rnams kyis ni 'phags pa'i bden pa bźi bśad pas 'jig rten bźi la phan 'dogs par bstan to 'di ltar so so'i skye bo la phan 'dogs pa daṅ rgyun tu źugs pa la phan 'dogs pa daṅ lan cig phyir 'oṅ ba la phan 'dogs pa daṅ phyir mi 'oṅ ba la phan 'dogs pa'o*). The identification of corresponding *catvāro loka-pālāḥ* is quite different in Caitya-L. 15.

XIII The bells [represent] the *brahma*-sound (*brahma-svara*) by which even a small word (uttered) by the Tathāgata is permeated with the sound of promulgation of the *dharma* in the regions of the big three thousand worlds (Tib. *dril bu rnams ni tshaṅs pa'i dbyaṅs bstan te gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pas tshigs chuṅ ñus stoṅ gsum gyi stoṅ chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams su chos bstan pa'i sgra skad kyis kun tu 'geṅs pa'o*). Caitya-L. 21, Kriyā-s. (a) 23 both read: *ārya-ratnam idaṃ gāthā-dvaya-sattva-viṣayātma-gataṃ ghaṇṭa-dvayaṃ*.

XIV The baldachin [represents] him who has become the crown of the head of all creatures: (1) the Tathāgata has become the most excellent among the living beings without legs, (2) among those with two legs, (3) among those who have more than two legs, (4) among those who are corporeal, (5) and among those who are incorporeal (Tib. *gdugs kyis ni 'gro ba thams cad kyi spyi bor gyur par bstan te, de bźin gśegs pa sems can rkaṅ pa med pa daṅ rkaṅ pa gñis pa daṅ rkaṅ maṅs daṅ gzug can daṅ gzugs med pa rnams kyi mchog ces bya par gyur ba'o*). Cf. Caitya-L. 22, and Kriyā-s. (a) 24: *sarvākāra-jñātā-jñānaṃ (sarvākārā-jñātā-jñāna-viśuddhyā) cchatraṃ*.

XV The moon [represents] the brightness of the cognisance of the unsurpassed (the Buddha) (or: of unsurpassed cognisance), by which the Tathāgata becomes the eye of unsurpassed perception in the darkness of the world (Tib. *zla bas bla na med pa'i ye śes kyi snaṅ ba bstan te, gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pa mun pa'i 'jig rten du bla na med pa'i śes rab kyi mig bskyed par mdzad pa'o*). In Caitya-L. 20, Kriyā-s. (a) 22 *candra-sūryau* stand in a different symbolic context. See §§ 10, 11 of this article.

XVI The tiara on the flag [represents] the crowning tiara of unsurpassed perfect Enlightenment through which the Tathāgata effects uninterrupted cognisance among all (*dar kyi cod pan gyis ni bla na med pa'i yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i byaṅ chub kyi cod pan thogs pa bstan te, gaṅ gis*

de bźin gśegs pa thams cad du thogs pa med pa'i ye śes kun tu 'jug pa'o). There is nothing corresponding to this in Caitya-L. and Kriyā-s, (a), (b).

XVII Flags [represent] the flags of glory of the unsurpassed *dharma*, by which the circle of the world is being conquered through the glory of turning the wheel of the Tathāgata-*dharma* (Tib. *ba dan rnams kyis ni bla na med pa'i chos kyi grags pa'i ba dan bstan te, gaṅ gis de bźin gśegs pa chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i grags pas 'jig rten gyi dkyil 'khor non par gyur pa'o*). Cf. *yaśas patākāḥ* in Caitya-L. 24, and *yaśo-viśuddhyā patākā* in Kriyā-s. (a) 26.

With the remark "the Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra is completed (Tib. *mchod rten gyi cha dbye ba 'dul ba las byuṅ ba'i mdo rdsogs so*) this *stūpa* chapter is concluded.

Regarding VI (1-10) we observed that both the wording and the order of the ten *daśa bala* of our Tibetan text are precisely in accordance with those of the so-called Daśabala-sūtra I, edited by Waldschmidt from Sanskrit Turfan fragments, which, in some points, differ from those of the Mahāvyutpatti and the Dharmasaṃgraha. While both Daśabala-sūtra I, and Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch share the subsequent order of *bala, vaiśāradya, āveṇika-smṛtyupasthāna* and *mahākaruṇā*, referred to under VII and VIII, we find the same order of these groups in our Caitya-v. with the only exception that the *vaiṣāradya* group follows *mahā-karuṇā*, representing pillars as the first group of additional structures of the *caitya*. This state of common subsequent dogmatic notions indicates that the text of our Tibetan Caitya-v. belongs to a kind of school represented by Daśabala-sūtra I and Yogalehrbuch. I cannot say to which particular school they belong. The very fact, that *mahā-karuṇā* stands at the end of a series of subsequent dogmatic issues, noted in the three texts under discussion, makes the influence of *Mahāyāna* tendencies apparent. Such a tendency is also indicated by the mention of *Ś ū n y a t ā - pratyavekṣaṇa-saṃjñā* in Daśabalsūtra V 2 (W. p. 349). Thus we see that a transition from the *Hīnayāna*-standpoint towards *Mahāyāna* is taking place, which is also noticeable in our Caitya-v.

§ 10. We can be more definite about a particular school to which the doctrinal indentifications of the subsequent structures of a *caitya* belong, with regard to a passage entitled *Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa* included in the Nepalese Sanskrit treatise Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana,[36] which, at its end, is expressly attributed to the *Lokottaravādins*. It reads fol. 3a.3 - 3b.4 as follows:

1. *dānaṃ pṛthivī* (the ground [represents] the gift), 2. *śīlan nemi* (the ground-platform [represents] moral attitude), 3. *catvāry āryavaṃśā aṅgaṇaṃ*[37] (the courtyard [represents] the fourfold traditional practices of the noble lineage), 4. *catvāry ārya-satyāni sopānāni*[38] (the flight of steps [represent] the Four Noble Truths), 5. *vaiśāradyāni stambhāḥ* (the pillars [represent] [fourfold] self-condidence).

6. *smṛty-upasthānāni adharā vedī* (the platform below (the first) [represents] the [four] applications of mindfulness). 7. *samyak-prahāṇāni dvitīyā vedī* (the second platform [represents] the group of the [four] right exertions). 8. *ṛddhi-pādās tṛtīyā vedī* (the third platform [represents] the group of the [four] psychic powers). 9. *śraddhādīni paṃcendriyāni caturthā jaṃghā-vedī* (the fourth, the "shank"-platform [represents] the group of the [five] moral faculties which begin with faith. 10. *śraddhādīni pañca balāni kaṇṭhakaṃ* (the neck[39] = the base of the dome [represents] the group of the [five] moral powers which begin with faith. 11. *anityādīni dharma-mukhāni catasraḥ puṣpa-grahaṇyāḥ* (the four flower-holders [represent] the four chief doctrines which begin with inconstancy).[40]

12. *anāsrava*[41]*-prathama-dhyāna-bhūmi-ja*[42]*-prasrabdhi-sambodhyaṅgaṃ kaṇṭhakaṃ*[43] (the neck = dome (?) [represents] the constituent of enlightenment called tranquility born on the frist ground of meditation and which is free from passions).[44]

13. *dvitīya-tṛtīya-bhūmi-ja*[45]*-prīti-prīti(!)-saṃbodhyaṅgam*[46] *kaṇṭhaka-valayaṃ valitakaṃ* (the border design round the neck (dome), which is a wrinkled decor[47], [represents] the constituent of enlightenment [called] bliss and bliss born on the second and third ground of meditation).[48]

14. *anāgamya-caturtha-dhyānādi-bhūmi-ja*[49]*-upekṣā-vedanā-upekṣā-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ*[50] *harmikā* (the top-enclosure [represents] the constituent of enlightenment called equanimity, i.e. the feeling of equanimity born on the fourth ground of meditation etc. which results in not returning to this existence[51]).

15. *smṛti-dharma-pravicaya-vīrya-samādhi-saṃbodhyaṇgāni catvāro loka-pālāḥ* (the four guardians of the world [represent] the four constituents of enlightenment: mindfulness, investigation into *dharmas*, energy, and concentration[52]).

16. *āryāṣṭāṅga-mārgo*[53] *yaṣṭiḥ* (the pole of the *caitya* [represents] the eightfold Noble Path[54]).

17. *kṣīṇāsrava*[55] *-balāni trīṇi cāvenikāni smṛtyupasthānāni trayodaśa cchatrāvalyaḥ*[56] (the thirteen superimposed ranges of umbrella canopies [represent] the [ten] abilities through which passions are extinct, and the three applications of mindfulness characteristic of the Tathāgata[57]).

18. *uṣṇīṣo mahā-karuṇā-viśuddhiḥ*[58] (the top node [represents] the clear conception of Great Compassion).

19. *vimalā nirvāṇa -dhātuḥ sitātapatram*[59] (the white parasol [represents] the realm of *nirvāṇa*, the stainless one).

20. *saṃvṛtti-satya-paramārtha-satyaṃ*[60] *candra-sūryau* (moon and sun [represent] limited truth and highest truth respectively).

21. *ārya-ratnam idam gāthā-dvayaṃ*[61] *satva-viṣayātma-gataṃ ghaṇṭa-dvayaṃ* (the two bells [represent] the two stanzas, this noble jewel, that reach [all] beings belonging to their sphere).

22. *sarvākāra-jñatā-jñānaṃ chatraṃ*[62] (the parasol [represents] the knowledge of him who knows all dispositions).
23. *alobhātmika-ceto-vimukti-dhvajaṃ*[63] (the banner represents the emancipation of the mind which is free from greed by itself). *ity api sa Bhagavān ity ādi*[64] (so indeed the Lord, and so forth).
24. *yaśas-patākāḥ* (the flags [represent] the glory). *Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇaṃ samāptaṃ Ārya-Lokottaravādino yat kṛtir Ācārya-Bhadravyūhasya.*[65] (the characteristics of a *caitya* according to the *Prakīrṇaka-[Vinaya]* are completed which is a work of the noble *Lokottaravādin Ācārya Bhadravyūha*). (fig. 1).

Significantly the word *caitya* and not *stūpa* is used in the title of our passage under discussion which reads *Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa* at the end. In § 6 of the *stūpa-varga* which is included in Fa-hsien's Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, *stūpa* and *caitya* are clearly distinguished from each other. Y. Ejima[66] translated it from the Chinese as follows: "It is called *stūpa* that has relics in it, and it is called *caitya* that has not relics in it."[67] Thus, the title of the above quoted *Lokottaravāda* passage is in full accordance with the terminological speech usage of the *Mahāsāṃghikas* proper, of whom the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins* are a side branch who appeared in about the second century B.C., because our passage under discussion actually represents a *dharma-caitya* (in Pāli: *dhamma-cetiya*), and not a *śarīra-stūpa* (s. § 1 of this article).

§ 11. M. Bénisti edited and translated into French a *stūpa* passage from the eighth chapter of Kuladatta's Kriyāsamgraha, a Sanskrit text which belongs to the category of Buddhist Kriyā-tantras of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. in her important monograph Étude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde Ancienne in BEFEO 50 (1960) pp. 37-116, with text and translation pp. 90-108. Here, both the measurements of the structure of a *stūpa*, significantly designated as *dharma-dhātu*, and their corresponding dogmatic identifications, where the numbers of moduli of a particular structure fully accord with the numbers of members belonging to a particular dogmatic issue, are noted, whereas Caitya-v. and Caitya-L. in our Stūpa-L. do not give any measurements. There are also differences regarding the dogmatic identification of a particular structure and among those of Caitya-v. and Caitya-L. on one and and the Kriyā-s. passage edited by Bénisti on the other, but this only concerns the different way of attributing a dogmatic notion to a particular structure. There are also differences which mark the distinguished dogmatic standpoint of these two groups of *stūpa* passages. So we read in Kriyā-s. (b) 17 (Bénisti, p. 91): *sā ca chatrāvalī trayodaśa-bhūmi-viśuddhyā trayodaśa-cakrāvalī*[68] "this range of superimposed umbrella canopies is the range of thirteen superimposed discs which are in full identification with the thirteen spiritual stages (of a Bodhisattva)."

Bénisti (p. 101) rightly remarks: "Ce nombre de treize indique une autre tradition; c'est celui qu'on a signalé depuis longtemps dans des

textes tantriques." In note 3 she refers to Tucci's Indo-Tibetica I, p. 40 with regard to the list of the *bhūmis*. However, there is no such list noted by Tucci, he only refers to the thirteen superimposed "wheels" attached to the pole which are connected each with notions of the ten abilities (*daśa bala*) and the three applications of mindfulness characteristic of the Tathāgata (*trīṇy āveṇika-smṛtyupasthānāni*) in pp. 42-43, precisely as in Caitya-L. 17 (§ 10 of this paper). In this way both the Tibetan versions of the Caitya-v. and the Sanskrit Caitya-L. (Mā-L) stand on the same dogmatic grounds. Their identifications should not be taken for the thirteeen spiritual stages (*trayodaśa bhūmi*) which are altogether of quite different contents. When I asked my learned friend Śrī Hemrāj Śākya from Lalitpur in Nepal about them on my last visit there on 27th March 1978, he quoted the following names of the *trayodaśa-bhūmi* from the not yet edited Kalavīra-tantra: 1. *Pramuditā*, 2. *Vimalā*, 3. *Prabhākarī*, 4. *Arciṣmatī*, 5. *Sudurjayā*, 6. *Abhimukhī*, 7. *Dūrangamā*, 8. *Acalā*, 9. *Sādhumatī*, 10. *Dharma-meghā*, 11. *Samanta-prabhā*, 12. *Nirupamā*, 13. *Jñānavatī (Vajra-bhūmi)*. *Bhūmi* 1-10 are the same which are enumerated in the Daśabhūmika-Sūtra, and in Dharmasaṃgraha[69] 64, *bhūmi* 11-13 are the same which are quoted in Dharmasaṃgraha 65: *Samantaprabhā Nirupamā Jñānavatī etāḥ sahitās trayodaśa bhūmayaḥ*.

These are the thirteen *bhūmis*, to which the sentence in the Kriyā-s.(b) edition of Bénisti, No. 17, refers. They represent a dogmatic approach which is different from the one which we noted in the corresponding passages of Tib. Caitya-v. and in Sk. Caitya-L. (figs. 2, 3).

Immediately after the text portion edited by Bénisti, another *stūpa* passage follows Kriyā-s., which is a modified version of Caitya-L. (Mā-L) edited in § 10 of this paper. I call it Kriyā-s. (a).

§ 12. The second *stūpa* passage in the eighth chapter of Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgraha[70] reads as follows:

1. *idānīṃ caturṇāṃ apy ākṛtīṇāṃ*[71] *samāsena*[72] *viśuddhir ucyate.*
2. *ṣoḍaśa-kalā*[73] *-saṃpūrṇa-viśuddhyā ṣoḍaśa-mātrikopari candra-maṇḍalaṃ tatra yaṣṭikā sthāpyate.*[74]
3. *tatra*[75] *mahā-bhūtānām upari dānaṃ prthivī.*
4. *śīlaṃ nemī tac ca śīlaṃ daśadhā.*
5. *daśākuśala-virati-viśuddhyā adho-vedikā, bhittir vedikā-vistārasyāṣṭhāṃśena kartavyā.*
6. *jagatī tv anurūpataḥ karaṇīyā sā ca catvāry*[76]*-ārya-vaṃśa-viśuddhyā.*
7. *catvāry-ārya*[76]*-satyāni vedī-catur-mukhāni.*
8. *dhyāna-catuṣṭaya-viśuddhyā catvāri toraṇāni.*
9. *dharmāmiṣābhaya-maitrī-dāna-viśuddhyā catvāri pratimā-gṛhāṇi.*
10. *catvāri vaiśāradyāni catuḥ koṇāni.*
11. *catvāra-ṛddhi-pāda-viśuddhyā adharā vedī.*
12. *catvāri samyak-prahāṇāni dvitīyā vedī.*
13. *śraddhādi-paṃcendriya-viśuddhyā jaṃghā-vedī.*

14. *śraddhādi-paṃca-bala-viśuddhyā kaṇṭhakaṃ.*[77]

15. *anityādi-dharma-mukha-viśuddhyā mukha catasra puṣpa-grahaṇyaḥ.*

16. *anāsrava-prathama-dhyāna-ja-prasrabdhi-sambodhyaṅga-viśuddhyā kaṇṭhakaṃ.*[78]

17. *dvitīya-trtīya-dhyāna-bhūmī-ja-prīti-sambodhyaṅga-viśuddhyā kaṇṭhikā valaya-valitakam.*[79]

18. *anāgamya-caturtha-dhyānādi-bhūmi-ja-upekṣā-vedanā*[80]*-upekṣā-saṃbodhyaṅga-viśuddhyā harmikā.*

19. *smṛti-dharma-pravicaya-vīrya-samādhi-sambodhyaṅga-viśuddhyā catvāro loka-pālāh.*[81]

20. *āspharaṇaka-samādhi-viśuddhyā varṣā-sthālī.*

21. *catur-māra*[82]*-bhagna-viśuddhyā grīvā.*

22. *śūnyata-karuṇā-viśuddhyā candra-sūrya*[83]*-darpaṇa-dvayoḥ.*

23. *gāthā-dvaya*[84]*-sarva-viṣāyatma-gata*[85]*-viśuddhyā ghaṇṭā-dvayaṃ.*

24. *sarvākāra-jñatā-jñāna-viśuddhyā cchatraṃ.*

25. *alobhātmika-cetovimukti-viśuddhyā dhvajaṃ ity api sa Bhagavān ity ādi.*

26. *yaśo-viśuddhyā patākāh.* (fig. 4)

§ 13. The introductory sentence of our Kriyā-s. (a) *stūpa*-passage which refers to the raising of the central pole above a sixteen-petalled lotus for its base marks itself as a later addition to the original Caitya-L. (Mā-L) passage in our Stūpa-L. treatise. Further additions are Kriyā-s. (a) 5-10, 20-21, whereas Kriyā-s. (a) 3-4, 11-19, 22-25 go together with Caitya-L. 1-2, 6-15, 18, 21-24. They even agree in mentioning twice *kaṇṭhakaṃ* in a different dogmatic context in Caitya-L. 10, 12 (s. § 10), and Kriyā-s. (a) 14, 16 (§ 12), but in precise agreement of their respective dogmatic connections. It is clearly to see that the compiler of the Kriyāsaṃgraha has included a passage here which was originally at home with the *Lokottaravādins*, by making a few additions and changes which appeared suitable to him. Tib. Caitya-v. I (1-4), II (1-13), VII, XVII (§ 9) also draws near Caitya-L. with regard to the dogmatic connections. Tib. Caitya-v. X correposnds with Kriyā-s. (a) 21.

These common points lead us to the common stock of an ancient *stūpa*-structure-cum-doctrinal-notion-symbolism which may have taken place during the first and second centuries A.D. when the canon of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins* took its shape in the region of Mathurā.[86]

It is noteworthy that both Caitya-L. 1, 2 and Kriyā-s. (a) 3, 4 begin with *dānaṃ pṛthivī*, and *śīlan nemi* as the first connoted structure. This reminds us of Buddha's claim regarding the eternal existence of *śīla*, and the substance of his enlightened cognisance which begins with the four applications of mindfulness (*catvāri smṛty-upasthānāni*) which he made on the occasion of Śāriputra's *nirvāṇa* in consoling Ānanda according to the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu passage discussed in § 2 of this paper. From this I conclude that the doctrinal connotations of the *stūpa*-structures which begin with *śīla* can also claim a high degree of antiquity.

Finally, these discourses led to the construction of the *stūpa* of Śāriputra after the Buddha had made it clear to Ānanda that the essentials of the *dharma* are really to be accounted for. Thus, the way was paved for the *stūpa* to attract these essentials through a systematic doctrinal naming of its structures from the base to the top. In its oldest form it started with *śīla*, and the four applications of mindfulness concluded by the Great Compassion.

In Kriyā-s. 22 (a) (§ 12). *karuṇā* is preceded by *śūnyatā* making the Mahāyānistic impact evident. Schmithausen[87] has drawn our attention to the tendency observed in *Mahāyāna* circles as to connect the four applications of mindfulness with ethical points which bear upon the typical Mahāyānistic ethic of Compassion. The doctrinal nomenclature of the main portions of the *stūpa* proper which begins with the *smṛtyupasthāna* group and ends with *karuṇā* appears to be a visible demonstration of this *Mahāyāna* tendency.

This way of connoting structures of a sacred building did not remain exclusively limited to the structures of a *caitya*. We also find these types of dogmatic identifications mentioned with regard to a *kūṭāgāra* "a sacred building with a peaked roof" in Śrī Rāhula Gupta's Pañca-kramānuttara-hevajra-prakāśa, a manuscript of which was made available to me through the kindness of my friend Śrī Hemrāj Śākya, epigraphist, Dpt. of Archaeology, H.M.G. of Nepal at Kathmandu. Here we read fol. 11a: *kūṭāgāraṃ asya ca catur-asraṃ vajra-sūtran ca pañcendriya-viśuddhyā, catvāri dvārāṇi catur-smṛtyupasthāna-viśuddhyā* etc., followed by the same nomenclature of subsequent doctrinal terms in connections with the structures of that building which we already know from our *caitya*-passages. Even the measurements of instruments like the gong of *dharma*, called *gaṇḍī*, attracted such dogmatic connotations, as e.g. in Kriyāsaṃgraha chapter 7, 246 in a manuscript reproduced by Sharada Rani (see n. 70).

From this we learn how the method of connoting the structures of a *stūpa* can be applied to any other type of religious building including instruments of religious practice.

§ 14. The appearance of the dominating *stūpa*-pole accompanied by a pyramid of superimposed discs and the reduced subordinate position of the dome produced a more vertical tower-like effect of the whole structure against the more horizontal feature of the ancient type as represented in Sāñci. This effect was the result of the introduction of the thirteen superimposed umbrella canopies round the central pole which became so to say sanctioned by passages which we discussed above. Here I may refer to another passage called *caitya-lakṣaṇa-vidhi* included at the end of Vajrācārya-Kriyāsamuccaya fol. 219b.7 - fol. 220a.4 in the Patna Ms, fol. 149b.4 - 150a.1 in no. 15, and fol. 168.7 - 169a.5 in no. 30 of J. Filliozat, Catalogue du Fonds Sanscrit. Paris, 1941. Here we read about one, three, five, or thirteen umbrella canopies which are on the top of *stūpas* of *Sambuddhas* and *Vajradharas*, and of nine and seven on top of *stūpas* of

Pratyekabuddhas and *Śravākas*. Here the variety of the numbers of the umbrella canopies has increased compared to the one in our Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu passages where the possibilities of one, two, three, four upto thirteen umbrella canopies are taught (see §§ 4-5 of this paper, and § 15, pls. XIV, 1-3).

This development which started during the first centuries A.D. was of far reaching consequence. Pilgrims from the East and the West came seeing these sacred monuments raising upwards through the elongation of the tee, effecting the tower-like elongation of the body of the *stūpa* as a whole, with bells, garlands, flags and other decorations. So the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun came to Peshawar in 518 A.D. where he saw a tower erected by the king for the purpose of enclosing a *stūpa* which grew higher and higher. He noticed there a roof-pole upright and even. He further[88] reports: "Altogether there were thirteen storeys; above which there was an iron pillar, three feet high with thirteen (!) gilded circlets."

Pilgrims from China, Tibet, and Nepal used to take models of such sacred "towers" home when they returned to their countries in this way contributing to the spread of the type of *stūpa* which we discussed in this paper. We should also be aware of the fact that not only pilgrims from the East, but Christians as well had the opportunity to see these tower-like monuments who came to these areas since the beginning of the third century A.D., and got inspired to erect a similar dominating structure with their churches. R. Garbe[89] has drawn attention since long to the importance of Central Asia, Bactria, and Iran as contact regions of the East and West. Garbe (p. 118) observes: "Dem Buddhismus und dem Christentum sind folgende kultische Elemente gemeinsam: die Klöster mit dem Mönchs- und Nonnenwesen und dem Unterschied von Novizen und ordinierten Mönchen und Nonnen, das Zölibat und die Tonsur der Geistlichkeit, die Beichte, die Verehrung der Reliquien, der Rosenkranz, der Kirchturmbau, zu dem die turmförmigen buddhistischen Reliquien- und Gedächtnismonumente eine Parallele bilden, der Gebrauch des Räucherwerks und der Glocken." (pl. XIV, 4).

P o s t s c r i p t u m

§ 15. With reference to the number of superimposed umbrella-canopies, whether it be one, two, three, or four upto thirteen attached to the pole of a *stūpa* according to a passage in the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu, quoted in § 4 of this paper, Prof. Dr. (Mrs.) J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has drawn my attention to the fact that among ancient remains of such poles with umbrella-canopies upto now only odd numbers of umbrella-canopies, i.e. of one, three, or five and so on have been discovered. About this see a Kriyā-samuccaya reference in § 14, but take note of pl. XIV, 1.

In his introductory remarks to the conference Prof. Dr. B.N. Goswamy referred to the type of shrine called *aiḍūka*, which is equipped with a

pole to which thirteen stages in steps are attached, metioned in the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa. In its edition[90] we read in chapter 84 of the Third Khaṇḍa, verse 2 about a pedestal (*bhadra-pīṭha*) to which four flights of steps are attached to the four cardinal points. On top of the one pedestal, subsequently a second and a third in each case is to be built (verse 3). Above it, a construction in the form of a *liṅga* (*linga-rūpaṃ*) is to be made (verse 4). In the middle of it a quadrangular pole is to be erected, above which thirteen stages in steps *bhūmikās tu trayodaśa* go up (verse 5). Above it, the cog-wheel part (*amala-sārakaṃ*) with another pole (*yaṣṭi*) on top of it, which is round, is to be done (verse 6). They are crowned by both sun and moon (*arka-candra*) (verse 7).

By comparing this description with what we noted in §§ 9-11 of this paper, it becomes clear that our Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa passage follows an older Buddhist tradition which is found in the above quoted chapters of Caitya-v., Stūpa-L. (Mā-L), and Kriyā-s. (a), (b). Please, note the following characteristics in common: The flights of steps at the beginning of the description, the flights of terraces, the thirteen stages in steps, the top node - cog wheel part, and finally sun and moon.

With reference to the word *aiḍūka/eḍūka* itself I cannot comment on this. It is also recorded in the Mahābhārata 3.188.64 (Poona), and in the Amarakośa 2.2.4 (I, p. 197 in A.A. Ramanatha's edition. Madras, 1971).

The custom of beginning a description of a shrine with the four flights of steps each at the four cardinal points that lead up to terraced pedestals or platforms is shared by our Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa passage with the one in Divyāvadāna 244, 7 ff., which has been frequently discussed,[91] and the beginning of Caitya-L. (§ 10 of this paper). Here they follow as the fourth item the ground (1), the ground-platform (2), the courtyard (3), and are succeded by the pillars (5) b e f o r e the description of the *stūpa* proper starts which begins with the enumeration of the four subsequent terraced platforms together with their corresponding dogmatic identifications. (see fig. 6).

Divyāvadāna 244, 7 ff. mentions the following structures of a *stūpa*: 1. four flights of steps (*catvāri sopānāni*) at the four sides of the *stūpa*, 2. three lofty platforms each superseding the other (*medhī*), a word which is explained as *vedī* (*medhī vedī*) in Stūpa-L. Ms 5a.6, the egg-like dome (*aṇḍa*) into which the shaft for a pole (*yūpa-yaṣṭi*) is to be sunk, 4. the top-enclosure on top of the egg-like dome (*tasyābhinavāṇḍasyopari harmikā*), 5. the pole (*yaṣṭi*) proper, 6. rain-receptacle (*varṣa-sthāla*),[92] 7. which is decorated with gems (*mahā-maṇi-ratnāni*).

With regard to *bhūpasyāṇḍaṃ* "egg-like dome of the king" of the printed text I wrongly followed the suggested emendations of the editors by accepting *stūpasyāṇḍaṃ* instead in an other article of mine.[93] In Proto-Bengali manuscripts the letters *bhū* and *stū* can be clearly distinguished and cannot be easily confused with each other, whereas the letters *pa* and *ya* cannot be distinguished at all from each other. I therefore suggest the

reading *bhūyasyāṇḍaṃ = bhūyasyā* [*mātrayā*] + *aṇḍaṃ*, which simply means "an egg-like dome of a larger size (than the dome previously constructed)". Compare the sentence *sūtraṃ prasāraya bhūyasyā mātrayā* "show the measurements in larger size" with reference to the construction of *vihāras* described in The Gilgit Manuscripts of the Saṅghabhedavastu Part I. Edited by R. Gnoli. Roma, 1977, p. 177.

§ 16. In Kriyā-s. (a), a later modified version of Caitya-L. (Mā-L), which is edited in § 12 of this paper, the description of the *stūpa* begins in No. 2 with the pole (*yaṣṭi*) without mentioning flights of steps. There, in note 74, I gave a tentative translation of this sentence. During the conference Prof. F.R. Allchin suggested the following translation of this sentence: "The *candra-maṇḍala* on top (of the base) is [divided] into sixteen modules (in diameter) in full identification (*viśuddhyā*) with the full moon (*sampūrṇa*) (= a lotus in full blossom) of sixteen digits) (= sixteen petals). There the pole is fixed."

With this sentence we find ourselves in the sphere of Tantric mysticism, where the pole as an axial pillar has gained prominence. This is underlined by the ritual commentary that follows the above mentioned passage of Kriyā-s. (a). It reads: *tataḥ kūrma-śilāyāṃ pūrvokta-krameṇa ratnāni vinyasya tad upari suvarṇādi patreṇa yaṣṭikā-mūlaṃ vidhāya, bhrūṃ-kāreṇa śuklam aṣṭāra-cakraṃ, tad-upari āḥ-kāra-jaṃ viśva-dala-padmaṃ, tad-upari oṃ-kāreṇa c a n d r a - m a ṇ ḍ a l a ṃ, tad-upari āḥ-kāra-jaṃ paramārtha-dhī-svabhāvāṃ yaṣṭikāṃ vibhāvya, ... oṃ dharma-dhātu-garbhe svāhā ity aṣṭottara-śata-vāraṃ parijaped iti yaṣṭikā-sthāpanaṃ kuryāt* (see D 103a. 7 ff., E 177b.5 ff., F 139a.9 ff. R 259.5, and the Tibetan version in Peking Edition vol. 74, p. 165, 2.6 ff.).

"After he has then laid down gems on the tortoise-stone in the above-mentioned order, has furnished the base of the pole with a leaf of gold etc., after he has realised the bright wheel of eight spokes with the sound *bhrūm*, upon that the lotus of all-pervading petals which originates from the sound *āḥ*, upon that the *candra-maṇḍala* with the sound *oṃ*, upon that the pole the nature of which is the notion of the highest truth originating from the sound *āḥ*, ... he may whisper hundred-and-eight times "*oṃ*, hail to the embryo of the element of *dharma*." Thus he shall do the fixing of the pole."

The last sentence can also be translated: "*oṃ*, hail to the interior (*garbha*) of the *dharma-dhātu*" with reference to the *stūpa*, when we think of Kriyā-s. (b) edited by Bénisti which begins with *dharma-dhātunāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ* (p. 90), which title seems to refer to both the structures of a *stūpa* and their corresponding dogmatic identifications.

In the above context, however, *dharma-dhātu-garbha* is to be taken for *tathāgata-garbha* as *Ratnagotra-vibhāga-vyākhyā* on I. 154-155 of Mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstra (p. 76.16-17 of Johnston's edition) does, which approximately belongs to the 4th century A.D., to which D. Seyfort Ruegg,

La théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra. Paris, 1969 (p. 266, n. 4, pp. 315, 379) refers.

This passage clearly shows that the pole as an axial pillar is understood here in a wider range of dimensions as a representation of the highest truth in connection with the lotus, the *candra-maṇḍala*, and the wheel of eight spokes. With this we come nearer to the notion of the cosmic axis and the element of water, indicated by the lotus, which was articulated by John Irwin during the conference. Yet, we have to be aware that this does not convey the original meaning of the pole in the development of the Buddhist *stūpa* and its symbolism to us. In this sphere we are facing later developments shaped by the concepts of Tantric Buddhism, which is inspired by common Indian traditions, of which F.D.K. Bosch's The Golden Germ[94] gave an important account, which may stem from more ancient times.

The concept of the above quoted passage under discussion has found its full realisation in the Śrī Svayambhū Māhācaitya situated on a hill westwards of Kathmandu in Nepal, of which Śrī Hemrāj Śākya in a recent publication[95] gave a detailed account which is mainly based on the Svayambhū Purāṇa (16th century A.D.). To this I add a picture drawn on the surface of its book-cover which demonstrates the idea at the base of the Svayambhūnāth Stūpa kept alive in the consciousness of the Nepalese Buddhists due to Hemrāj Śākya's monumental work (see pl. XIV, 5).

It is noticeable that the Svayambhū Caitya is also crowned by a range of thirteen umbrella canopies, which are expressly designated as *trayodaśa cakrāvalī* in the Bṛhatsvāyambhū Purāṇa referred to by Hemrāj Śākya in his book p. 59, l.26, and a baldachin which is called *maṇiratna-sahita-suvarṇa-chatra* in this text.

In the course of our study we have learnt how a continuous tradition of the structures of a *stūpa* is to be found in a passage of the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* (§ 4) ca. 1st century A.D., in the Tibetan version of the Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra (§§ 8-9) ca. 1st century A.D., in the *Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa* of the Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* (§ 10) ca. 2nd. century A.D., in a revised version of it included in the eighth chapter of Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgraha (§ 12) ca. 8th century A.D., and in another *stūpa*-passage arranged before this in the same text edited by Bénisti (§ 11) ca. 8th century A.D.

Besides another reference included in the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, ca. 6th century A.D., and the passage in Divyāvadāna 244, 7 ff., ca. 3rd century A.D., have been discussed (§ 15).

Finally, a Tantric notion about the pole of a *stūpa*, also to be found in Kriyāsaṃgraha, has been edited and translated with reference to the Svayambhū Mahācaitya at Kathmandu and the Bṛhatsvāyambhū Purāṇa, 16th century A.D., (§ 16).

Abbreviations

Bareau	A. Bareau, La construction et le culte des Stūpa d'aprés les Vinaya-piṭaka. BEFEO 50 (1960), pp. 239-274.
Bénisti	M. Bénisti, Étude sur le Stūpa dans l'Inde Ancienne. BEFEO 50 (1960), pp. 37-116.
Caitya-L.	*Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa (Mā-L)* in Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana (q.v.). Ed. and transl. § 10.
Caitya-v.	Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra in its Tibetan version, dealt with by Tucci (q.v.). Transl. in § 9.
D	Kriyāsaṃgraha Sk. manuscript, no. 31 in Filliozat Catalogue (q.v.).
Dhp	Pāli Dhammapada.
E	Kriyāsaṃgraha Sk. manuscript no. 32 in Filliozat Catalogue (q.v.).
F	Kriyāsaṃgraha Sk. manuscript from the library of the Oriental Institute Baroda.
Filliozat	J. Filliozat, Catalogue du fonds Sanscrit, Fascicule I. Paris, 1941.
Kriyā-s. (a)	Kriyāsaṃgraha *stūpa*-passage edited in this paper in § 12.
Kriyā-s. (b)	Another Kriyāsaṃgraha *stūpa*-passage edited by Bénisti (see above).
Mā-L	*Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin.*
Ms	Manuscript.
Mvy	Mahāvyutpatti, edited by Sakaki. Tokyo, 1926.
R	Kriyā-Sangraha a Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal containing a collection of Tantric ritual by Kuladatta. Reproduced by Sharada Rani. New Delhi, 1977.
Sk.	Sanskrit.
Stūpa-L.	Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana, a Nepalese Sanskrit manuscript from the former VIr-Library (now: National Archives) at Kathmandu, of which the *Prakīrṇaka-caitya-lakṣaṇa* passage is edited in this paper. See n. 23.
T.	G. Tucci, "MC'OD RTEN" e "TS'A TS'A" nel Tibet Indiano ed Occidentale. In: Indo-Tibetica I. Roma, 1932-XI, of which the Tibetan version of Caitya-v. (see above) is treated in this paper § 9.
Uv	Udānavarga.
W.	E. Waldschmidt, Ein zweites Dašabalasūtra. In: Ernst Waldschmidt - Von Ceylon bis Turfan - Festgabe. Göttingen, 1967, pp. 347-370, pp. 347-351 in particular.
	Der Buddha preist die Verehrungswürdigkeit seiner Reliquien. Ib., pp. 417-427.

Notes and References

1 Das Mahāparinirvānasūtra (MPS). Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvastivādins. Auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Ernst Waldschmidt. Teil I-III. Berlin, 1951.

2 MPS 36.4-8 (see Teil III, pp. 358-361).

3 Vinaya Kṣudraka-Vastu = Tib. *'dul ba phran tshegs kyi gźi* in: Peking edition (Pe) 44, p. 93 - 1 - 5 ff. = De 227a.5 ff.

4 Pe 44, p. 93 - 2 -, 6-8. Cf. Pāli S N 47.13(3).7 (V, p. 162).

5 Pe 44, p. 93 - 2 -, 8.

6 Pe 44, 94 - 4 -, 4-7.

7 Pe 44, p. 95 - 1 -, 6 till - 2, 6.

8 See § 10, 6-9.

9 Supplied from Stūpa-L. Ms fol. 1b.4.

10 See Kriyā-s. (b) (Bēnisti) p. 90, No. 6.

11 See ib., p. 91, No. 18, and § 12, No. 20 of this paper.

12 Pe 44, p. 95 - 2 -, 4.

13 Pe 44, 95 - 2 -, 7.

14 See Bareau, o.c., p. 236.

15 A. Hirakawa, The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas. In: Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko No. 22. Tokyo, 1963, pp. 57-106, pp. 94-98 in particular.

16 The Collected Works of Bu ston, Part 14 (Pha). Editor: Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi, 1969, 552, 553.

17 See Bareau, o.c., p. 229-230 in particular. See Abbreviations.

18 See the 14th *varga*, called *stūpa-varga*, the last one of the *Prakīrṇaka*-section as a supplement to the Bhikṣunī-Vinaya of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins* (*Mā-L*). Ed. by G. Roth. Patna, 1970, p. 332.

19 See above.

20 Note *stūpārāma-pratisaṃyuktem*, which is the fourth keyword in the *uddāna* of the 14th *varga* of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka-Vinaya of the *Mā-L*, ib. p. 332.

21 SN III, 120; DN III, 84 (PTS-ed).

22 The Tibetan Tripitaka - Peking Edition. Edited by Daisetz T. Suzuki. BSTAN-ḤGYUR RGYUD-ḤGREL XXXIV. Vol. 79, Tokyo-Kyoto, No. 3897 (Abbrev.: Pe).

23 *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana* fol. 1b, 3a, 3b-8a, 8b, fol. 2a-2b missing. See the Nepalese Catalogue of the Vir Library called Bṛhatsūcīpatram - Bauddha-viṣakaya. Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, Vi. Saṃ 2023, p. 128. With the kind permission of H.M.G. of Nepal a tentative copy was prepared by Pt. Shri Hemraj Shakya in October 1958, by the gracious courtesy of Shri Balarāmdās Ḍaṃgol, Chief Research Officer in the National Archives at Kathmandu, I obtained a microfilm of the manuscript during my last visit in March 1978.

24 Tucci, o.c., pp. 39-43. See figs. 1, 2 in T. pp. 16-17.

25 Pe 79, p. 287, Tu 187b.4-7.

26 See also *Dharmasaṃgraha* 44-48, in: The Dharma-Samgraha prepared by Kenjiu Kasawara, edited by F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel. Oxford, 1885.

27 See W., p. 350. (Ein zweites Daśabalasūtra).

28 See Edgerton, BHSD s.v. *saṃtāna*, cf. *rgyud yoṅs su smin pa = paripakva-saṃtāna* Lokesh Chandra III, p. 538.

29 *dal tar* is correct, not *del tar*.

30 D. Schlingloff, Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch. Berlin, 1964 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VII), p. 169 in particular. Tafelband: Berlin, 1966.

31 See W., o.c., p. 349, Y 906, R 7.

32 See L. Schmitthausen, Die vier Konzentrationen der Aufmerksamkeit: Zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung einer spirituellen Praxis des Buddhismus. In: Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, Heft 4. Münster, 1976, pp. 241-266.

33 See Mvy 188-190. In Sakaki's Index, p. 27, the wrong number 184 is to be corrected by 187.

34 See BHSD, s.v. Māra, and Dharmasaṃgraha 80.

35 Pe 79, p. 287, 5 -, 7-8.

36 See reference No. 23.

37 Ms: *anganāṃ*.

38 Ms: *catvārya-catyāni ṣopānāni*.

39 Cf. Mayamata 13. 10 etc. "plate bande en retrait (molure)" so Dagens. See also P.K. Acharya, An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture. London etc., s.d., s.v. *kaṇṭha*.

40 Cf. *catvāri dharma-padāni* in Dharmasaṃgraha 55.

41 Ms: *anāsravāḥ.*

42 Ms: *jāni.*

43 *kumbha*, or *kumbhaka*, or *aṇḍa* is to be expected here. Also *kaṇṭhakaṃ* in the corresponding sentence of Kriyā-s. (a) 16 (§ 12 of this article).

44 See Mvy 993 (5). About the seven constituents of enlightenment see also The Arthaviniścaya-Sūtra ed. by N.H. Samtani, Patna, 1971, Introduction, pp. 49-50, Text, pp. 33-34, pp. 228-230.

45 Ms: *jā.*

46 Cf. Kriyā-s. (a). 17.

47 See BHSD, s.v. *valitaka.*

48 Like No. 12, the wording of this dogmatic notion seems to reflect a particular *Lokottaravāda* form of formulation, cf. Mvy 992 (4), Dharmasaṃgraha 49 (4), Arthaviniścaya pp. 33-34.

49 Ms: *jā.*

50 The same wording in Kriyā-s. (a) 18.

51 Cf. Mvy 995 (7), Dharmasaṃgraha 49 (7), Arthaviniścaya pp. 33-34.

52 Precisely the same in Kriyā-s. (a) 19. Cf. Mvy 989 (1), 990 (2), 991 (3), 994 (6), Dharmsaṃgraha 49 (1, 2, 3, 6), Arthaviniścaya pp. 33-34 the same order.

53 Ms: *-mārga.*

54 Om. in Kriyā-s. (a). See Mvy 997 (1) - 1004 (8), Dharmasaṃgraha 50 (1-8), Arthaviniścya pp. 34-42.

55 Ms: *kṣīṇāsravā.*

56 Ms: *cchatrāvalyāḥ.*

57 Cf. § 9, VI (1-13), om in Kriyā-s., but see Bénisti-ed., p. 91, no. 17: ... *trayodaśa-bhūmi-viśuddhyā trayodaśa cakrāvalī.*

58 Bénisti-ed., p. 91, no. 19: *tad upari anuttara-mahākaruṇā-viśuddhyā uṣṇīṣaṃ*, which she translates: "Au-dessus de cette (tête), selon la correspondance exacte avec la Grande Compassion qui n'a rien au-dessus d'elle (anuttaramahākarunā): la protubérance (uṣṇīṣa)." But *śūnyatā-karuṇā-viśuddhyā candra-sūryau śuddhādarśaḥ* in Kriyā-s. (a) 22 restored from Tibetan.

59 om. in Kriyā-s. Bénisti-ed., and in Caitya-v.

60 See Dharmasaṃgraha 45: *dve satye tadyathā: saṃvṛtti-satyaṃ paramārtha-satyaṃ ceti.* Cf. Bénisti-ed., p. 91, no. 19.

61 See Kriyā-s. (a) 23, perhaps Dhp 153, 154 = Uv 31.6, 7. Different in § 9 Caitya-v. XIII.

62 See Kriyā-s. (a) 24, cf. § 9, XIV.

63 The same in Kriyā-s. (a) 25.

64 This particular phrase is included in the Pāli *Dhajagga-sutta* of the Samyutta-Nikāya 11.1.3 = Vol. 1, p. 218 ff., p. 219, 31 in particular (PTS Edition, 1884). See also its Sanskrit version, the *Dhvajāgra-sūtra*, edited by E. Waldschmidt in Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon I (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Heft IV), Leipzig, 1932, pp. 7-8, pp. 43-53. See the same in Kriyā-s. (a) after No. 25.

64 The same in Kriyā-s. (a) 26.

65 Our *caitya*-passage under discussion was apparently included in the P r a k ī r ṇ a k a - Vinaya of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, which is handed down in key words (*uddāna*) in an appendix to Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, ed. by G. Roth, Patna, 1970. Its last *varga*, called *stūpa-varga*, contains the following titles (p. 332): *stūpa-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, stūpa-vastu-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, stūpa-gṛha-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, stūpārāma-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, stūpa-puṣkiriṇī-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, cetiya-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, cetiyālaṃkāra-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, naṭa-nartaka-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, sāharaṇā-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ, āpadā-pratiṣaṃyuktaṃ.*

66 Y. Ejima, a Japanese research fellow, prepared a tentative draft translation of the *stūpa-varga* which is the 14th section in Fa-hsien's Chinese translation of the Bhikṣu Prakīrṇaka in the Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya, which section is included in Taisho edition 22, p. 497c - p. 499a, while he worked in our Seminar in Göttingen in 1973. Fa-hsien translated the Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya together with an Indian Paṇḍit in the years 416-418 A.D.

67 Bareau, no. 4: Les caitya, o.c., p. 240, already took note of this important passage by translating: "S'il y a des reliques (... śarīra), on le nomme stūpa. S'il n'y a pas des reliques, on le nomme caitya."

68 R 257.3: *-chatrāvalī.*

69 Fr. Weller, Der chinesische Dharmasaṃgraha. Mit einem Anhang über das Lakkhanasuttanta des Dīghanikaya. Leipzig, 1923. Here, XXXV (p. 32), only bhūmis 1-10!

70 At hand are: Kriya-Sangraha, a Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal containing a collection of Tantric ritual by Kuladatta, reproduced by Sharada Rani. New Delhi, 1977 (Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 236), 258.3-259.4. Abbreviation: R. Two Nepalese manuscripts in the possession of Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, noted by J. Filliozat, Catalogue du Fonds Sanscrit. Paris, 1941, nos. 31, 32. I call 31 D, 32 E. Ms from Oriental Institute Baroda: F, see n. 12.
N.B. The passage is divided into *paras* by me.

71 The four forms refer to the four different shapes of the dome. They are: *dhānyākṛti, pātrākṛti, khaganḍākṛti,* and *kalaśākṛti* (cf. Bénisti, pp. 91-92, nos. 20-29), but *dhānya-rāśy-ākṛti* etc. in Stūpa-L. Ms fol. 5b.6-7.

72 R: *sāmānyena.*

73 D, E: *karā.*

74 Tentative translation: "Where the disc of the moon (*candra-maṇḍala*) on top (of the base) is divided into sixteen modules in full identification with the full moon of sixteen digits (= the sixteen petals of the white lotus), there the central pole is fixed." This sentence was also discussed at the Heidelberg-Conference. See § 16 of this paper.
Geshe G. Lodroe Rinpoche, Universität Hamburg, helped me comparing the Tibetan in Pe 74, 165.1.2 (vide n. 8). Śi 407a.2 reads: *cha-bcu-drug yoṅs gaṅ-ba'i rnam-par-dag-pas chaṅ bcu-drug gi steṅ-du zla-ba'i dkyil-'khor-ro, de la yaṅ srog-śiṅ gnas-pa'i rgya-la.*

75 R: *panca.* (258.4).

76 D, E, R: *catvārya-vaṃśa-, catvārya-satyāni.*

77 The corresponding Tibetan translation reads: *dad-pa la-sogs-pa'i stobs liṅa'i rnam-par-dag-pas mgul-rgyan no* (See the Tibetan version of Kriyāsaṃgraha = *bya ba bsdus pa* in Peking Edition 74, 165.1.1 - 2.6 in bsTan rGyud 'grel Śi 407a.1 - 407b.6.

78 The corresponding Tibetan reads: *zag-pa-med-pa daṅ bsam-gtan daṅ-po daṅ śiṅ-tu spyaṅs-pa yaṅ-dag-byaṅ-chub kyi yan-lag gi rnam-par-dag-pas mgul-rgyan no.* Ib.

79 R: *valitavyaṃ.* (259.2).

80 R: *vedanā om.*

81 *catvāro lokapālāḥ* of 19, and the complete sentences of 20 till 22 are omitted in D, E, but available in F, R and in the corresponding Tibetan translation.

F, a Sk. manuscript from Oriental Institute Baroda 13266, of which a microfilm was made available through the courtesy of Dr. Jani. Our sentences 19 - 22 are here fol. 139a.5-6.

82 See Dharmasaṃgraha 80.

83 So F, and R. One would expect *candra-sūryau.* Tib. reads: *stoṅ-pa-ñid daṅ sñiṅ-rje rnam-par-dag-pas ñi-ma daṅ zla-ba gñis me-loṅ dag-go* "sun and moon are both the pure reflection (of the Tathāgata) in full identification with Void and Compassion." See Pe 74, 165.2.1-2.

84 Cf. *tshigs su bcad pa gñis pa'i bśad pa = gāthā-dvaya-vyākhyāna* in Pe 105, 134.5.5-8. But see n. 61.

85 R: *viṣayātmaka-viśuddhyā.* (259.3-4).

86 G. Roth, Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins. In the press.

87 See note 32. Here p. 261 in particular.

88 S. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, London-Strassburg, 1884, p. CIV.

89 R. Garbe, Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914.

90 Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah (editor), Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa - Third Khaṇḍa (Vol. 1: Text, Critical Notes etc.). Baroda, 1958 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 130), p. 220.

91 F. Weller, Divyāvadāna 244, 7 ff. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung I (Berlin, 1953), pp. 268-276.
L. Alsdorf, Der Stūpa des Kṣemaṃkara. In: Studia Indologica - Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel. Hrsg. v. O. Spies. Bonn, 1955, p. 9-16.
M. Bénisti, o.c., pp. 73-80 (see Abbreviations).

92 See Edgerton, BHSD, s.v. *varṣa-sthāla*.

93 G. Roth, Remarks on the Stūpa-Lakṣaṇa-Kārikā-Vivecanam. In: Journal of the Bihar Research Society - Prof. S.H. Askari Felicitation Volume. Patna, 1968, pp. 31-46.

94 F.D.K. Bosch, The Golden Germ - An Introduction to Indian Symbolism. 's-Gravenhage, 1960, pp. 167-176 in particular.

95 Hemarāja Śākya, Śrī-Svayambhū Mahācaitya. Svayambhū, Ne. saṃ. 1098 (1978). Written in Nepāla bhāṣā.
See also U. Wiesner, Nepal Königreich im Himalaya. Köln, 1976 (Kunst-Reiseführer in der Reihe DuMont Dokumente), pp. 153-176 in particular.

96 Abbreviations which are generally accepted are not included.

N.B. When I visited Rome in March 1968, I enjoyed the privilege of discussing various points about the Buddhist *stūpa* with Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, who kindly directed me to Dr. Maurizio Taddei, who was so good as to send the two photos (pls. XIV, 1, 2) to me and to supply details about them in his letter, dated 24.4.1968.

List of figures

1 (§ 10). Drawn by Harjit Kular.

2 (§ 11). Reference: Bénisti, p. 102.

3 (§ 11). Reference: Bénisti, p. 106.

4 (§ 12). Reference: H.H. Godwin Austen, On the System employed in Outlining Figures of Deities and other Religious Drawings, as practised in Ladakh, Zaskar, etc. In: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 33 (Calcutta, 1865), pp. 151-154.

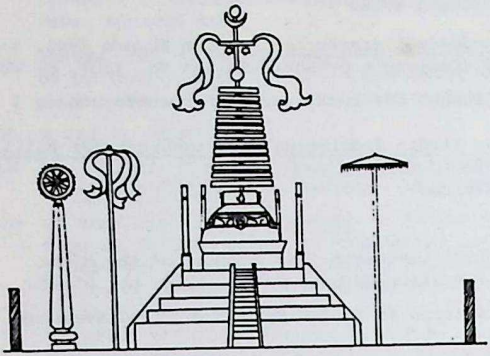


fig. 1

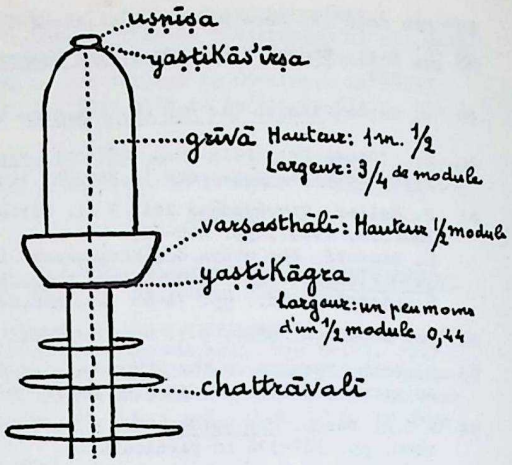


fig. 2

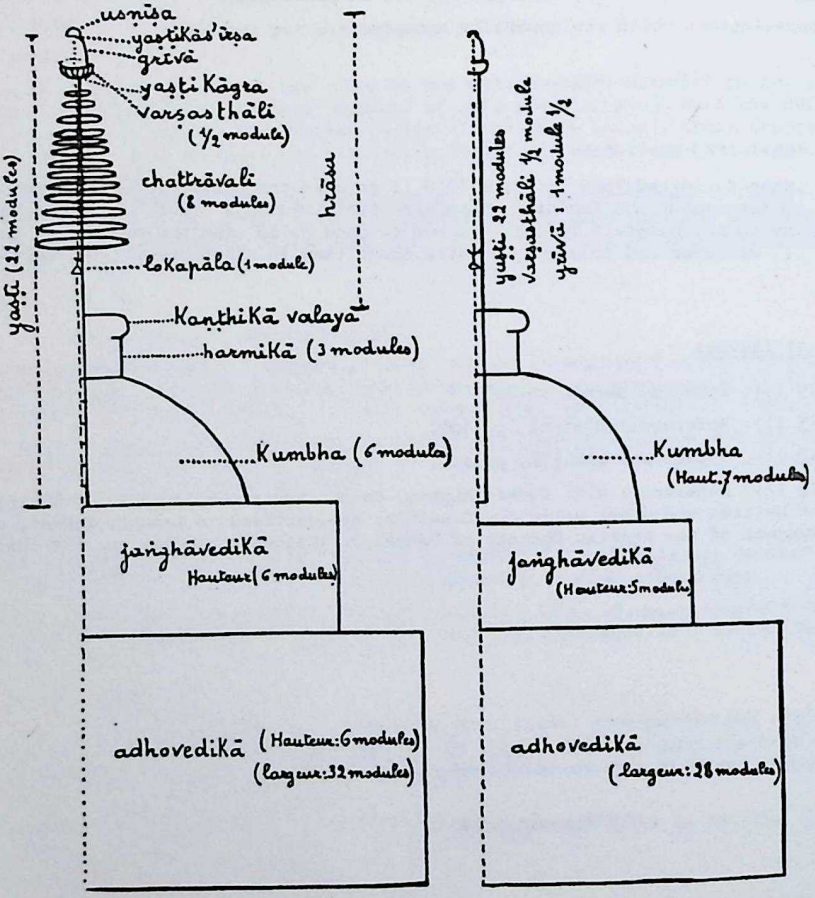


fig. 3

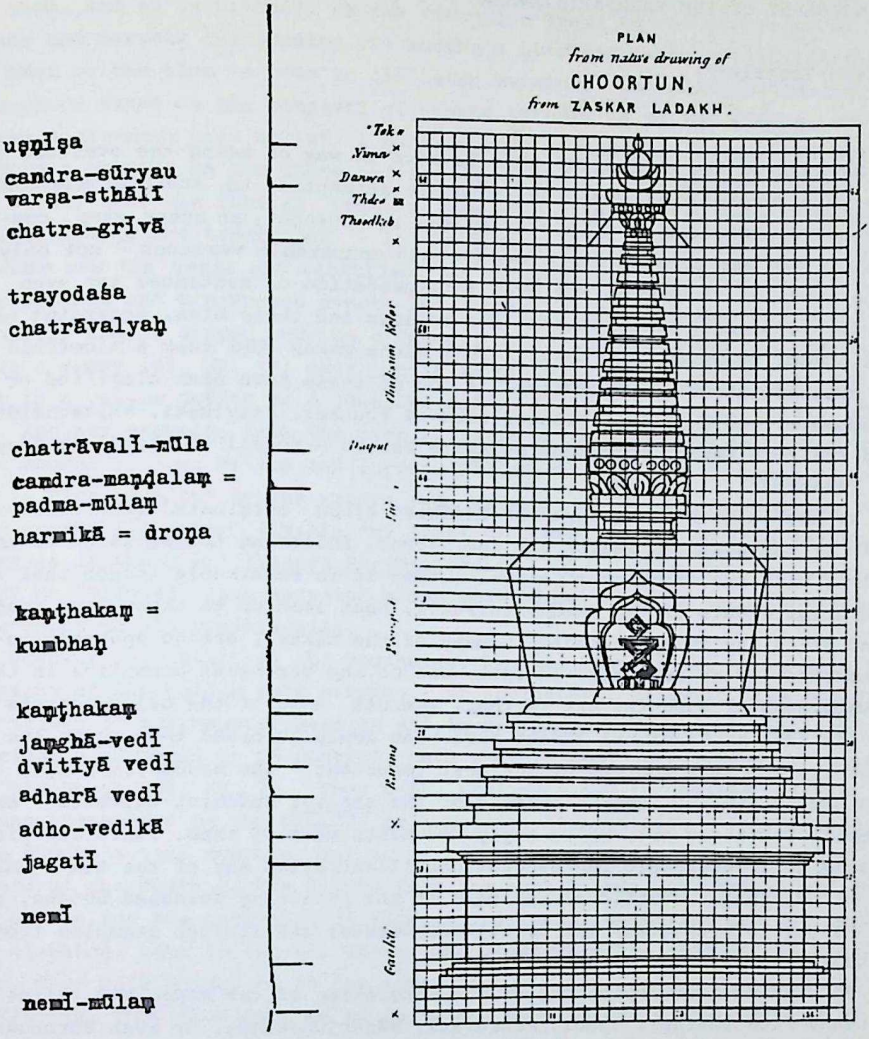

PLAN
from native drawing of
CHOORTUN,
from ZASKAR LADAKH.
uṣṇīṣa
candra-sūryau
varṣa-sthālī
chatra-grīvā
trayodaśa
chatrāvalyaḥ
chatrāvalī-mūla
candra-maṇḍalaṃ =
padma-mūlaṃ
harmikā = droṇa
kaṇṭhakaṃ =
kumbhaḥ
kaṇṭhakaṃ
jaṃghā-vedī
dvitīyā vedī
adharā vedī
adho-vedikā
jagatī
nemī
nemī-mūlaṃ

fig. 4

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE MAHĀPARINIRVĀṆA

Julian Sherrier

My talk on the *mahāparinirvāṇa* is more in way of being the overture to the main symphonic work on the *stūpa*! In attempting to achieve some kind of narrative storyline to help clarify the iconography, at every step, constantly one has to pick one's way through enumerable versions - not only of each event as it occurs, but even interpretation of sentences nay even words - depending on which text one follows and their bias, according to the schqol to which they belong. This alone makes the task a minefield of contradictions and anomalies.[1] A lot of these have been clarified or exposed by the brilliant pioneer work of Foucher, Przyluski, Waldschmidt and the more recent work done by André Bareau - to all of whom I am deeply indebted.[2]

If one is to believe that the Buddhist *stūpa* originated from the worship of the Buddha's relics and the *dharma*, following the Division of the Relics with the erecting of *stūpas* - then it is remarkable indeed that all the great events of the *mahāparinirvāṇa*, that lead up to these last events, (and which are fully recorded in many of the texts!) are so sparsely represented in the Art form. In fact, one of the strangest anomalies in the iconography of Buddhist Art is that, whereas most of the major moments in the life of Śākyamuni Buddha have been amply recorded throughout its history, the last and one of the most important - the *mahāparinirvāṇa*, has been virtually ignored by most of the earlier Buddhist cultures - except in Gandharan Art, which amply documents most of them. There are virtually no iconographic representations illustrating any of the texts, other than the usual conventional tableaux of the reclining deceased Buddha, as at Ajaṇṭā Cave 26 (fig. 1); or at Polonnaruwa; and similar examples from Mathura, Sarnath and Bengal.

But, aside from depictions of the Veneration of the *stūpa* and relics - nothing from Bhārhut, Sāñci, Amaravātī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, or even Borobudur! In fact it is only when we look further northwards - to Central Asia, Tibet, China and Japan, in their depiction of the later texts especially, that we get the narrative taken up and illustrated more fully - in their frescoes, paintings and sculptural reliefs.

The *mahāparinirvāṇa* is the Great Decease of the Buddha - the final relinquishment of Life and the extinction of the personal self. Most of the information we have been handed down is contained in the Sūttas and Sūtras, i.e. the Buddhist Rules and Buddha's Words respectively; handed down orally and only put to writing at the very earliest a hundred years or more after the Buddha's Death - and in many cases, as in the Chinese texts, many hundred years later. We are here mainly concerned with the Sūtras - the Pāli, the Sanskrit and the four Chinese Versions.[3] Now, the artists who

made these reliefs and paintings obviously worked from the texts best known to them. And as in history, as the time-span grew, so the accretion of legends and marvels surrounding the Buddha's Life and Death proliferated. So that by the time we come to the later versions, the elaboration and eloquence waxed on the simplest of events pertaining to the Buddha, acquire a grandeur past belief. I mention this elaboration because it has a direct bearing on the theme and iconographies of the *mahāparinirvāṇa*. An event, like the funeral, which at the time of His death must have been fairly simple and traditional - in the conventional Indian orthodox manner - became over the years and centuries, an occasion for countless miracles, embroidered and transposed events and contradictory statements! The traditionally simple draped body on a funeral pyre; later becomes one wrapped like a mummy (pl. XV, 1); gets put in an oil vat; (Vin Mahāsaṁghik) gets put in a carved coffin or a jewelled coffin (Ch:D); or a gold coffin (Ch: A). Another example; from the pyre at first being simply extinguished by the mourners, i.e. Mallas and laymen (Pāli/Sansk. Ch:B) - in other texts it is also 'put out by the waters from Heaven' (Ch:D); 'by Divinities in the nearby *Sāl* trees' (Ch:A); 'by lakes of cow-milk gushing from the four corners of the bier' (Vinaya Sarvāstivādin). And so, depending on which text he followed, each narrator added some elaboration or embellishment, according to his predilection.

However - to start at the beginning. We will take up the story with the passing of the Buddha into *nirvāṇa* - at Kuśinagara. Behaving like the Malla tribes of Kuśinagara, Deities and laymen, some of the monks not yet sufficiently advanced or in control, gave vent to their passions - on hearing of his Death (pl. XV, 2). They wept, arms upraised in despair; others flung themselves on the ground, rolling from side to side - only Subhadra, the Buddha's last convert, sat in quiet meditation (pl. XV, 3). Having heard of the death of the Buddha from the monk Ananda, the Mallas had given orders for the gathering of flowers, perfumes, musicians and 500 sets of clothing, came to the *Sāl* Grove, and approached the body of the Blessed One. They paid homage to it for seven days - also erecting canopies and pavilions. They then decided to carry the body to the south entrance of the town, to cremate it at the sancturary there, at the ceremony of *makutabandhana*. Now here occurs one of the first of the 'miracles' - They could not lift the bier! So they ask one of the Elders, Annurudha, who because of his high virtue and perception (having been recognized by the Buddha as the first of those who possess the 'divine eye') and he explains "The Gods do not wish it" - they wanted the bier to go through the North and then East of the town, to the *caitya* of the Mallas. (NB. Here, already it becomes evident that there is a conflict of interests; those of the Mallas etc., representing the human, mortal desire to practice normal funeral procedure - as against the wishes of the Gods - The Divine imposing their will on the proceedings.[4] No sooner did the Mallas obey their wishes - then suddenly the whole of Kuśinagara was covered with *mandarava* flowers.

The body of the *Tathāgatha* was treated as the body of a *cakravartin* (Universal Monarch). (NB. Despite the authors of these texts realizing that this could not really be applicable to the Buddha, whose very lifestyle was the anthesis of a great conqueror or of achieving the worldly glory of a *cakravartin*!)[5] The body was wrapped around in 500 pieces of new linen and 500 of cotton and put in an iron vessel of oil and onto a funeral pyre built of perfumed wood, and placed at the meeting of four ways. Various people - Mallas, Disciples etc. try then to light the funeral pyre - three times - but in vain! Again they ask Annurudha, who explains, "It is the will of the Gods." Almost all the texts state this, except the Chinese D text, which, oddly, claims, "It is by the occult action of the *Tathāgata* himself." An extraordinary statement - and in total contradiction of the very meaning of the *parinirvāṇa*, as Przyluski points out,[6] considering that once dead, the Buddha completely disappeared, having broken all contact with the world. So how could he prevent the pyre from catching alight? Another version says, "It is because the Gods wish that Mahākaśyapa render homage to the Feet of the Blessed One, as he is the oldest disciple of the Buddha's and having learned of the *Tāthagata's* wish to pass away altogether, is coming back to Kuśinagara from Paiva, accompanied by 500-2000 monks." (Ch:D) Now a mendicant monk, Ajivika[7], was passing on his way from Kuśinagara to Paiva, carrying one of those *mandarava* flowers and was seen by Mahākaśyapa, who apprehended what had happened, enquired and was told that indeed the Gotama had passed away - seven days ago (pl. XV, 4). At this some of the monks wept and lamented - except one old malcontent, Subhada (NB. Not to be confused with Subhadra - the Buddha's last convert.) Subhada said, "Do not grieve - we are well rid of the Great Ascetic. Too long have we been oppressed by him. Now at last we shall do as we wish!" (Pāli, Sanskrit, Vin: *sarvāstivādin*) Thus was the first note of dissension sounded, which was to reverberate further and louder through the history of Buddhism.

So this was the scene to which Mahākaśyapa arrived, as one of its chief protagonists. And here I should like to show a couple of the more elaborate depictions; first, an earlier painting from the Tun-Huang Caves (pl. XV, 5), and then this superb Japanese painting (dated 1086 A.D.) from the Kongobuji Temple, Koya-san (pl. XV, 6). On arriving at Kuśinagara, by the *Sāl* Grove, Mahākaśyapa approached the pyre. He arranged his robe over his shoulder, and with clasped hands raised in salutation, he walked three times around the pyre in *pradakṣiṇa*, and paid homage to the feet of the Buddha - which emerged as he knelt, touching them with his head! (pl. XV, 7) And when homage had been paid - the pyre burst into flames - of its own accord! (NB. Here I quote a passage from another text, to which this remarkable relief is very relevant, in its depiction of the miracles of the Feet emerging from the coffin and the subsequent bursting into flames of the coffin.) ..."the Malla Princes, surprised and disheart-

tened at the pyre not lighting, consulted Annurudha as to the cause. Annurudha said that the Gods did not approve of their proceedings. They wished that the great Kaśyapa should arrive and venerate the corpse ere it were consumed by fire. The people hearing the answer of Annurudha, wondered at the transcendant merit of the great Kaśyapa and anxiously awaited his arrival. When the great Kaśyapa arrived in the city, without delay he repaired to the place where the funeral pyre was erected. He adjusted his clothes in the most becoming manner, and with his hands joined to the forehead, three times turned around the pile saying at each turn, "This is the place of the Head, that is the place of the Feet." Then standing on the spot opposite the Feet, he entered into the fourth state of *dzan* for a while; His mind having emerged therefrom, he made the following prayer, "I wish to see the Feet of the Buddha, whereon are imprinted the marks that formerly prognosticated His future glorious destiny. May the cloth and cotton they are wrapped in be unloosened and the coffin as well as the pile be laid open - and the sacred Feet appear out and extend as far as to lie on my head." He had scarcely uttered this prayer, when the whole was suddenly opened and there came out the beautiful Feet, like the full moon emerging from the bosom of a dark cloud. Mahākaśyapa, stretching his two hands, that resembled two lilies just blooming, held both feet firmly by the heels, placing them on his head - and worshipped. Perfumes and flowers were offered by the crowd, who had burst into loud applause and cheers on seeing this matchless prodigy. All his disciples followed his example and worshipped. When this was done, the feet slowly withdrew into their place, the pile and coffin resumed their natural position. As the sun and moon disappeared below the horizon - so that the Feet of the Buddha disappeared, buried as it were, in the folds of cloth and cotton. The people at this moment wept and wailed loudly; their affection for the Buddha was evinced, on this occasion, more forcibly than when He had entered the state of *nibbāna*. The feet had hardly been concealed from the sight of the people, when without the interference of anyone, fire caught the pile and soon set it in a blaze of flames! The skin, the flesh, the muscles, the entrails, and liver of the body were all consumed without leaving any trace of ash or charcoal; of the body all had disappeared except the relics. All the pieces of cloth that served to wrap up the body, except the outermost and innermost were all consumed.

... when the pile was consumed by fire, water came down from the sky, which soon extinguished the fire. The Malla Princes poured upon it an immense quantity of scented water. During all the while that the pile was burning, streams of flames issued from the leaves and branches of the trees, shining forth with uncommon brightness, without burning the trees; insects of every description were seen flying in swarms on those trees, without receiving the least injury."[8]

But - Who lit the Funeral Pyre? The great community of monks were agreed that it should be the Eldest - but the problem of who still remained. Should it be a layman or a monk? Unanimous tradition accepted that the Buddha's wish was that his disciples leave the care of his funeral obsequies to the laymen. However, now this appeared too great an honour for a simple layman to be given; they felt it should be reserved for a monk - Ānanda? or the most distinguished, who happened to be Mahākaśyapa? But in order to explain the contravention to the Buddha's insctructions, the narrators (of the Mahāsaṁghika) used the device of Mahākaśyapa appointing himself "by right of being the Eldest Son ...", i.e. the natural successor and therefore the one to whom the honour of lighting the pyre would fall - as in traditional Indian custom.[9] So - according to various texts, we can narrow it down to three groups, as to Who lit the Pyre?

Was it lit by the Mallas, Brahmins or Heads of Family - in the traditional way? (Sansk/Ch:B)

OR

Was it lit by Ānanda, who as the Buddha's First cousin had the greatest right, and who accordingly spoke the necessary stanzas and "Lo! Flames sprang of themselves." (Sansk/Ch:C/2 samykta)

OR

Was it lit by Mahākaśyapa? whom I quote, "Claim the right of being the Eldest Son of the Blessed One - so I should incinerate the Blessed One." (pl. XV, 8)

And so it came to pass, that when the body of the Buddha had been burned - only his bones remained; and of the 500 shrouds only two were not consumed - the outer and the innermost;[10] water rained down from the Heavens (Ch:D); from the *Sāl*-Trees (Ch:A); and milk from the four corners of the area of the bier (Vin:Sarvast) - and extinguished the pyre! So who put it out?

According to some texts, it was:

Mahākaśyapa and/or the Mallas who put it out with milk from cows. (Sansk/Pāli)

In others it was:

Gods in the Heavens and Divinities in the Sāl-Trees did it.(Ref. pl. XV, 4) (Ch:A and D)

And in a couple:

The Pyre put itself out - naturally or by miracle is not explained! (Ch: C/Pāli)

However, after the cremation, came the Veneration of the Relics (*śarīra*). Here the texts are particularly eloquent and extravagant in their

depiction of gathering the remains of the Buddha in a cloth of fine wool, and put in an urn of gold (Sansk/Vin: Sarvst), which they then place on a bier of gold and/or jewels (Sansk/Ch:B and D). Offerings of perfume, garlands, flowers, and musical airs are made by the Mallas and the Gods - to the Relics.[12] Then they bring the bier into the town of Kuśinagara - the cortège carrying banners, parasols, incense and perfume; they place the golden urn in the most beautiful and important building that there is, and in a central place construct a cage of lances surrounded by a bulwark of arches. (Pāli) And yet - despite all these elaborate details of the ceremonies, a very essential and intrinsically important factor has been overlooked by every one of the texts; - not one gives any indication whether the place of rest for the bier was either a *caitya* or a Temple![13]

The Vinaya Sarvāstivādin says that Ānanda is the first to present offerings to the Relics, and then he invites the others to do likewise; but it does make one marked distinction - that of attributing the principal role to Mahākaśyapa! Even though he is absent from five of the six *sūtras* (MPN) - and then only referred to as the Fourth Elder! This absence of Mahākaśyapa in the earlier texts proves well enough that it had been borrowed by the authors of the Vinaya Sarvāstivādin from the story of the First Council Meeting at Rājagriha - and been tardily inserted in the sequel episodes of the *mahāparinirvāṇa sūtras*. Nine sources relate the reason why the funeral pyre would not light before Mahākaśyapa has been able to render last homage;[14] even though it is evident from the earlier Vinaya Piṭaka text that at the time of the First Council Meeting he was not on the top of the list of Elders - in fact even the Kaśyapa-biased Vin:Sarvastivd only mentioning him as Fourth Elder.[15] But - Mahākaśyapa 'having great merit, wisdom and knowledge' - and dare one add vaulting ambition? - also being much venerated by his disciples, he inevitably goes to the Top! Finally - in this search for the chief protagonist - there is a classic example of aggrandisment of Mahākaśyapa[16] - in the Vinaya Sarvāstivādin's description of his arrival and reception at Kuśinagara. Outside the city, Mahākaśyapa spreads his mat under a tree, sits cross-legged, whilst the faithful come and prostrate themselves. Mahākaśyapa preaches the doctrine to them in various ways, after which he dismisses them and they return to the sanctuary of Makutabandhana and all its rituals. But does not all this have a familiar ring to it? A stirring of ones memory? Indeed it does! Because it has all taken place before, word for word, in the texts relating to the first encounter with the Buddha - when he revealed the Law to them.[17] A deliberate plagiarising to create echoes of similarity - we are given a carbon-copy resemblance of the successor to the Master now gone forever. (pl. XV, 9) And perforce must accept that in the venerable Mahākaśyapa we see none other than the 'Heir' to the Blessed One, depicted in countless *parinirvāṇa* tableaux down the centuries.

And so to the final Act of the *mahāparinirvāṇa* (pl. XV, 10) - the Division of the Relics into eight equal parts, the timely and sagacious act of the monk Drona to avert further dissension amongst the kingdoms quarrelling over the Relics (pl. XV, 11), and to the subsequent erection of *stūpas* to honour the Buddha's final remains - and their worship.

Notes and references

1 It is essential, for the sake of getting some kind of coherent narrative in this talk, to take a fairly general line vis à vis the various episodes that take place - except in the few instances where I give examples. Otherwise one would be eternally begged down over every other sentence, quoting the innumerable text versions. Therefore, I have kept reference to various texts to the minimum - as basically this paper is on the Iconography and not on the texts - interrelated as they are.

2 Foucher, A., L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara. Vol. I. Paris 1905. Przyluski, J., Le Parinirvana et les Funerailles. In: Journal Asiatique. 1918/20. Przyluski, J., Le Concile de Rajagraha. Buddhica, tome II. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Documents et travaux pour l'étude de Bouddhisme. Publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski, Paris 1926. Waldschmidt, E., Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha. Göttingen 1944. Bareau, André, Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule. Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. Volume XXXVIII. Saigon 1955. Bareau André, Recherches sur la Biographie du Buddha dans les Sutrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens. Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. Volume LXXVII. II. Les Derniers Mois, Le Parinirvana et les Funerailles. Tome I. Paris 1970. Tome II. Paris 1971

3 Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtras

Pāli = Sūtra No. 16 of Dighanikaya.
Sanskrit = Sūtras of Mūlasarvāstivādin. (Edited E. Waldschmidt, 1950/51).
Chinese A = Yo king king No. 2 of Tchanga. (Edited. Taiho Issaikyo No. 1).
Chinese B = Fo-pan-ni-yuanking. (Edited by Taiho Issaikyo No. 5).
Chinese C = Pan-ni-yuanking. (Edited by Taiho Issaikyo No. 6).
Chinese D = Ta-pan-ni-panking. (Edited by Taiho Issaikyo No. 7).
Also: Vinaya sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsaṁghika, Samyuktāgama (Two). Eleven in all.

4 Refer Przyluski, J., Le Parinirvana et les Funerailles. p. 171.

5 Bareau, André, Les Recits canoniques des Funerailles du Buddha et leurs anomalies: nouvel essai d'interprêtation. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient. Tome LXII. Paris 1975.

6 Przyluski, J., Le Parinirvana et les Funerailles.

7 Reason for the narrators having to use a heterodox, mendicant monk (Ajivika) as the harbinger of news, was that as any ordinary monk was outlawed from carrying a flower it still necessitated some messenger to carry the symbolic *mandarava* flower to Paiva.

8 Bigandet, Right Rev. P., Life and Legend of Gautama-Buddha of the Burmese. Vol. II. Chapter II. Page 87. Trubners Oriental Series. Ist edition, 1858, Rangoon, Burma. Popular edition, 1879.

9 In the first version, it was probably the layman, Brahmins of Malla Princes who put light to the pyre. Later, when the honour appeared too great to be designated to a layman, the narrators gave this honorific task to Ānanda and/or Mahākaśyapa. Later yet, inspiring themselves by describing the miracle - the apparition of the Feet of the Buddha, they conveniently imagined that the Fire spontaneously ignited itself - thereby resolving the problem of who should light it! And this was the version most generally adopted.

10 No visible cinders, black smoke, nothing but bones - signifying that the Cremation was as perfect and exact as could be. (Pāli)

11 The Vinaya Sarvāstivādin says that Ānanda is the first to present offerings to the Relics - then he invites the monks, nuns and devotees to do likewise. He commands Annurudha to discharge the Gods, Nagas and Divinities. When they lament and weep,

asking "Why?" Ānanda firmly explains that their presence and lamentations weary the people and prevent them from expressing their devotion in silence and alone. (This is endorsed in abundant detail by all the six sūtras.)

12 As before, there is the same repetition of events and words, as for the placing of the bier.

13 Przyluski, J., Parinirvana ... Incineration of the Body of the Buddha. Ch. 10, p. 263.

14 Ibid., p. 264.

15 Przyluski, J., Le Concile de Rajagraha. Paris 1926.

16 It soon becomes evident that in order to give Mahākaśyapa full benefit of the grandeur of his rank and eminence and also as the eventual leader of the Saṁgha, the authors found it convenient to draw on episodes, miracles and quotations - and weave them around the personality of Mahākaśyapa - heavily borrowing from the earlier texts, e.g. like transposing the remainder of Ānanda's stanzas, as well as his major role, at the funeral - and awarding them to Mahākaśyapa.

17 Przyluski, J., Parinirvana ... Incineration of the Body of the Buddha. Ch. 8, p. 233.

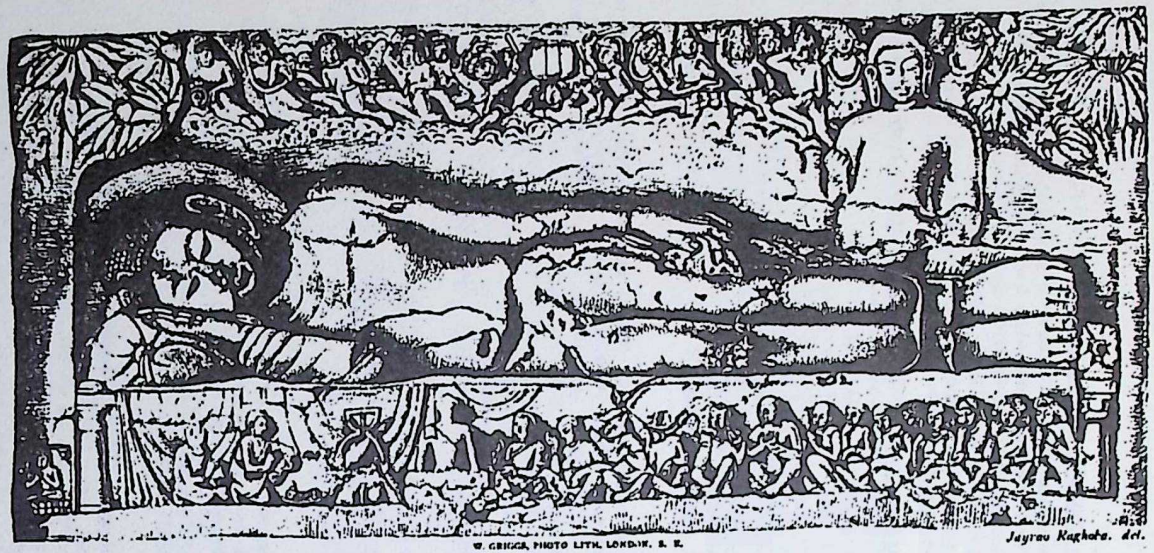
List of figures

1. Ajanta Cave 26. - 6th century A.D. (From: Burgess, James and Ferguson, James, The Cave Temples of India. London, 1880, Pl. L.).

Plate L.

AJANTA.

NIRVÂṆA OF BUDDHA. ON THE LEFT WALL OF CAVE XXVI.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO LITH. LONDON, S. E. *Jayrau Raghoba. del.*

scale of 7 feet.

fig. 1

PARINIRVĀṆA AND STŪPA

Was the 'Stūpa' only a "Symbolical" Depiction of the 'Parinirvāṇa'?

Jorinde Ebert

According to some of the oldest Buddhist texts *stūpa*-cult and *stūpa*-worship was not allowed to the Buddhist clergy and was prohibited inside the *vihāra* precincts.

On the other hand we know from the inscription of the pillar from Nigali Sagar[1] dating from the year 251 B.C. that Asoka enlarged the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni to its double size.

What we gather from this inscription is:

Asoka and his Buddhist contemporaries - and probably not only the laymen among them - were convinced of the existence of *stūpas* back to a time even before the historical Buddha, Gautama Śakyamuni; they connected these mounds with the death - at the same time the *nirvāṇa* - of the Buddhas; and they payed homage to these *stūpas*.

It seems therefore that though *stūpas* and *stūpa*-cult was something originally alien to Buddhist thought, it was gradually carried into it by the lay community.

Why it was the *stūpa* which from the very beginning of Buddhist art functioned as the symbol of the essence and the last step in the Buddha-career - the *nirvāṇa* -has been explained by Paul Mus[2] with two traditions:

One stands in connection with sepulchral rites making "a world of the dead in miniature form"[3] out of the sepulchre and at the same time imitating the existing universe in the form of a cosmic *puruṣa* with it; i.e. a model of the universe is built in the form of a symbolic man, a miniature form of the great *puruṣa*. "So the sepulchre becomes a substitute for the ephemeral body of the dead person where his mystic being continues to exist ... we have therefore to do with a <u>built body</u> which represents the being of the dead person in such a way as his body did during his life-time."[4]

The other tradition stands in connection with the fire-altar (*agnicayana*) receiving the one making the offerings into a holy domain, where he comes into contact with the absolute. "In the 'Catapatha brâhmana' the erection of a fire-altar is brought into close relationship to the sepulchre (cmacâna) of the 'agnicit', i.e. the one who has built a fire-altar during his life-time. The two buildings supplement each other, so that the second finishes what the first has begun: the building of a body for the sacrificer for the time when his perishable body is no more."[5]

The union with the all-embracing absolute is brought about in two ways: during life-time by the fire-altar making a connection possible, at death by the tomb-monument where the return to the absolute is materialized.

That these thoughts were very much alive from early to late times in the Buddhist community can be proved by many texts. One of the most interesting is, among many others, the Kriyāsamgraha I[6] where the second platform of the *stūpa* is equalled to the shanks (*janhavedi*) and the top to the *uṣṇīṣa*[7].

Paul Mus quotes some others[8]:

The late Javanese text Sung hyang Kamāhāyanikan says: "The body of the Buddha seen from outside is a stūpa." and the Lalitavistara calls the Buddha "a 'caitya' of the world". And also in the Vinayas we can find a tendency in many places to personify the *stūpa*. "The stūpa has his own property, just as the monk-community has, he possesses his own well-defined tract of land, his offerings, his capital or 'inexhaustible stock'. These possessions are defined now as the 'property of the stūpa' now as those of of the Buddha.

Already for the time of the Christian era the *stūpa* must therefore be considered something more than just a symbol for the Buddha, it is the Buddha himself, it is that part which remains in this world after the parinirvāṇa."[9] Or, to put it more clearly, the *stūpa* is the *nirvāṇa*-body of the Buddha.

We find the best proof for this surprising idea in the *sūtra* of the 'Lotus of the True Law', the Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, which is generally considered to date from the time of the 2nd century A.D. In the *stūpa*-chapter of this *sūtra* we find the following story:[10]

While Śākyamuni is expounding the Lotus-*sūtra* to his auditors a *stūpa* suddenly appears in the sky like a meteor and a voice issues from it praising Śākyamuni's preaching. When Śākyamuni is asked, what this means, he explains:

"In this great Stūpa of precious substances ... the proper body (ātmabhāva) of the Tathāgata is contained condensed; it is he who causes this sound to go out ..."[11] and a little further on he goes on to explain:

"Now, ... that Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata &c., at the juncture of time when his complete extinction was to take place, announced in the presence of the world, including the gods: After my complete extinction, monks, one Stūpa must be made of precious substances of this frame (or form) of the proper body of the Tathāgata; the other Stūpas, again, should be made in dedication (or in reference) to me. Thereupon ... the Lord Prabhūtaratna ... pronounced this blessing: Let my Stūpa here, this Stupa of my proper bodily frame (or form), arise wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space ... the Lotus of the True Law is propounded ..."[12] Śākyamuni then opens the *stūpa* with his index-finger disclosing to sight the frame of the expired Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna, who is desirous of hearing the exposition of the Lotus-*sūtra*.

Complete extinction (*nirvāṇa*), *stūpa* and the proper body (*ātmabhāva*) of a Buddha are so closely linked here, that the question must arise: how

symbolic was the *stūpa*-symbol? How strongly were the obviously anthropomorphic traits of the *stūpa*, hinted at in the texts, felt? In other words, did the worshipper circumambulating the *stūpa* venerate only the symbol of the Buddha and his *nirvāṇa*, or did he venerate the actual *nirvāṇa*-body of the Buddha?

The development of the *parinirvāṇa* in India proper seems to speak rather more in favour of the latter possibility. If this is correct, we have in the *parinirvāṇa*-depictions showing only the *stūpa*, a first step in the direction toward the anthropomorphic iconography evolved so skillfully in Gandhāra in the time around the 1st century A.D. But this final anthropomorphic *parinirvāṇa*-image was still a good way off.

To the best of our knowledge the earliest depiction of the *parinirvana*, as we can gather from Bhārhut[13] (plate XVI,1), Sāñcī[14] and Amarāvatī[15] (fig. XVI,2) was always in form of a *stūpa*.[16] It is interesting to note that in these reliefs the *stūpa* is not only depicted alone, a symbol as such, but also quite often in the act of being venerated by laymen (never by monks) either by the *pradakṣiṇa* rite (pl. XVI,1) or by music, *añjali* and in other ways.

While in Bhārhut and Sāñcī the *parinirvāṇa* is depicted exclusively in form of the *stūpa*, this is not the case in Amarāvatī. Here, though the *stūpa* remains the predominant *parinirvāṇa*-solution (pl. XVI, 2), a narrative formula was developed at least as early as the first half of the 1st century A.D.[17] (pl. XVI, 3; fig. 1) without the *stūpa*-symbol, based on the account given in the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtras.

In the older of the two examples extant from Amarāvatī[18] we observe a grouping together of important events about three months before the *parinirvāṇa* and the *parinirvāṇa* itself. All these events are accompanied by short inscriptions for identification. The very fragmentary *parinirvāṇa*-scene is accompanied by the following inscription:[19] "[śa]lavane bhagavato parinivute" (fig. 1 E). The *parinirvāṇa* of the Lord in the Śāla-grove (inscription on the top).

In the later example[20] (from the middle or end of the 1st century A.D.) which is very fragmentary (pl. XVI, 4; fig. 2) the scenes are limited to the *parinirvāṇa* and the events immediately following it:

1. The carrying of the corpse into Kuśinagara (left, bottom)
2. The transfer of the corpse to the place of cremation (right, top)
3. The cremation itself (right, bottom).

Whatever may have been the ultimate reason for the conception of this *parinirvāṇa*-alternative, one fact is very obvious: The breaking away from the *stūpa*-cult in favour of a narrative sequence from the *parinirvāṇa-sūtra*. For, what we see in the examples from Amarāvatī is now not the *stūpa* but an empty bed (we are here still in a stage of the Amarāvatī art where the Buddha is not yet depicted in anthropomorphic form).

Though this *parinirvāṇa*-alternative does not seem to have been able

to assert itself strongly in Amarāvatī itself, where, even after the standing Buddha-figure was accepted, the anthropomorphic *parinirvāṇa* of Gandhāra is nowhere to be seen, it must have formed a strong undercurrent. An example from Mathurā[21] and another on the seals from the Māhāparinirvāṇa monastery of Kuśinagara (today's Kaśia)[22] (pl. XVI,5) datable around the 5th century A.D. show the same empty bed under the *śāl*-trees on which the Gandhāran artists finally placed the anthropomorphic Buddha[23] (pl. XVI, 6).

If we look at the development of the *parinirvāṇa*-iconography from this angle, we have a good solution to the question, why all extant Gandhāran *parinirvāṇa*-reliefs show no really primitive stages in their iconography. There can be no doubt to our mind that this is so because the first steps in the narrative *parinirvāṇa* formula had already been evolved before and outside the Gandhāran ateliers proper.

As we have seen, the *stūpa* was on the one hand strongly reminiscent of archaic Indian death-cults and was from this point of view well-fitted to serve as a symbol for the last and ultimate extinction of a Buddha.

The Gandhāran *parinirvāṇa*-formula drawing iconographically in the posture of the dying Buddha on Greek and Roman death-poses observable frequently on classical sarcophagi (pl. XVI,7)[24], reintroduces this trait into the anthropomorphic formula.

But the other eminently important aspect of the *stūpa*: Its death-transcending quality, the fact that it was regarded in some mystical way as the actual body of the Buddha, was something the narrative anthropomorphic formula was not able to depict.

Now the Gandhāran artist, not as intimately acquainted with this magical trait of the *stūpa*, may not have missed this quality in the anthropomorphic formula. But the Indian artist and worshipper with the *stūpa*, its cult and meaning constantly and vividly before his eyes must have felt the gap acutely when confronted with the Gandhāran *parinirvāṇa* formula.

It must at present remain open to discussion whether the monumentalization of the anthropomorphic formula was not an impulse carried into the Gandhāran ateliers by Indian schools of art to fill this gap. However this may be the amount of *parinirvāṇa* depictions of the non-monumental kind in India proper is extremely small[25]. The monumental depictions on the other hand appear there quite early (beginning with Ajanta and Kaśia[26], both not later than the beginning of the 5th century A.D.). These *parinirvāna* – depictions, with the monumental Buddha, remain en vogue in smaller Gupta-, Pāla-(pl. XVI, 8)[27], and Sena-reliefs even if the whole scene is not more than a few inches large.

But successful as the Gandhāran formula turned out to be, its monumentalization alone does not seem to have satisfied the Indian worshipper in the long run. For we find a small additional *stūpa* above the

parinirvāṇa-scene in all anthropomorphic depictions at least from Gupta-times on.

Though the Gandhāran artists employed the monumental formula in the later phases of their art (for example in Bhamāla)[28] (fig. 3) they seem to have had no sympathy at all for the *stūpa*-symbol in connection with the anthropomorphic depiction of the *parinirvāṇa*.

This was not the case with the offsprings of Gandhāran art in the caves of Qyzil and Qumtura in Central Asia:

In Qyzil and Qumtura the majority of the caves show the "*caitya*-Hall"-type of architectural lay-out, i.e. in the rear of the cave there is a "*stūpa*"-pillar with the main icon at its front-wall and vaulted corridors leading around it for the *pradakṣiṇa*-rite. What is unique in the largely Hınayānistic centre of Qyzil is the fact that the whole[29] *pradakṣiṇa-patha* is decorated with various scenes all connected with the *parinirvāṇa* of the historic Buddha. This means that the cult-wise most important part of the cave with the whole *pradakṣiṇa-patha* is devoted exclusively to the *parinirvāna*.

The depiction of the *parinirvāṇa* itself is always[30] on the rear wall of the whole cave, and the cremation - if depicted - on the wall opposite of the *parinirvāṇa*, i.e. the rear wall of the *stūpa*-pillar.

Now there are two very interesting instances where *stūpa*-symbolism reinforces the anthropomorphic depiction of the ultimate annihilation:

In the first, instead of the decoration of the side-walls along the *pradakṣiṇa-patha* with pictorial scenes, all these walls, with the exception of the one in the rear carrying the *parinirvāṇa*, are painted with rows of various numbers of *stūpas* (pl. XVI, 9 and 10)[31].

There can, to our mind, be no doubt that this decorative layout was to signalize to the circumambulating visitor of the cave the omnipresence of all past and future Buddhas in their *nirvāṇa* state as well as the *parinirvāṇa*, i.e. the moment of entering into the state of *nirvāṇa*, of the historical Buddha Gautama Śākyamuni, depicted therefore in anthropomorphic form.

The second is even more interesting. For here, our attention is brought back to the cremation-rites mentioned above:

We have here to do not with the *parinirvāṇa* but with the stage following it: The cremation, depicted in Qyzil and Qumtura on the rear wall of the *stūpa*-pillar.

This cremation scene though known already to the artists of India (Amarāvatī, fig. 2 b) and Gandhāra (pl. XVI,6 left) is greatly developed in Qyzil absorbing into it the whole Mahākāśyapa-episode as it is narrated in later Mahāparinirvāṇa-texts.[32]

In Qumtura there is a stage, in the very beginning of art-influences coming from China around the first half of the 7th century A.D., when the *parinirvāṇa* itself is only depicted with a small symbol while the cremation takes up the whole space of the wall.[32]

The preponderance of the cremation-scene in Qumtura may stand in some relation with the fact that it is actually here, and not in the *parinirvāṇa*-scene, that the ultimate annihilation is shown. What is interesting to us is the fact that some of these cremation-scenes both in Qyzil and Qumtura show a (varying) number of *stūpas* in the flames above the sarcophagus (fig. 4)[33].

To our mind these *stūpas* do not only hint at the distribution of the relics of the Buddha into eight parts but at an immediate metamorphosis of the burned human body into *stūpa* bodies, death-surpassing bodies.

There is here obviously some link with Indian *parinirvāṇa*-scenes showing the anthropomorphic Buddha and the *stūpa*. This is not surprising since we know that the Central-Asian Buddhists kept up close relationships with their Indian contemporaries.

What may seem strange is that no *stūpas* are added to *parinirvāṇa* depictions. Is the reason that while Central-Asian artists took over the *paranirvāṇa*-iconography at a relatively early time, before any *stūpas* had been introduced into it, they developed their own cremation-scene much later? Tnis gave them the opportunity to add the *stūpas* without impairing the holiness of the image.

What is interesting to us is the fact that in connection with the ultimate annihilation of the Buddha the Indians maintained the first symbol they coined for it, if not exclusively and predominantly, at least in form of a symbiose; and induced artists of a far away place like Central-Asia to introduce it into their own cremation-iconography.

This shows clearly that the far more than symbolical meaning of the *stūpa* in connection with the 'ultimate annihilation' was greatly alive in the time of the 7th and 8th century A.D.

Notes and references

1 Hultsch, E., Inscriptions of Aśoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. 1, 1925. p. 165.

2 Mus, P., Barabudur. Les origines du Stūpa et la transmigration. Essai d'archéologie religieuse comparée. in: BEFEO, Vol. XXXII - XXXIV, 1932-1934.

3 ibid., p. 617.

4 ibid., p. 617.

5 ibid., p. 620.

6 The Kriyāsamgraha is a '*panjika*' written by Kuladatta. The part on the building of *stūpas* is in the eighth and last chapter.

7 Bénisti, M., Etude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne. in: BEFEO, Vol. L, Fasc. 1, Paris 1960. pp. 37-116.

8 Mus, P., Barabudur (see footnote 2), Vol. XXXIII, p. 612.

9 Bareau, A., La construction et le culte du stūpa d'après les 'Vinayapitaka'. in: BEFEO, Vol. L. Fasc. 2, Paris 1962. p. 269.

10 Kern, H., Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law, translated by H. Kern. in: The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXI, Oxford 1884.

11 ibid., p. 228.

12 ibid., p. 229.

13 *Parinirvāṇa* from the *stūpa*-railing of Bhārhut, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. in: Lippe, A., The Freer Indian Sculptures, Washington 1970. p. 6.

14 ibid., p. 11.

15 Bénisti, M. and Stern, Ph., Evolution du style Indien d'Amarāvatī, Paris 1961, Pl. LII and detail on Pl. LIV.

16 The *stūpa* does not always and only symbolize the *parinirvāṇa*. The identification of a *stūpa* as being the depiction of the *parinirvāṇa* relies mainly on the grouping together of the four main events of a Buddha-life. The fourth and last stage is always the *parinirvāṇa*.

17 Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., Beginning of Sculptural Art in South East India: A Stele from Amarāvatī. in: Ancient India 20/21, 1964-65. p. 168 and Pl. XLIII, E.

18 This is according to the dating of: Plaeschke, H., Zur Chronologie der Amarāvatī-Schule. in: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle, XXIII, 1974.

19 Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., The Beginning of Sculptural Art (see footnote 17), Pl. XLIII, E. and p. 173.

20 Coomaraswamy, A., Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique. in: RAA, Annales du Musée Guimet, V, Nr. 1, 1928. p. 244 and Pl. LVII, fig. 1.

21 Professor van Lohuizen-de Leeuw is publishing a paper on this interesting piece as she had the kindness to inform me.

22 Illustration from A.S.I., Ann. Rep., 1905-6. p. 83.

23 *Parinirvāṇa* and Cremation, Gandhāra, Cl. from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

24 Wrede, H., Stadtrömische Monumente, Urnen und Sarkophage des Klinentypus in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten n.Chr., Arch. Anz. 1977, 3. p. 395, fig. 92-93.

25 Most of these are from Mathurā, but even they can be easily counted on the fingers of one hand.

26 For illustrations of the *Parinirvāṇa* from Kaśia see the paper of Prof. Dr. v. Mitterwallner.

27 Pala stelae from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with the *parinirvāṇa* and a *stūpa* above it in the upper part.

28 As the photographs I could obtain from this *parinirvāṇa* are all very small, I show here for greater clarity a sketch of it.

29 This is extraordinary because all other art-centres in Central-Asia dealing with this theme use either the rear wall of the cave or the rear wall of the *stūpa*-pillar only.

30 The only exemption is the clearly Mahayanistic 'Höhle der Behelmten', there the *parinirvāṇa* is on the opposite wall.

31 Photograph of the German Turfān-expedition. From the archives of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. Published in: Härtel, H., Indische und Zentralasiatische Wandmalerei, Berlin 1959.

32 I have gone into this problem in greater detail in my thesis Die Parinirvāna-Darstellung. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Entwicklung von den Anfängen bis nach China. delivered at the University of Würzburg, 1978.

33 Cremation scene from the 'Höhlengruppe mit dem Kamin (A)' of Qyzil (according to Grünwedel).

List of figures

1 *Parinirvāṇa* from Amarāvatī.
1 E Inscription on the top.

2 a) *Parinirvāṇa* and
b) Cremation from Amarāvatī.

3 *Parinirvāṇa* from Bhamāla.

4 Cremation-scene from the 'Höhlengruppe mit dem Kamin (A)' (Grünwedel).

fig. 1

fig. 1 E

fig. 2 a)

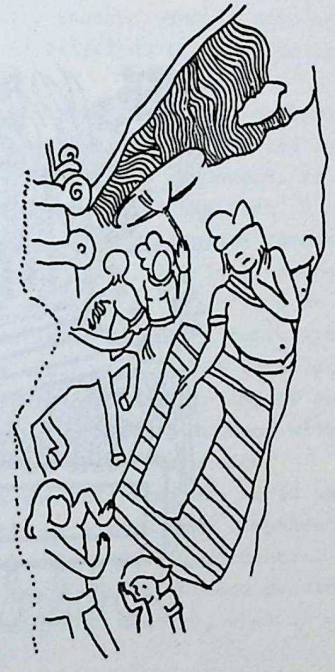


fig. 2 b)

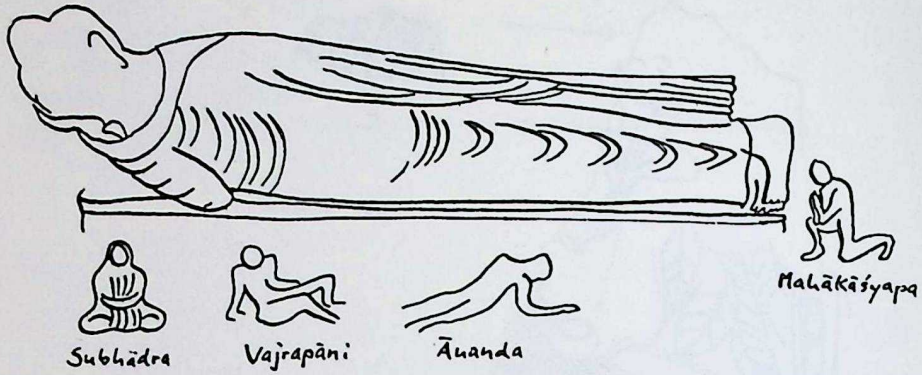


fig. 3

fig. 4

STŪPA AND PARINIRVĀṆA AS MANICHAEAN MOTIFS

Hans-Joachim Klimkeit

Of the many Christan Gnostic sects that existed in the Near East in the first centuries A.D., only one, the community of the Manichaeans, expanded to assume the rank of a world religion. Its founder, Mani (216-273), a man of royal Parthian heritage, who had grown up in the Judeo-Christian baptizing community of the Elchasaites in Babylonia, understood himself as the true interpreter of the Christian faith, representing it in a dualistic, Gnostic sense. This is now clear in the light of the newly found Greek manuscript, the "Cologne Mani Codex", describing the decisive years of his life in the Elchasaite community[1].

Though the new Codex shows how intimately Mani's new religion was connected with the Gnostic-Christian tradition and how it understood itself as the definitive interpretation of the Christian faith, other works like Mani's Šābuhragān, a book directed to the Sasanian Emperor Shapur I., reveal that Mani's religion was a comprehensive system of faiths, including and superseding all other great religions prior to his time. How specifically Buddhism was included and intentionally incorporated is seen by the fact that Mani's first missionary journey in 241/42-43 took him to the Buddhist Indus valley.

A great missionary zeal combined with the inward readiness to include basic concepts of other religions into the syncretistic system led to an unprecedented expansion of the new faith, without fire and sword, to the shores of the Atlantic in the West and the China sea in the East. A church figure as prominent as St. Augustine adhered to the Manichaean community as a hearer, an *auditor*, for "about nine years" (i.e. 373-382), as he himself tells us (St. Augustine, De utilitate credendi I, 1), before he turned to serve the Christian church. A few centuries after his conversion, the Manichaeans increasingly began to lose their grip on the intellectual world of the Roman empire, leaving, however, a considerable impact on North African, especially Coptic, thinking. Here it had much in common with diverse forms of Gnosticism on the fringe of the Christian church.

The decrease of Manichaean influence on the Mediterranean world and its very gradual extinction in the Islamic world were more than compensated by its expansion into the wide areas of a partly Buddhicized Central Asia and western as well as southern China. In the southern Chinese province of Fukien it retained a stronghold till the 16th/17th century, when it was gradually absorbed by Buddhism and Taoism.

Our main information on Eastern Manichaeism in a cultural world determined by Buddhist thinking stems especially from Central Asia, from sites like Turfan and Tun-Huang, where manuscripts, miniature paintings and even Manichaean monasteries and cult sites were found. The role played by Mani-

chaeism here is due not only to the missionary activity of Sogdian trader communities along the silk routes, but it is also due to a historical event. In 763, Bögü Khan, Emperor of the vast empire of the Central Asian Turks living in the Steppes between the areas of the Chinese and the eastern Iranian peoples, proclaimed Manichaeism as a state religion. It retained this status for only a century, until the fall of the Turkish empire in 844. A Manichaean kingship, however, did maintain itself at Kočo, in the Turfan oasis for another four centuries, and Manichaean communities, consisting mainly of Sogdians and Turks, continued to thrive along the routes between Persia and China. In China, foreign and indigenous communities, though harrassed from time to time, continued to remain alive for centuries, though assuming increasingly a Buddhist appearance.

In their expansion to Central and Eastern Asia, the Manichaeans adopted not only Buddhist terminology and symbolism, but also developed a monastic type of life supported by an own prosperous laity. In spite of differences to Buddhism which were consciously upheld, most Buddhist motifs in literature, art and life-style had their Manichaean analogies. The situation reminds us very much of that existing between Buddhists and adherents of Bon in Tibet (Often the same symbol is used in some type of reverse application, e.g. *vitarkamudrā* being represented by Manichaeans with the left hand)[2]. Hence the process of an *interpretatio graeca*, which had characterized religious thinking, including that of Christianity, in the hellenistic world, was renewed on the basis of an *interpretatio buddhistica* in Central and East Asia, Manichaeans, and even Christians - though to a lesser degree - presenting their central religious concepts, and even dogmas on Christology, in Buddhist Sogdian, Uigur or Chinese terminology. In this situation it is not surprising to find indications of there being Manichaean *stūpas*. The evidence is sparse, yet specific statements can be made, though very little archaeological material proven to be Manichaean is known to us.

We should first emphasize again that on account of the attempts to Buddhicize Gnostic Christian contents of faith, many central Buddhist concepts like *nirvāṇa*, *saṃsāra* and *puṇya*, to name but a few, found their way into Manichaean texts, so much so, that it is often difficult to discern at first sight whether a manuscript is Buddhist of Manichaean in character. The same must have been true for monasteries and *stūpas*, at least to a certain degree, for in one Buddhist text in Uigur, stemming from Turfan, we find a phrase referring to "every type of monastery and *stūpa*" (*tüü türlüq vrxvar sangram stup*), the words used indicating that monasteries and *stūpas* of different religions of denominations were meant.[3] In this connection I should like to point out that even in the Uigur version of a basic Buddhist text like the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra, Manichaean monks (*dintarlar*, i.e. *elect*) are mentioned, beside their Buddhist colleagues, here termed *arhats*.[4]

In Eastern Manichaean hymns and dogmatic treatises, Mani himself, like

Jesus, assumes the dignity of a Buddha, and they are all related to each other in a very specific, liturgically simple, but dogmatically complex manner. Without being able to enter into a discussion of Manichaean Christology and Buddhology, suffice it to point out that in the so-called Manichaean "Parinirvāṇa Hymns", Mani is invoked as the "Comforter" promised by Jesus (John 14: 16-17, 26; 15: 26; 16: 7). At the same time, he is addressed and implored to return to earth to his waiting community as the Buddha Maitreya.

In the Sogdian Manichaean Book of Prayers and Confessions[5] which also contains many Middle Persian and Parthian liturgical passages, the invocations and psalms preserved reflect the faith of the Central Asian Manichaean community in its anticipation of the return of Mani, who is invoked as the coming Jesus and the awaited Maitreya, expected to return from the World of Light, which is *Nirvāṇa*.

This sincere longing of the community for the return of the Messiah was spelled out in a cultic practice, enacted year after year. This cult was the Bema festival, a type of Manichaean "Holy Communion". A fragmentary miniature of the Bema scene has been preserved in a badly damaged fragment from Turfan.

One passage in the Coptic Manichaean Homilies suggests that Mani's Book of the Drawing (*Ārdhang*) which supplemented his Gospel (Evangelion) artistically, was placed on the central throne, i.e. the Bema, thereby invoking ritually his presence, so that he would soon lead back to the World of Light his anxiously and patiently waiting community.[6]

The Eastern liturgy of the Bema festival as reflected in the Book of Prayers and Confessions gives us an insight into the Manichaean concepts of *Nirvāṇa* and *Parinirvāṇa*. This information is supplemented by the description of the World of Light as contained in the Chinese hymn scroll kept at London, which is at least in part a translation of a Parthian hymn.[7] The Chinese version makes it clear that *Nirvāṇa*, the World of Light, is described quite in accordance with *Amitābhas Sukhāvatī*, or Western Paradise, so much so, that even details of the descriptions lend themselves to comparison.

Like the Mahāyānist Western Paradise of *Amitābha* or Eastern Paradise of *Akṣobhya*, the Eastern Manichaeans conceived of a land of joy which was the immediate hope of the believer, but beyond which lay the ultimate Realm of Light, the abode of the Father of Light, which is referred to as *Parinirvāṇa*. According to Western tradition already the Father of Light is conceived of in fourfold form, or with four faces (τὸν τετραπρόσωπον πατέρα). In the East he is the "King of *Nirvāṇa*", as the Chinese call him, encompassing a fourfold *dharmakāya*, comprising ultimate Purity, Light, Power and Wisdom[8], and using "wisdom and convenient methods" (i.e. *prajñā* and *upāya*) to teach his "good sons"[9], and to lead them to "the road to *Nirvāṇa*."[10]

At his death, Mani, and hence also Jesus - like the Mahāyānist Buddha -

ascends to the realm of *Parinirvāṇa*, to the presence of the King of *Nirvāṇa*, the King of Light. In the Middle Persian fragment M 5569 (= T II D 79), a prose text on Mani's death, it says (in J.P. Asmussen's translation): "Just like a sovereign who takes off armour and garment and puts on another royal garment, thus the Apostle of Light took off the warlike dress of the body and sat down in a ship of Light and received the divine garment, the diadem of Light, and the beautiful garland. And in great joy he flew together with the Light Gods that are going to the right and to the left (of him), with harp (-sound) and song of joy, in divine miraculous power, like a swift lightning and a shooting star, to the Column of Glory, the path of the Light, and the Moon-Chariot (i.e. the heavenly place of Jesus the saviour), the meeting place of the Gods. And he stayed (there) with God Ohrmizd (= Ahura Mazda) the Father.
And he left the whole herd of Righteousness (i.e. the Manichaean religion) orphaned and sad, because the Master of the House had entered Parinirvāṇa.[11]

Then the text goes on to explain that this *Parinirvāṇa* is "his own home of light".

In the Parthian fragment M 5815 I (= T II D II 134 I), Mani promises release from *saṃsāra* to everyone who follows his path. He says to his disciples: "And therefore I have spoken these words, in order that everyone may himself pay attention to them and carefully listen to them. (For everyone) who hears and believes them and keeps them in his head and is active in pious deeds shall find salvation from this birth-death (*saṃsāra*).[12]

Since Mani has ascended to *Parinirvāṇa*, his return therefrom on the occasion of the Bema festival is joyously greeted in view of his ultimate return to his community at the end of days. In the commencement of the Bema hymns, in the Sogdian document M 801, it says: "Commander Maitreya, ... God Messiah, ... Vivifier, God Mar Mani. From paradise Mani has come! Rejoice, brothers! A light day it has come to us, sons of the right hand. From paradise the gate was opened, and it was happiness to us: the commander Maitreya has come, Mar Mani, to a new Bēma (throne). From the prosperous paradise the gate was opened by the gods: garland, helmet and diadem has appeared to us all ..."[13]

The symbols mentioned are the emblems the soul receives upon entering tne World of Light. In the cultic practice of the Bema they are apparently placed upon the decorated throne, which is an earthly representation of tne deliverance attained in the World of Light. In the liturgy addressed to the throne it says:
"The chants of praise of the throne (Bēma) have begun. We bend the knee in deep worship. We do reverence and praise to the powerful god, the praised king and adorable lord of the Light Aeons, according to whose wish and instigation you, our Highest God, have come to us. We do reverence to Jesus, the Lord, the Son of Greatness, who sent you, dearest one,

to us. We do reverence to the praised Maiden, the Light Twin, (i.e. a female form of the Jesus principle, a type of shakti of Jesus), who in every battle was your helper and companion. We do reverence to the Great Vahman (i.e. the Holy Ghost or inspirer of the church), who was set by you in the heart of those of the good soul (i.e. the Hearers). We do reverence to your great glory, our father, apostle of light, Mani, the Lord. We do reverence to this noble throne (i.e. the Bēma) and (this) brilliant seat on which you have sat down."[14]

One could be tempted to think that the richly decorated Bema throne, with its specific significance might have been a Manichaean *stūpa*.

Yet we have no textual indication for such a suggestion. But the seat of the Messiah returning from *Parinirvāṇa* does refer us to another point in his life and in Manichaean soteriology.

While the decorated throne is the point to which Mani, as Jesus the Messiah, and as Maitreya, returns from *Parinirvāṇa* to make his presence felt repeatedly in his community, the point of his departure from life to that World of Light also bears a special significance. For in the scene of his death, as described in East Manichaean texts, Jesus' crucifixtion and Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa* are reiterated. The Eastern Manichaean accounts of the master's death make it quite clear that the scenarios of the deaths of the three saviours merge to form one sacred occasion in the memory of the Manichaean church.

In view of this fact, I leave open, whether the *cintāmaṇi* in the form of a cross which we find at the head of a dying Buddha in what A. Grünwedel called the "Preta-Cave" (Cave 3) of Qizil near Kuča could be inspired by such Manichaean soteriology.[15]

In the Manichaean *Parinirvāṇa*-Hymns which are represented by Parthian, Sogdian and Uigur materials[16] the decisive thing about the dying of the master is that his soul is freed from the body, that the state of humanity is surpassed. In the Parthian hymn M 5, Mani's death is described as "putting aside the customary dressing of the body" and returning to the Realm of Light. And in the text M 8171 it is clearly indicated that the "corpse of the body" is left behind and the "district of the transmigration of the souls" is overcome.[17]

Now it is quite clear that the Manichaean *Parinirvāṇa*-Hymns not only commemorated the master's death, be he concretely envisioned as Mani, Jesus or Buddha, but also have the intention of addressing the Manichaean believer as to his possibility to enter the Realm of Light upon leaving behind the corpse of his own body. The intention becomes clear in the last line of M 5, where it says: "Now the time has come that thou (i.e. Mani) drawest upon the Elect, and that thou liftest up thine own throne." L.J.R. Ort is quite correct when he points out that "the parinirvāṇa hymns contain the prayers of the Manichaean believers."[18] Hence they also include the wish of the faithful to be led to the Realm of Light, upon leaving be-

hind the material body. In this connection, lifting up of the throne is one of the basic metaphors employed.

Now Albert von Le Coq, in his excavations at Kočo in the Turfan Basin, found in what he called "Ruin Group K" the remains of the most important temple of the Manichaean community. He discovered Nestorian, Buddhist and Manichaean manuscripts in it, a telling witness of the syncretistic character of the Manichaean community at Kočo. The southern room of this temple was apparently a burial vault. On the middle of the southern wall of this mortuary was "an object of unknown use, like a cross, made of clay".[19] Le Coq gives us a sketch of the object and it is, indeed, more like a half-cross, or throne, than a cross. At any rate, this cultic object of "unknown use" has a prominent position in the Manichaean mortuary.

Now we do have definited proof of the fact that in Manichaean terms such a mortuary was called a *stūpa*. In the Turfan fragment T II D 176, stemming from Kočo, and written in Uigur with Manichaean script, mention is made of a *supurγan*, i.e. *stūpa*, as a mortuary.[20]

In the document referred to, part of a legend is retained which tells of a completely drunken man, no more master of his senses, who enters the *stūpa* and there unites with a female corpse, thinking it to be his wife (*yutuz*) (I disagree with Le Coq in translating *bu m(ä)-ninng yutuzm* as: "Dies ist jemand in meinem Gefolge"; rather it should be: "This is my wife"). Thereupon, the corpse, full of puss and blood, bursts apart, the man is covered with uncleanliness (*arïγsïz*), terrible fear arises in him, and crying with a loud voice, he flees from the place, full of self-disgust. When the sun arises the next morning, he becomes fully aware of the whole dreadful situation.

The Manichaean significance of the story here connected with the *stūpa* is quite clear and in accordance with basic Manichaean anthropology, even if the story itself could be traced to Buddhist sources.[21] As long as man remains in the basic state of drunkenness, this is the basic gnostic idea, as long as he is unaware of his eternal soul being basically different from his mortal body, he remains in the plightful situation of what St. Augustine, in speaking about the Manichaeans, called *commixtio*. This mingling of man's soul with the world, which brings with it the misery and suffering of mankind, calls for a redeemer, "a liberator, to cleanse them, (i.e. the good souls, *animae bonae*) from erring, and to free them from the stage of mingling (*commixtio*) and liberate them from slavery" (St. Augustine, Contra Fortunatum 1). It is indicative of this basic teaching when the Uigur Manichaeans use the same verb for such mingling, and for sexual union, i.e. *qatïl*.[22]

Hence, the legend about the *stūpa* presents in typical Manichaean didactic vividness an assessment of corporeality, and hence of death, as a means to dissolve that plightful union. We have here at the same time a Manichaean testimony of how the *stūpa*, as a mortuary, was viewed. It is

the place of death, where the garment of the body is laid aside, in order to receive a new divine garment and enter *nirvāṇa*.

The fact that the mortuary as a *supurγan* was indeed a *stūpa* in the Buddhist sense, or that the Uigur word *supurγan* was indeed employed by Buddhists for *stūpa* is documented well.[23]

Other words usen in Uigur for *stūpa*, but found hitherto, to my knowledge, in Buddhist texts only, are *estup* (e.g. Uigur Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra 135[19]) and *stup*, the latter word meaning "reliquary" or "Tower of reliquaries". (Such towers could probably also be Zoroastrian.) Mahmud al-Kašgari, finally, tells us that the word *subuzγan* (*suburγan* ?) is used by non-Muslims for "grave, burial mound, graveyard",("heidnische Grabstätte").[24]

Although the archaeological and textual evidence for the Manichaean use of the *stūpa* is sparse, it is basically clear that the *stūpa* in the Manichaean sense was a burial vault, mortuary, or maybe even ossuary, at any rate a place closely connected with death and death ritual. It gained its specific significance by the fact that such a place was possibly and hopefully a gate to *nirvāṇa* for the believer.

Of the few Eastern Manichaen texts on death ritual which are preserved, two hymns in the London Scroll are indicative of the situation.

In a "Gāthā use to conclude the Wishing, during offerings to the Dead," it says (405-409):

"The Light-nature of a certain Yi
Has passed away from his carnal body,
His doings and deeds are imperfect,
And we fear he may sink into the sea of tortures.
Pray,
The two great Lights (i.e. the sun and the moon as Mithra and Jesus),
The five-fold Law Body (i.e. five realms of Light, personified and corresponding to the five Tathāgatas),
The great compassionate power ! (i.e. Mani)
Rescue and lift that nature,
Free it from transmigration,
...
Pray may all Buddhas
Have pity on that nature,
Beget great compassion;
Conduct it themselves into
The world of Light,
Its original birthplace,
And the peaceful and happy Land."[25]

The close connection between the death ritual and the gradual ascent of the soul to *nirvāṇa* is vividly indicated in the Psalm prior to the one quoted. In this "Gāthā ... used at the time of sunset in the Penitential and Wishing Service for Hearers", it says (393c-400): "When the day

of impermanence comes and we leave this hideous carnal body, the Buddhas, Saints and Sages will encircle us. ... The Precious Ship will be ready, and the doers of good naturally welcomed, will go straight to the presence of the King of the Balance ... From the King of the Balance's place ... they will enter into the land of Lu-shê-na (i.e. the Manichaean Vairocana), where in the land roads are flat and even, and the sound of Sanskrit chanting spreads around, continuing and hovering. Thence they go straight to the palaces of Sun and Moon, where they receive ... happiness and endless praises. Thence they are again conducted to yonder shore, and then enter into the eternal Light-world of Nirvāṇa."[26]

Since the community of singers subsequently affirms that "all our members are unanimous as to the above wish", we can well imagine this to be part of a ritual connected not only with the Manichaean temple, but also with its adjoining *stūpa*.

In summing up we can point out that the Central Asian Manichaeans knew of an edifice, designated by them as a *stūpa*, which certainly did not have the same significance as its Buddhist counterpart. Its architectonic appearance is not yet known to us, though we have indications that a mortuary was understood as such. In view of the fact that other terms than *stūpa* could have been employed for this edifice, we can gather that there was at least a conscious attempt to accept a Buddhist legacy, but to give to it a new meaning. As in the case of the Buddhist monastery, or sanctuary, the Manichaean adaptation did not imply a complete surrender of an own religious identity.

Notes and references

1. A. Heinrichs-L. Koenen, Ein griechischer Mani-Codex. In: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Vol. 5 (1970), 97-216.
   A. Heinrichs, Mani and the Babylonian Baptists. In: Harvard Studies in Classicla Philology, Vol. 77 (1973), 23-59.

2. Cf. A. von Le Coq, Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien II. Die manichäischen Miniaturen. (1923). Graz 1973, Plate 8[a], Miniatures a and d.

3. A. von Gabain, Türkische Turfantexte X. Das Avadāna des Dämons Aṭavaka. Bearbeitet von Tadeusz Kowalski. (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1958, Nr. 1). Berlin 1959, 29, note 436.

4. The phrase speaks of the "pure, light, *arhats* and *electi*". Cf. H.-J. Klimkeit, Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln aus Turfan. Beobachtungen zur Beziehung zwischen Gnosis und Mahāyāna. In: Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, Vol. 29 (1977), (193-228), 226.

5. W. Henning, Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch. (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1936. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Nr. 10). Berlin 1937.

6. H.J. Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien. (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Bd. I). Stuttgart 1934, p. 33.

7. Tsui Chi, Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan. The Lower (Second ?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns. In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XI (1943-46), 174-219, especially chap. XIII.

7 (ctd.) Cf. M. Boyce, The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian. (London Oriental Series, Vol. 3). London 1954, 66-77.

8 E.g. London Hymn Scroll, V. 10.
See E. Waldschmidt-W. Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus. Berlin 1926, p. 98
Cf. Tsui Chi, op. cit., p. 176.

9 London Hymn Scroll, V. 231c. Cf. Tsui Chi, op. cit., p. 196.

10 Ibid., V. 224b. Tsui Chi, op. cit., p. 195.

11 J.P. Asmussen, Manichaean Literature. (Persian Heritage Series, No. 22). Delmar, N.Y. 1975, pp. 55-56.

12 Ibid., p. 58.

13 Ibid., p. 63.

14 Ibid., p. 66.

15 A. Grünwedel, Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkistan. Berlin 1912, p. 170.

16 Cf. L.J.R. Ort, Mani. A Religio-Historical Description of His Personality. (Supplement ad Numen, Altera Series). Leiden 1967, pp. 238-243. Also A. von Le Coq, Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I. (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse). Berlin 1911, pp. 10-11.

17 Cf. L.J.R. Ort, op. cit., pp. 240-243.

18 Ibid., p. 243.

19 A. von Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien II. Die manichäischen Miniaturen. Graz 1973, pp. 24-25.

20 A. von Le Coq, Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I, pp. 5-7.

21 Cf. J.P. Asmussen, Der Manichäismus als Vermittler literarischen Gutes. In: Temenos, Vol. 2 (1966), (5-21), pp. 17-18.

22 Cf. H.-J. Klimkeit, op. cit., p. 224, note 104.

23 E.g. G. Kara-P. Zieme, ed. and trans., Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung. (Berliner Turfantexte III. Berlin 1976. Index, s.v. *supuryan*). According to A. von Gabain, the Uigur *suburyan* (*supuryan*) can be traced back to the Sogdian *zmrγ'n*, also meaning "mortuary, grave, place of cremation". Cf. A. von Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik, Wiesbaden 1974. Index s.v. *suburyan*. Probably, Astana, the city of the dead near Turfan, also comes from Sogdian *azdāna*, "bone container". Cf. I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian. Oxford 1961, § 1117. The Sogdian word *'pwδ'k/y*, "sactuary, *stūpa*" is used in Buddhist - and Christian - texts, but I have hitherto not found any instance of its use in Manichaean documents. Cf. D.N. Mackenzie, The Buddhist Sogdian Texts in the British Library. (Acta Iranica 10). Leiden 1976, p. 206. Cf. for the Christian use of the word as "temple, house of the Lord": M. Schwartz, Review of: D.N. Mackenzie (ed. and tr.), The Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions' in Sogdian, London 1970. In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XXXIV (1971), (411-415), p. 412. Cf. also M. Schwartz, Sogdian Fragments of the Book of Psalms. Altorientalische Forschungen I. Berlin 1974, (257-261), p. 261.

24 C. Brockelmann, Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān Luγāt at-Turk. Budapest-Leipzig 1928, p. 184, s.v. *suburγan*.

25 Tsui Chi, op. cit., pp. 214-15.

26 Tsui Chi, op. cit., pp. 213-14.

CHINESE PROTOTYPES OF THE PAGODA

Lothar Ledderose

One of the two earliest extant wooden pagodas in East Asia is the three-storied pagoda of Hokkiji temple south of Nara in Japan, built between 685 and 706 A.D. (Fig. 1; pl. XVIII, 1 and 2).[1] The building is erected on a square ground plan, three bays at a side. Four pillars in the centre form an inner sanctuary with an octagonal central pillar in the middle. The inner square is surrounded by an ambulatory one bay wide. Each of the three stories, that gradually diminish in size, is treated like a separate building with pillars, beams, bracketing, doors, windows, and a tiled roof. From the apex of the last pyramidal roof rises the spire.

As the cross section shows, only the ground floor may be entered. There are no staircases. The interior of the upper two stories is filled with beams and bracketing and cannot be used for any practical purpose. The complicated construction is necessary to support the wide overhanging roof. What may be called a basic bracketing unit consists of a capital block atop a pillar supporting an arm in the wall plane which in turn carries three evenly spaced bearing blocks that give support to a horizontal beam. Especially remarkable is a diagonal beam under the roof that functions as a lever arm using the top of the pillar beneath as a fulcrum. The central pillar rises through the entire building from the ground to the very top and supports the heavy metal spire.

The second pagoda that is preserved from early times is the one of Hôryûji in the vicinity of Hokkiji, probably dating from the period when this important temple was reconstructed after 670 A.D. It is a five-storied building with a more elaborate, but basically similar construction to the one of the Hokkiji pagoda.[2] There can be no doubt that these two pagodas closely follow continental models. They were built at a time when Japan wholeheartedly copied Chinese cultural achievements in every field. No wooden pagoda of this early period, however, has been preserved in China itself.

Already Soper noted that "No contrast could be more extreme than that between the Hôryûji pagoda and an early stūpa form like that at Sāñcī, all one tremendous dome, resting almost on the ground and crowned by a relatively low mast."[3] The reason why these two types of buildings are seen as related at all is, of course, their fundamental iconological identity. The process of evolution that led from the *stūpa* to the pagoda has been admirably analyzed by Professor Seckel and characterized as a "translation" of foreign concepts into Chinese architectural language.[4] Thus one sees in the development of the pagoda constant factors of iconology which remain basically unchanged through different cultures and centuries, and changing

factors of appearance that vary according to different modes and traditions of construction. This perspective is illustrated in a diagram (fig. 2) which shows a "horizontal", cross-cultural line of development.[5] The present paper tries to show the "vertical" tradition, so to speak, that is, the tradition leading up to the wooden pagodas such as those of Hokkiji and Hôryûji in China itself.

Starting from the Shang dynasty, the earliest period which yields evidence for the history of architecture in China (18th ? to 11th century B.C.), most buildings have been wooden post and beam constructions, using the pillar as the basic element.[6] The great imperial palaces which we know through literary records[7] and in part also through excavations, were all huge wooden structures. Building in stone and brick has always played a secondary role. Our knowledge of the early phases is rather scanty, but we reach more solid ground in the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). In addition to literary sources and excavations we have from this period also important evidence in the form of wall paintings and ceramic models, many of which have come to light only in recent years.

Among the many building types that were used in the Han dynasty, there are several multi-storied structures, and some of them show a close affinity to the early wooden pagodas extant in Japan. For example a wall painting in a tomb discovered at Holingol (now Inner Mongolia), that is datable to the period between 145 and 220 A.D., shows a two-storied granary (pl. XVIII, 3)[8]. The principles of construction are the same as in the Hokkiji pagoda: the building has a square ground plan and the structure rests on wooden pillars. The walls do not support any weight as the latticing in the upper story demonstrates. The proportions of both buildings are also comparable: particularly the wide overhanging roofs that protect the plastered walls from the rain.

Among the ceramic models that have been found in Han dynasty tombs are many three-storied towers, often more than three feet high. The one on plate XVIII, 4 corresponds to the Hokkiji pagoda in the arrangement of the three superimposed stories, each with its own roof, and the two upper ones with their own balcony.[9]

An example from a tomb in Liu-chia-chü in Hunan province, datable to 135 A.D., shows the same basic unit of bracketing with the three bearing blocks as it exists in the later pagodas (pl. XVIII, 5)[10], and the cross-sections of another tower from the same tomb reveal, that even in this ceramic model the second story rests on four pillars in the corners (pl. XVIII, drawing No. 4 shows the ground plan of the second story).[11]

There are, however, also differences of construction between these towers and the pagodas in Japan. The Han dynasty buildings do not show the diagonal lever arm that balances the weight of the roof. This rather sophisticated device seems to have come into use only in the post-Han period. Yet the most noticeable difference is the insertion of the central pillar which supports the spire and is, as we well know, an essential and

typical element of the pagoda. Han dynasty towers, as far as the evidence of ceramic models shows, lack such a pillar. The upper stories remain accessible and can serve a practical function, whereas in the wooden pagodas the multi-storied appearance is only preserved outwardly.

In spite of the differences, however, one has to conclude that, constructively speaking, the pagoda directly continues a line of development in an architectural tradition that started long ago in the pre-Buddhist age. An already existing type of tower was put to Buddhist use by the insertion of a central pillar.

But was it as easy as that? Is it only in terms of construction that the pagoda is rooted in the Chinese tradition? It should be remembered that there were several types of buildings in the Han dynasty with a religious function and symbolism, and the question arises whether part of this symbolism was carried over into the pagoda.

Perhaps the most famous type of religious building in pre-Buddhist China was the so-called *ming-t'ang*, the Radiant Hall. Until about two decades ago there was only literary evidence to give us some clues about the enigmatic nature of this architectural type. It was a place where the emperor, the Son of Heaven, dwelled and sacrificed, and the entire structure was imbued with a very intricate cosmological symbolism. Plate XVIII, 7 shows the reconstruction of a *ming-t'ang* from the first century B.C., based on excavations in the capital of the Western Han dynasty.[12]

There are some features which this *ming-t'ang* has in common with a pagoda. Both are multi-storied centralized structures, that among other things symbolize the centre of the cosmos. This function involves a ritual of ambulation. In the case of the pagoda it is the *pradakṣiṇa* and in the *ming-t'ang* it is the Son of Heaven himself, who, according to one source, moves clockwise through a series of apartments in the course of a year.[13]

Normally, a *ming-t'ang* seems to have had a square building in the centre and four smaller, similar ones at the four corners. Such an arrangement is seen in the reconstruction plate XVIII, 7 as well as in reconstructions by traditional Chinese archaeologists, such as one done by Juan Yüan (1764-1849) (fig. 3).[14]

The same complex of five square units is also found in architectural models, for example on top of a ceramic burial jar of the post-Han period (fig. 4)[15], and in another ceramic model from a Han tomb (pl.XVIII, 8)[16]. Han dynasty bronze mirrors of the so-called TLV-type also show the same layout (pl. XVIII, 9)[17]. The meaning of this diagram is well-known.[18] The middle square represents the earth with the round knob marking the centre. The adjacent squares of which only the corners are visible on the mirror represent the four surrounding parts of the world.

A comparable arrangement of five units is seen in the miniature pagoda held by the wooden statue of Tamonten, the Guardian of the North, in the Hôryûji, dating from the early 7th century A.D. (pl. XVIII, 10). This

is basically the same cosmological diagram that was so widely used in the Han dynasty.[19]

One of the latest *ming-t'ang* that is known to have been built was erected by empress Wu in 695/96 A.D. It was an imposing structure, 294 feet high. "Running up the middle so as to connect bottom and top was a huge wooden shaft of ten span circumference."[20] The shaft, like the central pillar in a pagoda, symbolized the grand axis that joins the centres of heaven and earth.[21]

In addition to the *ming-t'ang*, there were still other types of towers which the emperor used for rituals of sacrifice. In early literary records such as the Shih-chi of ca. 100 B.C. these towers are described. The uppermost story had a special ritual function. It was here where the emperor contacted immortals. Chinese immortals like to drink dew and therefore he tried to lure them to the tower by putting a dew basin on top of it. On one tower, built in 115 B.C., there was a bronze column and the figure of an immortal who held his palm open to collect the dew.[22]

There is no concrete visual evidence for what these towers looked like, but they were probably not very different from those that can be seen as ceramic models. These are normally called "watch towers", but they probably had more than a mere utilitarian function. In the tower from the tomb at Liu-cnia-chü, shown on plate XVIII, 5 there are four people playing the so-called *liu-po* game (pl. XVIII, 11).[23] This game again is laden with cosmological symbolism.[24] The board shows basically the same diagram as the TLV-mirrors. Playing this game is another favourite pastime of Chinese immortals, as plate XVIII, 12 shows.[25]

Another building type of the Han dynasty which has to be considered when looking for prototypes of the pagoda is that of the twin *ch'üeh* towers. These are multi-storied structures on both sides of the axis that leads up to the main building of a compound. An example can be see on plate XVIII, 13, showing a detail of a funerary tile relief with a main building flanked by two *ch'üeh*.[26] In cases such as this one, the two *ch'üeh* serve to emphasize the importance of the central building.[27]

In a similar function, but on a much larger scale *ch'üeh* were used in imperial structures. The Chinese palace compound is symetrically arranged on both sides of a main axis that leads up to the most important building, the audience hall. The same formula is also used for imperial tomb layouts. Plate XVIII, 14 shows the remnants of the gigantic tomb complex of the before mentioned empress Wu. The foundations of the big *ch'üeh* towers on both sides of the main axis can still be seen.

When Buddhism was first introduced to China, the pagoda became, like the *stūpa*, the main building in the temple grounds. Gradually, however, the temple layout was adapted to the secular formula of imperial palace architecture. The dominant position was occupied by an icon hall, which was the equivalent of the secular audience hall. At a certain point in this development the pagoda was split up into two buildings, which were

then assigned the relatively insignificant position of the twin *ch'üeh* towers. Such a layout was, for example, used in Daianji in Nara, in the first half of the 8th century A.D. (pl. XVIII, 15).[28] It had two seven-storied pagodas on both sides of the central axis leading up to the main icon hall. By duplicating the pagoda its iconological significance as a world axis was diluted. A temple plan which imposes an imperial formula on a Buddhist monastery has to be seen as a victory of the secular Chinese state over the foreign religion.

Having looked at some types of religious building in pre-Buddhist architecture we shall now turn to some early Buddhist establishments that are known through literary sources. One of the earliest descriptions informs us about a temple that was erected around 190 A.D. by a certain Chai Jung. "Nine tiers of bronze disks were raised above a two-storied pavilion."[29] The building housed a golden Buddhist figure, thus serving as both, *stūpa* and icon hall, as was customary in the early temple layout.

Chai Jung's establishment appears to have been quite modest compared to a temple erected more than three hundred years later, in 516 A.D. in the capital Loyang. In this temple, called Yung-ning ssu, the pagoda and icon hall were two separate buildings, both set on the main axis (fig. 5).[30] The pagoda, however, was still the dominant structure. Its description reads: "At the centre was a nine-storied pagoda framed in wood. This rose 900 feet and had a mast 100 feet higher still. It was visible at a distance of 100 miles from the capital. On the mast was a treasure vase. Beneath were thirty tiers of gold "dew-basins", each ringed by gold bells."[31] The term "dew basin", Chinese: *lu-p'an*; Japanese: *roban* or a similar term occurs regularly in early descriptions of pagodas.[32] A Chinese reader is immediately reminded of the dew that was collected on towers of the Han dynasty and drunk by immortals. Yet it is not entirely clear, which part of the spire is actually meant. In the description of Yung-ning-ssu just quoted, "dew-basin" seems to be the name for the disks or rings that surround the central shaft. In modern nomenclature, however, "dew-basin" refers to the *harmikā* element at the root of the spire.[33] The inconsistency in terminology might indicate that "dew-basin" was an indigenous Chinese expression. Every magic tower had a dew basin on top, to be sure. It mattered little to a Chinese which detail of the strange spire the term exactly referred to.

There might still be another element of pre-Buddhist tradition in the pagoda spire. In the Yakushiji pagoda of the late 7th century A.D. one finds in the so-called *sui-en* (the screen done in open metal work on top of the spire) flying angel-like figures (pl. XVIII, 16). In the Buddhist context they should properly be called *apsaras*, but perhaps they are only old Chinese immortals in disguise.

I should like to conclude this workshop talk with a few final remarks. We have seen how deeply the pagoda is rooted in the Chinese architectural tradition, both in terms of construction and in terms of religious

symbolism. Tracing these roots gives an insight into a process of broad historical significance, that is, the fate of the foreign Buddhist religion after meeting with secular Chinese culture. This process has been viewed by historians from different sides, either as "the Buddhist conquest of China", or as "the Chinese transformation of Buddhism", to quote the titles of two famous books.[34] It seems to me that the development of the pagoda very clearly demonstrates the transformation that Buddhism underwent in China.

When Buddhism entered China it decided to make use of the available building types and architectural formulas instead of simply transplanting an Indian *stūpa* in its entirety. As the main building in the temple compound it used the old Chinese magic tower, perhaps enriched with elements taken from the *ming-t'ang*, and tried to transform its religious meaning and function. The old formulas, however, proved to be more resilient than expected. The original concepts were never abandoned completely, as the dew basin shows, and in the development of the temple plan the secular formula of the imperial palace compound prevailed over the foreign plan in which the pagoda had been the central building. The pagoda was degraded to become a gate tower instead. The fate of the pagoda in China thus mirrors the fate of Buddhism itself: its willingness to adopt Chinese formulas, its transformation, and its eventual decline as an autonomous force.

Notes and references

1 The most comprehensive treatment of Japanese Buddhist architecture is still the monumental study by Alexander C. Soper, The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942.

2 Cf. XIX, 1 and XIX, 9 in the present volume.

3 Soper, Evolution, p. 91.

4 Dietrich Seckel, Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1957; The Art of Buddhism. London: Methuen, 1964. See also his contribution to the present volume, as well as the recent study by Heinrich Gerhard Franz, Pagode, Turmtempel, Stūpa. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1978.

5 Seckel, Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens, p. 72, fig. 6, and The Art of Buddhism, p. 114, fig. 10.

6 The most detailed reconstruction of a monumental Shang dynasty building that has been possible so far is that of a "palace hall" in P'an-lung ch'eng, Hupei Province, perhaps dating from the 15th century B.C. See the articles in Wen Wu, 1976/2 and Robert W. Bagley, P'an-lung-ch'eng: A Shang City in Hupei. In: Artibus Asiae, vol. 39/3 (1977), p. 165-219.

7 See e.g. the lengthy descriptions in the compendium of poems called Wen-hsüan, translated by Erwin von Zach, Die Chinesische Anthologie, Übersetzungen aus dem Wen-hsüan. (Harvard Yenching Institute Studies, 18). Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958.

8 Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, Han and T'ang Murals. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976, p. 49, pl. 29.

9 K'ao-ku, 1977/6, pl. 4, no. 1.

10 K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao, 1965/1, pl. 5/3 (type I, 73:1).

11 Ibid., p. 138, pl. 27 (type II, 3:1). I should like to thank Dr. Magdalene von Dewall of Heidelberg for drawing my attention to this material.

12 K'ao-ku, 1963/9, opposite p. 514, fig. 20.

13 Soper in Laurence Sickman, Alexander Soper, The Art and Architecture of China. The Pelican History of Art. Harmondsworth etc.: Penguin Books, 1956, p. 212.

14 K'ao-ku, 1963/9, p. 505, fig. 1.

15 K'ao-ku, 1963/9, p. 509, fig. 9.

16 Wen-wu, 1972/2, pl. 8, No. 2.

17 Masterpieces of Chinese Bronze Mirrors in the National Palace Museum. Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971, pl. 8.

18 Schuyler Cammann, The TLV Pattern on the Cosmic Mirrors of the Han Dynasty. In: Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 68/4 (1948). p. 159-167 and other studies quoted by Needham (below, note 24).

19 For the problem of the five-fold *stūpa* in East Asia see also Soper, Japanese Evidence for the History of the Architecture and Iconography of Chinese Buddhism. (Contributions to the Study of Sculpture and Architecture 3). In: Monumenta Serica, vol. 4 (1939/40), p. 638-679. Soper's claim that the "five-fold spires seem clearly Indian in source" (Evolution ..., p. 196) should be reconsidered in the light of Han dynasty evidence.

20 Soper, Art and Architecture, p. 239.

21 Edward H. Schafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963, p. 238 f.

22 Shih-chi, ch. 28, p. 25b (Po-na-pen ed.). Translation by Édouard Chavannes, Mémoires Historiques, vol. 3, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898, p. 471. See also Wen-Hsüan. Translation by von Zach (n. 7), p. 7.

23 K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao, 1965/1, pl. 5/4 (Type I, 73:3).

24 Yang Lien-sheng, A note on the so-called TLV-Mirrors and the Game Liu-Po. In: Harvard Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 9 (1945), p. 202-206; and, An Additional Note on the Ancient Game Liu-Po. In: Harvard Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 15 (1952), p. 124-139. See also Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 3., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 302-309.

25 Yang Lien-sheng, A note ..., opposite p. 206, pl. 1.

26 Corpus des pierres sculptées Han (Estampes). Edited by Université de Paris. Pêkin: Centre d'études Sinologiques, 1950, pl. 26, no. 29.

27 Passages from Chinese sources concerning the symbolism of *ch'üeh* towers have been collected by Doris Croissant, Funktion und Wanddekor der Opferschreine von Wu Liang Tz'u. Typologische und ikonographische Untersuchungen. In: Monumenta Serica, vol. 23 (1964), p. 132-137.

28 Minoru Ooka, Temples of Nara and Their Art. (The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, 7). New York/Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1973, p. 65, fig. 63.

29 Soper, The Art and Architecture of China, p. 227.

30 Seiichi Mizuno, Chūgoku no Bukkyō-Bijutsu Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968, p. 315.

31 Soper, The Art and Architecture of China, p. 229.

32 Mizuno, Chūgoku ..., p. 308-310.

33 Cf. pl. XIX, 10 in the present volume.

34 Erik Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China. (Sinica Leidensia, 11), 2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1959. Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

List of figures

1 Pagoda of Hokkiji temple. Ground plan. 685-706 A.D.

2 Stages in the development from *stūpa* to pagoda

3 Reconstruction of a Ming-t'ang by Juan-Yüan (1764-1849)

4 Architectural model on top of ceramic jar. Post-Han period

5 Yung-ning ssu temple. Ground plan. 516 A.D.

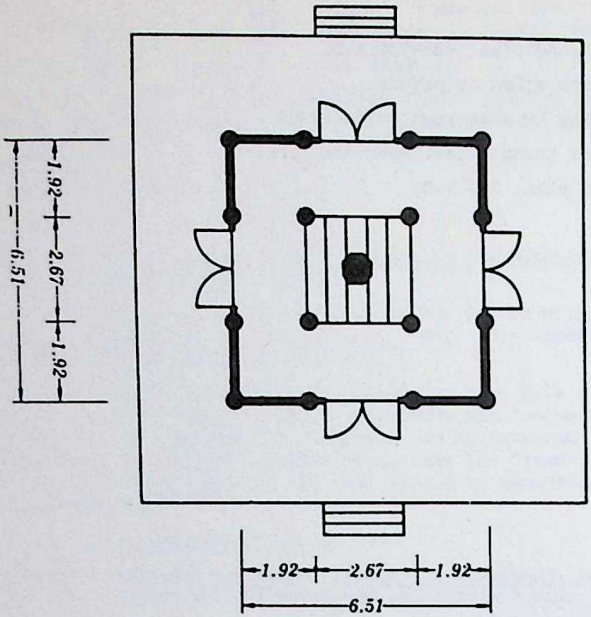


fig. 1

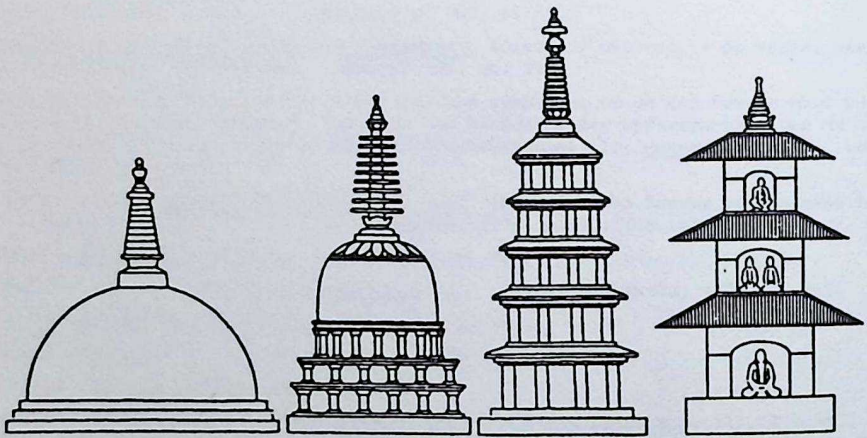


fig. 2

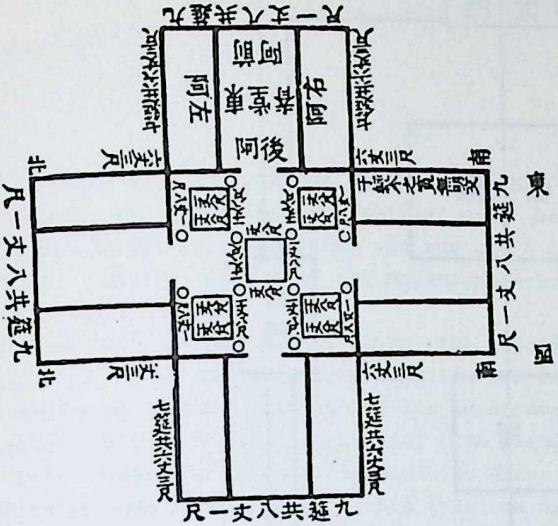


fig. 3

fig. 4

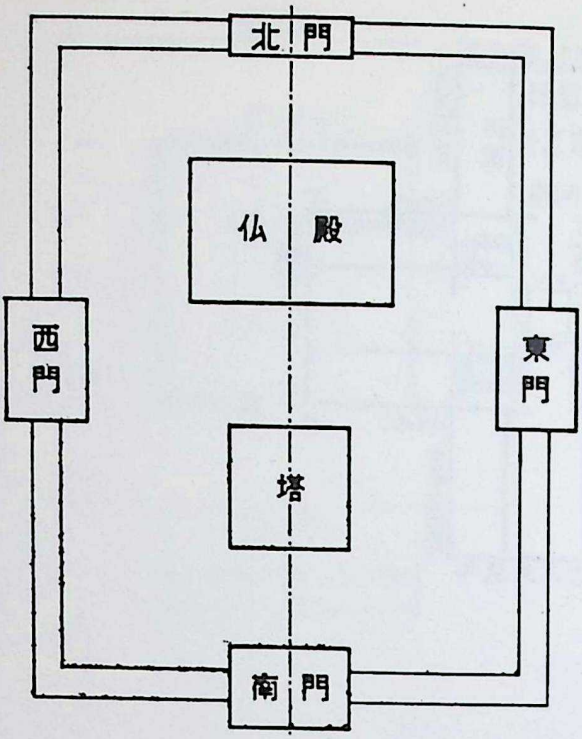


fig. 5

STŪPA ELEMENTS SURVIVING IN EAST ASIAN PAGODAS

Dietrich Seckel

1

This paper does not present anything new but is to be taken as a modest reminder for those who are familiar with the East Asian material and as a short information for those who are not - in the hope of contributing to the overall picture of the metamorphoses the *stūpa* underwent throughout its history in Asia.

In East Asia (China, Korea, Japan) the pagoda is a foreign importation, not only as far as its religious function and its symbolic meaning, but also as far as certain features of its construction are concerned. Although the three countries possessed, from prehistoric and early historic times, a tumulus type of non-Buddhist grave monuments - and kept it until relatively recent times - this type was and always remained entirely separated from the pagoda with its basically Buddhist connotations, being the East Asian version of the Indian *stūpa*. It was introduced with Buddhism, and only secondarily did it acquire certain non-Buddhist meanings and functions, e.g. in Chinese geomantics. In the early and classic periods of Chinese Buddhism (roughly speaking, until the 9th century) and correspondingly in Korea and Japan the pagoda was primarily - secondary changes notwithstanding - the ritual centre of Buddhist monasteries and temples, thus directly continuing the function of the Indian *stūpa* as the central symbol of Buddhism embodying its highest idea, that of the *nir-vāṇa* of the Buddha or other saintly persons, and serving as a relic container and commemorative monument. In many East Asian pagodas, usually in their foundation, relics (*śarīra*) or some other objects were deposited, the most famous example being the Hôryûji pagoda in Nara, Japan, of the late 7th century which recalls the early Indian practice (figs. 1, 2).

The seemingly radical difference of structural shape between the pagoda and its model, the *stūpa*, may be explained by two developments in the history of this building type. First, the change within the evolution of the Indian *stūpa* itself from the primordial hemispherical type to a tower-like monument by way of multiplying the layers of the base, of elongating the hemisphere into a dome-crowned cylinder (fig. 3), and of stretching the mast with the *chatras* (parasols or canopies) to considerable length, the *chatras* being also multiplied and often compressed into a compact conical spire. Independently developed types of Indian tower-building evidently have exerted an influence showing superimposed "storeys" with cornices, windows and niches. At the same time the orientation towards the four main points of the compass, prefigured in the primitive *stūpa* type with its four *toranas*, was more and more emphasized so that

the monument, at least its base, but often the entire structure, adopted a square (sometimes polygonal) rather than circular ground-plan. In consequence the original main part, the hemispherical body (*aṇḍa*), was eventually lifted up on top of this tower-like structure and at the same time - out of technical necessity and for good proportioning - considerably reduced in size (pl. XIX, 1).

It was this later *stūpa* type which the Chinese saw, either in original monuments or in copies, models and drawings, and which they adapted to their own time-honoured building methods - either the traditional stone or brick technique (fig. 4) or the equally ancient construction using an intricate system of wood-work carpentry (pl. XIX, 2), mainly for the support of the overhanging roofs. These, necessary for technical reasons (the protection of wood-and-plaster work from rain) and highly favoured in East Asia for their beautiful shapes, were part and parcel of indigenous wooden architecture. This second, non-Indian phase of the pagoda's evolution may be understood as a process of "translating" the Indian prototype into a different structural idiom by the use of elements taken from the Chinese tradition. The main indigenous prototype was the watch-tower or tower-like pleasure pavilion of three or more storeys, popular at least since the Han Dynasty and basically conceived as a number of superimposed building units of the residential or palatial type, executed in the traditional wooden framework with plaster or brick walls and covered with tiled roofs which had to be supported by an intricate system of brackets. Early evidence of this new, characteristically Chinese pagoda type which acquired canonical authority in Korea and Japan as well, is found in representations from around 500 in the Yünkang (pl. XIX, 3) and Lungmen grottoes and in existing Japanese pagodas of the late 7th century (Hôryûji e.a.) which had Korean ones as their immediate models; probably this East Asian type had taken its definite shape a good deal earlier than 500 A.D.

Those Chinese watch-towers, however, do not sufficiently explain the structure and function of the pagoda and therefore cannot have been its only prototype. They lacked certain fundamental characteristics of the *stūpa*: its nuclear position in a religious establishment, its central axis - most clearly visible in the *chatra* mast but often running through the entire stucture from base to top -, its *harmikā* and its function as a relic monument. All these, basically alien to normal Chinese building habits, survive in the Eastern pagoda - which is, incidentally, among all other Chinese building types or units of basically secular origin, the only one of a primarily and exclusively religious character. We have to distinguish certain basic, indispensable, obligatory elements of the pagoda from those that were more or less of a secondary nature and could be used optionally and in a great variety of forms; we may also speak of invariable and variable elements. Variable and facultative are in Eastern pagodas: the wooden construction (there are many stone, brick and even

metal ones), the overhanging roofs (there are many pagodas without them, mainly in China, having only cornices like some of their Indian models), and many decorative details. But invariable and obligatory features, at least of the earlier, classic pagoda type as it is found in the three East Asian countries until, say, the end of the first millenium or even longer, are originally Indian ones: the compass-oriented ground-plan and base (figs. 5, 6); the central axis represented by a pillar or post rising from the foundation throughout the entire structure to its uppermost point and executed either in masonry as a solid core (figs. 4, 5) (as in many Chinese stone and brick pagodas) or, in the case of wooden pagodas, in the form of a huge pillar (fig. 1) often made of a single tree-trunk. It may have a certain stabilizing function but as a mere technical device it cannot be fully understood because it is historically connected with and iconologically related to the axis of the *stūpa* and directly associated, even having bodily contact, with the relic deposit. In many Chinese stone or brick pagodas the pillar-like core is encircled by staircases (fig. 4) connecting the storeys and their galleries so that the ancient Indian rite of *pradakṣiṇā* (circumambulation) - one of the essentials of the *stūpa* cult - can be performed while climbing up (Japanese pagodas do not have accessible storeys, therefore the rite must be executed on ground level, either around the platform or within the ground-floor chapel (figs. 1, 7)). Further invariable elements are: the storey-like layers, usually associated with spheres of the cosmic and the spiritual world; the crowning mast with *chatras* (transformed into discs or rings of stone or bronze), and the pagoda's function as relic container, *nirvāṇa* symbol and world-centre in which the Buddha essence is present and from which it emanates and radiates in order to illuminate the world. This is indicated by Buddha figures looking out from within stone pagodas or attached, in relief or painting, to the outer walls of stone as well as wooden ones - just as such figures, single or in groups, were attached to many Indian *stūpas*. East Asian pagodas often assume, in their ground-plan and in the iconographic program of the statues and wall-paintings in their interior chapel (pl. XIX, 9), the form and function of a *maṇḍala*, with the supreme Buddha in the centre and the other Buddhas, Bodhisattvas etc. surrounding him in the four directions of the world (represented by several Japanese pagodas of the esoteric schools, e.g. that of the temple Daigoji near Kyôto of 951 A.D.); here, of course, Chinese prototypes were followed which had amalgamated ancient Indian cosmological ideas with equally ancient Chinese concepts of the structure of the world.

Thus we see a remarkably continuous survival, a consistent and logical transmission of basic, invariable features, elements and functions of the early *stūpa* throughout the entire history of this monumental building type of paramount importance in Buddhist doctrine, symbolism and ritual. These elements, such as the hemispherical body, the central axis, the *chatras*,

the compass-oriented ground-plan and the superimposed layers or storeys, are on the one hand of structural charater relating to the pagoda's bodily substance and technical construction; on the other hand, they are functional and iconological, relating to the religious meaning, its symbolical values and its role in ritual, such as the pagoda's function as *nirvāṇa* symbol, as relic container, as tomb monument and as world-diagram or *maṇḍala* with the axis mundi in its centre. One of the most striking features is the preservation, on top of the greatly elongated, tower-like substructure, of the old hemispherical *stūpa*-body (*aṇḍa*), complete with *harmikā* and *chatra*-mast (pl. XIX, 4), most clearly represented by certain Chinese, Japanese and Korean wooden pagodas (e.g. Yakushiji, Nara, early 8th century) but frequently found, in more or less recognizable form, in Chinese and in Korean stone pagodas too. Similar towers with miniature *stūpas* on top occur among early Indian monuments (such as the one depicted on the Kumrahar terracotta plaque, 1st or 2nd century) and in later rebuildings of ancient *stūpas* like the Bodhgayā tower (pl. XIX, 1). This survival in the East of basic structural and symbolical elements of Indian origin does not preclude, however, their relatively early association or amalgamation with certain indigenous Chinese ideas, mainly Taoist ones, including the geomantic function of the pagoda which was, as far as I know, by no means entirely alien to the Indian *stūpa*. But such changes or reinterpretations never totally displaced or obliterated the original idea and function of the pagoda as an Eastern equivalent of the *stūpa*; they are just another aspect of the above-mentioned process of "translating" the *stūpa* into the Chinese idiom - this time not on the level of formal changes but on that of meaning and function, although as a merely secondary, regional development that never replaced the universal, supra-regional Buddhist idea of the *stūpa* by some basically different conception. As a matter of fact, all Chinese Buddhism was the result of such a translating, amalgamating and modifying process adapting Indian ideas to Chinese patterns of thought.

2

The most obvious Indian type among East Asian pagodas is the so-called *To-pao-t'a* (chin.) or *Ta-hô-tô* (jap.); sometimes the short form *Pao-t'a* or *Hô-tô* is used. Literal translation (Many Treasures Pagoda) does not furnish a satisfying explanation which is possible only by recurring to the Sanskrit equivalent: *prabhūtaratna*. Immediately the well-known episode in the Saddharma-pundarīka-sūtra (the Lotus Sutra) will come into one's mind where a mystical *stūpa* appears in which the Buddha Prabhūtaratna is seated, testifying to the truth of Śākyamuni's teaching and asking him to take the seat next to himself. Many illustrations (pls. XIX 5, 6) of this scene are available in East Asian art since the early 6th century at the latest (Tunhuang murals, bronze statuettes, reliefs

on stelae). In most cases the *stūpa* or pagoda type used here differs greatly from the tower-like type but comes very near to the Indian *stūpa* of relatively late form with an elongated cylindrical body rounded off by a sort of dome from which the *chatra*-mast rises (fig. 3). The square canopy-like roof of the East Asian version of this type (pl. XIX, 7) can be explained as a Chinese addition, possibly inspired by the shape of a *harmikā* with protruding layers or else by an enlarged form of the lowermost *chatra* - that is, as a partial "translation" into the Chinese architectural idiom. Somehow this *Tahôtô* (let us use the Japanese term) came to be associated with esoteric Buddhism (Vajrayāna), the connection being furnished by the legend of the South Indian Iron Stūpa in which the patriarch Nāgārjuna is said to have been initiated to the secrets of esoteric Ṿajrayāna doctrine; it probably had the cylindrical body of the well-known Indian type. Even in much later Japanese illustrations of this legend (1136, by the court-painter Fujiwara Munehiro) it is shown to have this shape. Together with Vajrayāna doctrine and ritual this pagoda type seems to have been transmitted to China around the 8th century - perhaps for the second time since it is documented, although not by actual buildings, in Lotus Sutra illustrations and other narrative contexts some two centuries earlier.

In China no example of the *Tahôtô* exists any longer, with the exception of the ruined one at the temple Fo-kuang-sse on Wu-t'ai-shan, dating from the late T'ang dynasty (9th century); besides, there exists some literary evidence, e.g. a report by the Japanese priest Enchin (Chishô Daishi) describing the monument he saw at the Chien-fu-sse in the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an in 855. At that time the type had already been transmitted from China to Japan, together with the two esoteric sects, *T'ien-t'ai* (Tendai) and *Chen-yen* (Shingon) at the beginning of the 9th century; there it survives in a number of splendid, well-preserved examples mainly from the Kamakura Period (13/14th centuries) (pl. XIX, 8). Their classic prototype was the "Kompon-Daitô", the "Great Original (or Primordial) Stūpa", built in the mountain temple-compound of Kôya-san by the Shingon patriarch Kûkai (Kôbô Daishi) and completed in 835 shortly after his death (today to be seen in a modern replacement).

The most characteristic feature of this pagoda type (pl. XIX, 8, fig. 7) is the cylindrical *stūpa* body (one of those invariable elements), preserved in full size as the main part of the structure; it is constructed in a sophisticated combination of wooden framework and plaster, crowned with a square roof (a variable element) carrying the *chatra*-mast which rises from a small hemispherical bronze member well-known to us as being the original *stūpa*-body (*aṇḍa*) in reduced size, lifted up on top of a tower-like structure. Certainly it is surprising to see <u>two</u> *aṇḍas* ... The one on top may be explained as part of the uppermost roof of the tower-like pagoda developed earlier in China and transferred to the new type complete with miniature *stūpa* and *chatra*-mast. If constructed in

wood, the building had further to be "translated" into the East Asian technique; whether or not the Chinese did this we are unable to tell since no specimens or documentary illustrations are available. The Japanese, on their part, devised an ingenious wooden structure in which, however, the cylindrical main body seems to have vanished almost completely. In the exterior view (pl. XIX, 8) it only peeps out a little from a square wooden chapel as a flat, plastered and white-washed dome. But as soon as we look at a vertical section of such a building (fig. 7), we at once recognize the cylindrical body as being represented by and reduced to a number of pillars the outline of which is continued and rounded off in that dome-like element crowning the ground-floor chapel. This element, as well as the cylindrical shape, is entirely alien to Japanese - or for that matter, Chinese - wood construction; by its very incompatibility it clearly indicates its being a foreign importation, in fact a very direct survival of the original *stūpa* body. In this Japanese wooden structure the central body of the monument lost its walls and solid mass, probably because more space for the chapel, for the performance of rites and for the installation of statues was required, the ritual centre or mystic core now being represented by a group of Buddhas (pl. XIX, 9). To protect this chapel, an encasement or penthouse (jap. *mokoshi*) was constructed with its own (that is, a second) overhanging roof which seems to be a peculiarly Japanese feature. The *mokoshi* with its roof is to be counted among the variable, optional elements: in many cases - when used as tomb monument, reliquary or ritual symbol (pls. XIX, 10-12, figs. 8, 9) - the *Tahôtô* could do without it, retaining its original cylindrical *stūpa* body. The central pillar, an invariable, obligatory element, is by no means absent from this type; here it rises not from the foundation but only from the ceiling level of the chapel (fig. 7), up to the top of the spire consisting of heavy bronze rings (the transformed *chatras*), just as the central pillar of the tower-like pagoda does (fig. 1). In place of its lower part we see the central figure of a group of Buddha statues arranged according to the *maṇḍala* field with the Buddhas of the Five Directions, Vairocana, the supreme Buddha of Vajrayāna, occupying the centre. Between this Buddha and the central axis of the building exists an identity of what may be called their mystical body, both occupying and representing the world centre and embracing the essence of the universe. In Japanese *maṇḍala* drawings (12th c.) of the *samaya* type (with symbols replacing anthropomorphic figures) a *stūpa* of the *Tahôtô* type invariably appears in the centre, aniconically representing Vairocana (fig. 8, pl. XIX, 10).

Having explained the history and structure of this pagoda or *stūpa* type we have to ask what its religious functions were. One of these, just as that of the tower-like pagoda, is its role as a central world-symbol, here in the specific sense of the Vajrayāna *maṇḍala* with its group of

Buddhas centred in Vairocana. The most original Buddhist function of the *stūpa*, namely that of a relic depository and tomb or memorial monument, was not only kept alive (in Japan until the present time) but strongly emphasized: there exist a vast number of reliquaries and tomb-stones (pl. XIX, 11) in a more or less pure *Tahôtô* form and in numerous variants. In nearly all these cases the main cylindrical body of the *stūpa* has been preserved, usually with its upper roof but without the ground-floor penthouse (*mokoshi*). Sometimes these *Tahôtô*-shaped tomb-stones and reliquaries take the shape of a sphere, mainly in the most popular type, the so-called *Go-rin-tô* (fig. 9, pl. XIX 12): "Pagoda (or *stūpa*) of the Five Circles (or Elemental Realms)" according to Buddhist cosmology; the cubic base stands for Earth, the sphere for Water, the pyramidal roof-like piece for Fire, the inverted hemisphere for Wind or Air, and the pointed pearl for Void Space. Some specimens (pl. XIX, 12) show the symbolic *siddham* letters (the "seeds" [*bīja*] and *mantra* syllables of the central Buddha of the two esoteric *maṇḍalas* (the *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu*) on the sides of their base and roof, thus clearly indicating their meaning and function as a world diagram or symbol of the universe the true essence of which is concentrated in the "seed" of the relic. The form of the *Gorintô*, showing the main parts of the *stūpa* or its variant Eastern form, the *Ta-hô-tô*, reduced and simplified to the most elementary stereometric bodies, could not possibly have been derived from the tower-like pagoda type which had deviated a good deal from the original *stūpa* type by being greatly "sinicized"; therefore, the *Ta-hô-tô* and its descendant, the *Gorintô*, may be called the most clearly Indian survivals among the East Asian transformations of the *stūpa*.

3

Not easily to be connected with and explained by all these Chinese and Japanese pagoda types is the special case of the stone pagoda in the Sung Mountains (Sung-shan, Honan province, China; pl. XIX, 13) with its tightly packed cornices and its peculiarly curved outline approximating a parabola and thus recalling certain types of Indian towers which may have served as immediate models; its date is comparatively early, around 520 A.D. This form, however, is not quite unique since it occurs in some other Chinese pagodas such as the famous Hsiao-yen-t'a (Smaller Wild-Goose Pagoda) in the metropolitan city of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an); but this curved outline is not found very often and calls for explanation which I hope will be furnished by specialists in Indian architecture and its derivative developments.

4

Let me conclude this brief survey with a glimpse of the main pagoda types of Korea. There we see some wooden tower-shaped ones (not many are

preserved) but the most characteristic and ubiquitous type is a peculiarly Korean variety of the stone pagoda (pl. XIX, 14) of impressively simple shape and with a pronounced central axis, built by superimposed blocks of stone. In the interior of one of these blocks relics were deposited, not necessarily in the base or foundation. An interesting survival in Korea are nearly oval, slightly elongated *stūpas* placed in the centre of initiation platforms of monasteries (pl. XIX, 15) and sometimes containing relics - thus by their form and contents clearly indicating the spiritual goal to be attained by the initiate, *nirvāṇa* (fig. 10). Still more clearly this original idea of the *stūpa* is embodied in a unique, almost purely Indian *stūpa* (fig. 10) erected on the tomb of a 14th century Korean monk - not quite accidentally, since he was a naturalized Indian.

List of figures

1 Pagoda of Hōryūji, Nara, section; late 7th century. (From: Hihō I = Hōryūji I, Tokyo 1970, p. 151.)

2 Relic Deposit in Hōryūji Pagoda. (From: Hōryūji Gojū-no-tō Hihō Chōsa, Hōryūji 1954, pl. 3.)

3 *Stūpa* Top-i-Rustam, Balkh, reconstructed. (From: Bukkyō Geijutsu = Ars Buddhica 15, 1952, p. 91)

4 Pagoda of Ling-yen-sse, Shantung; 742-756, restored ca. 1050. (From: E. Boerschmann: Pagoden I, Berlin/Leipzig 1931, pl. 142)

5 Pagoda Liu-ho-t'a near Changchou: ground-floor section; 1152-1156 with many later restorations. (From: Boerschmann, op. cit., pl. 270.)

6 Pagoda of Hōryūji, Nara, plan. (cf. fig. 1.) (From: Hihō I - cf. fig. 1 -, p. 151.)

7 Tahōtō of Ishiyama-dera near Kyōto, section. (From: Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte 17 = China, Korea, Japan, Berlin 1968, fig. 21, p. 239.)

8 *Stūpa* of Tahōtō type representing Vairocana in the *maṇḍala* of the Diamond World; ink drawing from "Kongōkai Kyūe Dai-Mandara (Samaya-e), Japan ca. 13th century. Kyōto, Ninna-ji. (From: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, Zuzō 1, p. 908.)

9 Tomb Monument in Gorintō Form, schematic drawing. (From: D. Seckel, Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens, Stuttgart 1957, fig. 33.)

10 Tomb *stūpa* of the Monk Chi-kong Chong-hae (died 1363), Hwa-chang-sa, Korea; late Koryo Dynasty. (From: Chōsen Koseki Zufu 6, pl. 780.)

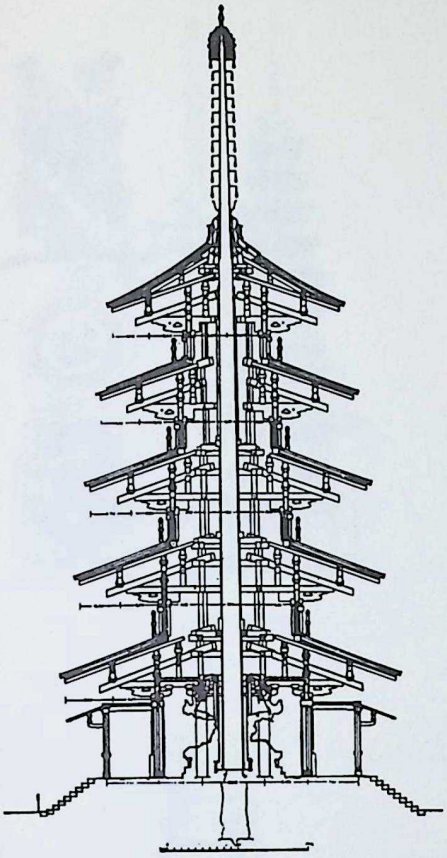


fig. 1

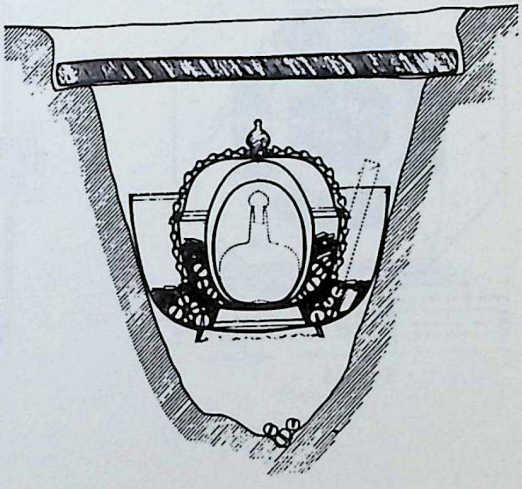


fig. 2

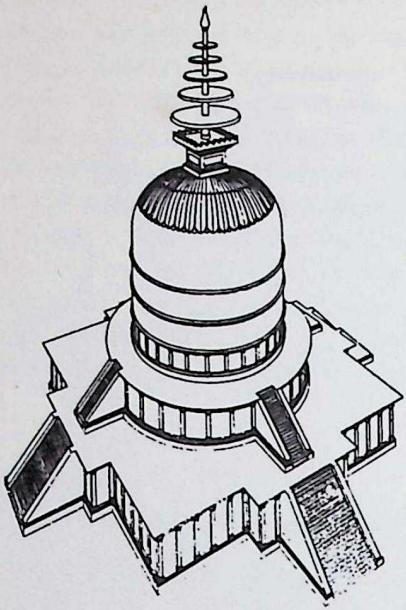


fig. 3

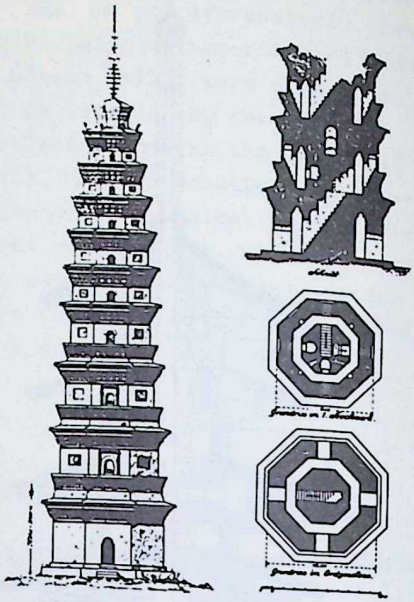


fig. 4

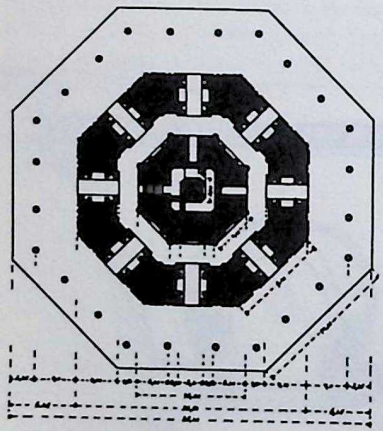


fig. 5

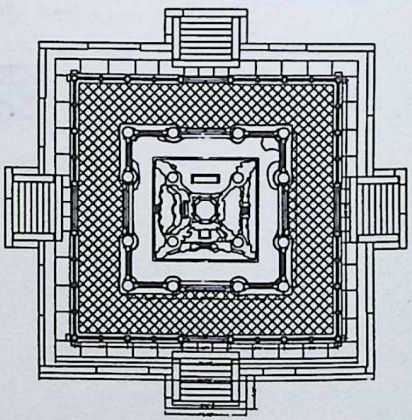


fig. 6

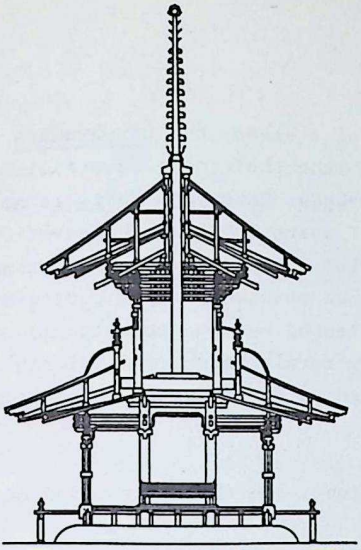


fig. 7

fig. 8

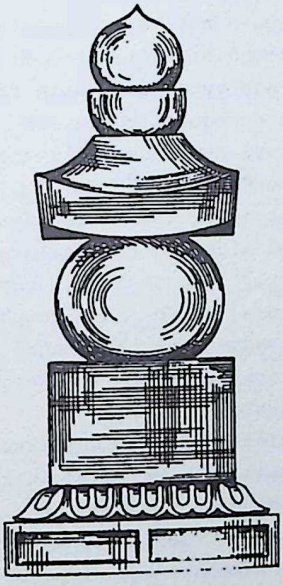


fig. 9

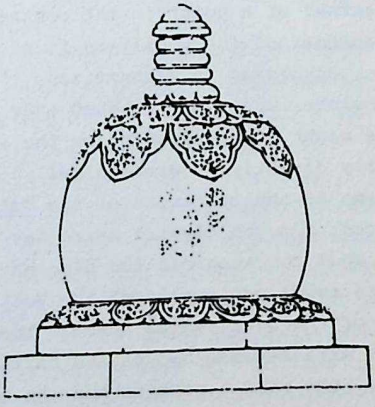


fig. 10

COSMICAL SYMBOLISM IN THE SPIRE OF THE CEYLON DAGOBA

Adalbert Gail

Within its architectural description of a *stūpa*, the Divyāvadāna (p. 244, line 11)[1] reports that a *yūpa-yaṣṭi* (the shaft of a sacrificial post) is sunken into the interior of the *stūpa-aṇḍa*. This *yūpa-yaṣṭi* is not identical with that *yaṣṭi* (umbrella-shaft) which rests on the *harmikā* (Div., p. 244, line 12 sq.).[2] A relief slab from Amarāvatī, depicting a *stūpa* with all details, shows the end of an octogonal *yūpa* jutting out of the middle of the *harmikā*, while being flanked by two umbrellas (pl. XX, 1). *Yūpas* serving as a central axis have only rarely been brought forth from Indian *stūpas*[3]. The following arguments serve as an initial explanation of their absence.

1. The *yūpa* was not in general use.

2. The *yūpa* (of wood) was destroyed along with the destruction of the old superstructure.

In Ceylon the situation is different. Smither found "pillars ... standing upright in the middle of the ruined stūpas near the Ruvanväli" (*dagoba*)[4]. Larger and smaller fragments of stone pillars were found in the rubble of old *stūpas*. These fragments were described by Paranavitana as follows: "The pillars in question are, evidently, not the shafts of stone umbrellas, for their tops are rounded and could not have supported anything. By comparing the various fragments found at different places we cannot conclude that a complete pillar of this type was square for some height from the base, then turning into the octogonal shape. The lines formed by the edges of the octogonal shaft are continued till they meet together at a point in the centre of the rounded top."[5] (pl. XX, 2). The fragments of those pillars found at the Abhayagiri and Mirisaväti *stūpas* are, according to Paranavitana, "of colossal size and the pillars, when complete, must have weighed over twenty tons."[6] The Ceylonese *yūpa*, with its eight cornered shape on the superstructure, corresponds morphologically directly to Brahmanical *yūpas*, which were found in Mathurā[7] and conforms to the criterion of the ŚatBr: "The sacrificial post is eight cornered, for the Gāyatrī metre has eight syllables."[8]

What function did the *yūpa* have in Buddhist religious architecture, a structural one excluded? The Vedic sacrificial post was used in the tying up of the sacrificial animal. The sacrificial post was also seen as being the axis between heaven and earth at this sacrificial ceremony[9]. Its lower end, the middle portion and the upper end are identified with earth, atmosphere and heaven, respectively (ĀpŚr VII, 2; 7;[10] VII, 9, 9). At the raising of the Indra-like sacrificial post (ĀpŚr VII, 10, 3) it is said: "Rend open the earth, split here the heavenly cloud, give us rain water."[11]

The sacrificial post seems here to represent symbolically that *skambha* of Indra with which he separated heaven and earth[12]. Or: at the raising of the sacrificial post, Indra's primordial act of the creation of life is symbolically-ritually reenacted. If we try to project these characteristics of the Vedic sacrificial post onto the Buddhist language of ritual and symbol, there results a double analogy.

1. A tertium comparationis of ancient Brahmanical ritual practice and Buddhist practice is *dāna* (giving). In Vedic sacrifice, the sacrificer satiates the gods and assures himself of their favour; Buddhist giving supports the monks and signifies a meritorious step on the way to salvation. In the Cakkavattisīhanāda-Sutta of the Dīghanikāya the *yūpa* is the place at which King Śaṅkha distributes his property among the Samanas, Brahmans, the poor, wanderers and beggars, and becomes a begging monk himself[13]. In the Divyāvadāna, the lay members bestow their wealth upon an enormous golden *yūpa* encrusted with precious gems and neglect their worldly duties[14]. The Buddhist *stūpas* are decorated by the lay members with flowers and garlands and are perfumed and lighted with candles in the manner of *pūjā*[15]. In the Mahāvaṃsa, the three terrace rings of the Ceylonese *stūpa* are called *pupphādhāna*: place for depositing flowers[16]. Thus, the *yūpa*, representative of the pre-Buddhist sacrificial practice, per interpretationem buddhicam, could become the symbol of the giving of offerings and of meritorious works. Likewise, the *yūpa* as the central axis of the *stūpa* can be taken as a document of the adoption and transformation of traditional Brahmanical symbolism. (In the bodhi-tree and bodhimaṇḍa, Buddhism also adopted pre Buddhist "properties" belonging originally to the Yakṣa cult, as Coomaraswamy convincingly pointed out).[17]

2. The Ur-Kosmos in the quasi-systematic purāṇic cosmogony is called *aṇḍa* (egg)[18], the same term which the Divyāvadāna attributes to the globular portion of the *stūpa* (p. 244, line 10). The outlay of the Borobudur symbolizes a *maṇḍala*, i.e. a cosmic diagram[19].

According to a Nepalese legend of the erection of the *Svayambhunāth-stūpa*, it was begun with raising up a tree which had the height of Meru. The thirteen golden discs decorating the tower member of the *stūpa* are interpreted as symbolizing the thirteen various heavens[20].

While the Buddhist scripture of Ceylon knows nothing of the *yūpa*, the octogonal shafts are called *Indrakīla* (Indra's peg) by the Buddhist monks[21]. It is no longer possible to determine whether the *yūpa* on the Ceylonese *stūpa* of Anurādhapura jutted from the middle of the *harmikā* since all these *stūpas* have lost their old superstructures through looting and destruction. In this case, however, the shafts of the umbrellas would not have been in the center, but rather planted at the side of the *yūpa* top as at Amarāvatī (pl. XX, 1). The later *stūpa* in Ceylon (Polonnaruva-phase) was essentially changed in the shaping of its spire. The most important evidence of this new shaping are Kirivehara and Rankotvehara (pl. XX, 3) in Polonnaruva. No longer an umbrella, but a conical tower now crowns the

stūpa[22]. The patrons of these *stūpas*, Parākramabahu I (1153-1186) and Niśśaṃka Malla (1187-1196), also enlarged and rebuilt the desolated *stūpas* of Anurādhapura in the same form[23].

Since the ancient Ceylonese *stūpa* was provided with heavy stone *yūpas*, it is worth questioning if the *yūpa* in Polonnaruva had become obsolete; in other words: if the change of the crowning member meant, at the same time, an abandonment of the *yūpa* or if the *yūpa* perhaps was incorporated in the shape of the "modern" *stūpa* tower.

Our investigation must begin with that evidence which was brought to light through the excavation of the great *stūpas* at Polonnaruva by the excavator H.C.P. Bell[24].

The crowning member of both Polonnaruva *stūpas* consists of a square cube (*caturaśra-koṣṭha; harmikā*) two cylindrical constructions (Sinh. *devatā kotuva*, Skt. *devakoṣṭha*: abode of the gods) and the spire (Sinh. *kota*). This spire is conical in shape, with ring pattern, which is to be understood morphologically, as being a continuation of a row of umbrellas which gradually diminish in size.

The umbrella shaft (*yaṣṭi*) could be proposed as being the morphological predecessor for both cylindrical brick constructions, the lower one having a larger diameter, the upper one having a smaller. But how did both of these cylinders appear? We learn from Bell, that the lower cylinder of Kiri Vehera was divided into sixteen zones, that of Rankot Vehera into eight zones, in which "dwarf Telamones" (= *Yakṣas*) "supporting the pseudo-entablature" were shown[25]. In Rankot Vehera, as well as in Kiri Vehera, the smaller upper cylinder was divided into eight zones set apart by pilasters. At Rankot, remnants of eight figures of gods were to be seen (now removed through restoration) set in the eight fields. Bell assumes a similar arrangement for Kiri Vehera. The only photo illuminating this situation (pl. XX, 4) is given by Bell from the Abhayagiri *stūpa* (formerly misnamed as Jetavanadagoba). He describes the eight figures of deities as follows: "Each of the *Aṭa-dik-pâlayó*, or guardians of the eight directions, is dressed as usual, in dhotī and tall headgear (*mukuṭa*) with rich necklet and bangles; they stand full front, their hands held before them in act of adoration"[26].

Paranavitana also mentions those figures of gods in his description of the *devatā-koṭuva*, without reverting back to the term *aṣṭadikpālas*, as used by Bell[27]. Was it legitimate for Bell to use this term? Mustn't it be surprising when a Buddhist structure shows a group of gods, which irrefutably belongs closely to Hinduism? In Hinduism, since ancient times, we know eight gods as *lokapālas* or *dikpālas* who protect the eight main directions of the universe[28]. The Buddhist cosmography on the other hand, knows four great kings (*caturmahārājika*) whose abodes are the four sides of Meru, and who also serve as protectors of the world[29].

Bell speaks of the *aṣṭadikpālas* as being a foregone conclusion, and this is not really unjustified. He had previously (ASCAR for 1909) found

a yantra stone (*yantragala*) with 25 chambers in a reliquary chamber of the Topaväva *stūpa* at Polonnaruva[30], in which were found, among other things, bronze figures of gods, which can only be identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the (15,2 cm high) Hindu *aṣṭadikpālas* (despite mostly unclear attributes) (fig. 1 and pl. XX, 5)[31].

How, then, is the appearance of the Hindu *aṣṭadikpālas*, instead of the Buddhist *caturmahārājikas* in Ceylon to be explained? For an answer to this question we must take a look at India.

We know the representation of the *aṣṭadikpālas* in India as architectural reliefs on the outer side of the *vimāna* since 7th century A.D.[32], each one representing a particular space-direction[33] or on the *maṇḍapa* ceiling since 6th century A.D.[34]. The Dravidian south, on the contrary, appears to have first known of the eight regents of the directions of space at a later period. The eldest series of *aṣṭadikpālas* known to me is the representation of these gods in the upper row of the *vimāna* of the Brhadīśvara in Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram, built under Rajendra Coḷa (1012-1044)[35]. This ruler had reached even the Ganges plain as conqueror (along the east coast)[36]. In the year 1017 he also expanded the partial supremacy of the Coḷas in Ceylon into a total one. In the following five decades, Polonnaruva is the political and historical center of the Coḷa vice-kings[37]. We may assume that through the Coḷas (between 1017-1070), the conception of the eight guardians of the world also became known in Ceylon[38]. According to Buddhist conception, as we heard, Meru is the abode of the four great kings, which are represented here by the *aṣṭadikpālas*[39]. The Sinhalese term for the cylindrical portion of the crowning structure *devatākotuva*, under consideration here, makes the meaning more precise: what is meant is the topmost floor of Meru, abode of the four mahārājas[40]. In contrast to the Hindu and Jaina conceptions, the Buddhist Meru is cylindrical, above and below of equal width[41]. With the identification of the *devatākotuva* as Meru's top, a direct clue now leads us back to the *yūpa*, which is represented in Vedic texts as the world axis and named *Indrakīla* by the monks in Ceylon (see above!).

The *yūpa* is preserved in the *devatākotuva*, or: the *devatākotuva* is, at the same time, both Meru's pinnacle and the *yūpa*. This Meru has preserved by the same time an important aspect of the ancient *yūpa*, most important feature of which was its octagonal form in its upper portion (vide p. 260). When the cylindrical *devatākotuva* is divided into eight zones separated by pilasters, so there appears to be a formal link to the eight-sided *yūpa*. At the same time, we may assume that the number eight prescribed for the sides of the *yūpa* favoured or even demanded that development, which set the *aṣṭadikpālas* in the place of the *caturmahārājas*.

In closing, an idea which throws light onto the development in India. We have assumed that the *yūpa* of Anurādhapura might have stood separate, next to the umbrella-shaft (*yaṣṭi*), perhaps as shown in the Amarāvatī re-

lief (pl. XX, 1). In Polonnaruva, both elements merge together into the cylindrical *devatākotuva*.

In India, it seems, the central *yūpa* had already blended much earlier with the umbrella-shaft. Or, to use the terms of the Divyāvadāna, *yūpa-yaṣṭi* and (*cattra-*) *yaṣṭi* had become one.

Finally, I may summarize the steps of demonstration:

1. The *yūpa* is a representation of the Meru.
2. Anurādhapura had the *yūpa*, Polonnaruva not.
3. Polonnaruva[42] developed the *devatākotuva*, abode of gods, showing the *aṣṭadikpālas*.
4. These regents of the directions of space replace the *caturmahārājikas* who reside on the Meru.
5. So the *devatākotuva* represents both the top of the Meru, and, being eight-panelled, the upper octogonal part of the *yūpa*.

Notes and references

1 ed. E.B. Cowell and R. Neil, Cambridge 1886.

2 Cf. S. Paranavitana, The Stūpa in Ceylon, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, vol. V, Colombo 1946, p. 36.

3 Cf. John Irwin's contribution to this volume.

4 Paranavitana, loc. cit.

5 Paranavitana, loc. cit.

6 Paranivatana, op. cit., p. 39.

7 J. Ph. Vogel, The Sacrificial Posts of Isāpur. In: ASIAR 1910/11, pp. 40 sqq.

8 ŚatBr V, 2, 1, 5 *aṣṭāśrir yūpo bhavati / aṣṭākṣarā vai gāyatrī*; trsltd. by J. Eggeling in SBE, vol. XLI, p. 31.

9 *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* (ĀpŚr) VII, 10, 7. Translation by W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, 1. - 7. Buch, Göttingen 1921, p. 238: "Er richtet ihn (scil. den Opferpfahl) auf mit der Formel: 'Stütze den Himmel, erfülle den Luftraum, befestige die Erde durch das untere Ende.' "

10 Caland, op. cit., zu ĀpŚr VII, 2, 7, p. 226: "Den Himmel ritze nicht mit der Spitze, den Luftraum verletze nicht mit der Mitte, mit der Erde vereinige Dich."

11 Caland, op. cit., p. 239.

12 Cf. John Irwin's 'Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of evidence - IV: Symbolism. In: Burlington Magazine, vol. CXVIII, November, 1976, p. 740.

13 Textual reference and partial translation by E. Abegg, Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran, Berlin und Leipzig 1928, pp. 148-153.

14 Vide Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell-Neil, pp. 55 sqq. and E. Abegg, op. cit., pp. 153-155. During the conference, my friend G. Roth kindly pointed me to a later dogmatic homology equating the ground on which the *stūpa* is to be erected with *dānaṃ*, verbatim: *dānaṃ pṛthivī* (vide p. 197 in this volume). This undoubtedly means, that both the ground for the *stūpa* had to be donated to the *saṅgha*, and that *stūpa* activity on the whole, from erection upto worship, is based on *dāna*.

15 Divyāvadāna, p. 244 below and p. 255 above; Ratna Handurukande, The Benefit of Caitya Worship. In: Studies in South Asian Culture, vol. VII, S. Paranavitana Comm. Volume, Leiden 1978, pp. 76-77.

16 Mahāvamsa XXX, 51. 56 and XXXIII, 22; quoted by Paranavitana, op. cit., p. 16.

17 A.K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, pt. I: Washington 1928, p. 17.

18 Vide W. Kirfel, Das Purāna Pañcalakṣaṇa, Leiden 1927, textgroup I: 3, 12 sq., text-

group II A: 9, 23 sq.; 10, 26 sqq.; textgroup II B: 51, 56-59 and 52, 60 sq.; textgroup III: 136, 29.

19 P. Mus, Barabudur, tome 1er, Hanoi 1935, pp. 52 sqq.; see also Mrs. Lohuizen's paper in this volume.

20 U. Wiesner, Nepal, Köln 1976, p. 154 sq. - P. Mus, referring to S. Lévi, Le Nepal, t. II, pp. 4-6, speaks in the same connection about "des cieux suprêmes représentés par des parasols stylisés, au nombre de treize, comme le veut la cosmologie (op. cit., p. 117)." On the other hand, according to dogmatic interpretation, the thirteen discs symbolize the ten perceptions (*daśa-jñāna-balāni*) plus the three applications of mindfulness (*āveṇika-smṛty-upasthānāni*); vide G. Roth's paper in this volume pp. 183-209

21 Paranavitāna, op. cit., p. 38.

22 Paranavitāna, op. cit., pp. 31-46, indicating the respective Mahāvaṃsa testimonia.

23 Paranaviṭāna, op. cit., p. 9 sq., p. 44 sq.

24 Cf. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Reports (ASCAR) for the years 1911-1914, Colombo.

25 ASCAR for 1911-12, p. 88.

26 ASCAR for 1911-12, p. 88 sq.

27 Paranavitāna, op. cit., p. 43.

28 Manusmṛti V, 96 enumerates Moon, Fire, Sun, Wind, Indra, Kubera, Varuṇa as *lokapālas* and embodiments of the king.

29 Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, pp. 35*, 191, 195 sq.

30 According to a Sāhassamalla coin (1200-1202) which has been found there the *stūpa* might belong to the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

31 The lefthand figure having a snake around its right arm and found together with a fish must be Varuṇa, the two others seem to represent Yama (middle) and Agni (right) in respect of their positions in the *yantragala*; vide: ASCAR for 1909, p. 28.

32 One of the earliest examples might be the Svarga-Brahma-temple at Alampur (681-696 A.D.); vide: G. Michell, The regents of the directions of space: A set of sculptural panels from Alampur. In: aarp, 4, 1973, pp. 80-86.

33 East: Indra; SE: Agni; S: Yama; SW: Nirṛti; W: Varuṇa; NW: Vāyu; N: Kubera; NE: Īśāna.

34 E.g. Bādāmī III and north-east temple of the Kunti-group at Aihole; vide: Michell, op. cit., p. 85, and H. Cousens, The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts, ASI, NS, vol. 42, Calcutta 1926, p. 35.

35 R. Nagaswamy, Gangaikondacholapuram, Government of Tamilnadu. State Department of Archaeology, 1970, pp. 26, 33 sq.

36 K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, A History of South India, Oxford ^{3}1966, p. 183; K.A.N. Sastri, The Cōḷas, Madras repr. 1975, p. 199.

37 C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitāna, A Concise History of Ceylon, Colombo 1961, p. 158 and Chapter X; K.A.N. Sastri, The Cōḷas, Madras repr. 1975, p. 310.

38 Northern Buddhists also incorporated the series of the Hindu *aṣṭadikpālas* into their pantheon as we know from roll paintings (*paṭa*) and from texts (Sādhanamālā and Niṣpannayogāvali).

39 Cf. n. 29.

40 Kirfel, op. cit., p. 188.

41 Kirfel, op. cit., p. 16* sq.

42 And Anurādhapura in the Polonnaruva period after Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.).

List of figures

1 Sections of *yantragala* from Topavāva *stūpa*, Polonnaruva (chambers 1-18 partly destroyed) (From: H.C.P. Bell, ASCAR for 1909, p. 28)

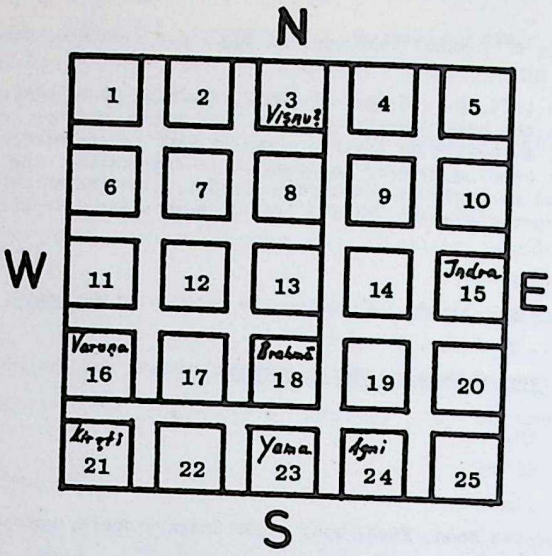

N
W
E
S
1
2
3
Viṣṇu
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
Indra
15
Varuṇa
16
17
Brahmā
18
19
20
Vāyu
21
22
Yama
23
Agni
24
25

fig. 1

THE STŪPA IN THE ŚILPAŚĀSTRAS AND THE RITUALS OF THE SINHALESE

Hans Ruelius

By presenting this paper I do not (an cannot) intend to submit an exhaustive study on Sinhalese *stūpa*-texts or Sinhalese *stūpa*-worship. The collection of material presented here is a by-product of other works and I want to take the chance of this seminar to make it accessible to other colleagues who are also interested in this subject.

I. The Śilpaśāstras

1. The material used

a. Dāgäb bäňdīmē lakṣaṇaya. Palm leaf manuscript 69 M 4, Colombo Museum library, 3 leaves, dated July 2nd, 1902. Sanskrit text with a short Sinhalese appendix. (Dbl.)

b. Dāgop karaňḍu tänīma. One leaf of palm leaf manuscript 277367, University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya. In Sanskrit. (Dkt.)

c. A fragment of 5 Sanskrit verses following the Śāriputra. Palm leaf manuscript L/4, Colombo Museum Library. (Fragment A)

d. A fragment of two Sanskrit verses quoted by H. Parker in: Ancient Ceylon, London 1902, p. 336. Parker quotes it from a manuscript named Waiddyānta pota (i.e. Vaijanyantitantra) but these verses are not part of this *Śilpaśāstra*. (Fragment B)

e. A fragment of 7 verses at the end of palm leaf manuscript 69 L/14, Colombo Museum Library. In Sanskrit. (Fragment C)

f. Informations and drawings by two traditional Sinhalese artists from the Southern Province, and one artist from Ämbäkka near Kandy.

2. Evaluation of the material

None of the fragments can count as an independent text or as a part of such a text. They are collections of verses from various sources, unsystematically put together. Some of the verses are incomplete or have undergone several changes. They are full of mistakes and many of them are almost unitelligible. (In some cases, however, we might be able to understand more if we had a better knowledge of the technique of measuring applied by the artists in practical work.)

The Dbl. contains verses of at least three different sources which differ in the prescribed proportions. It is not possible to date these texts but their proportions definitely belong to a comparatively young type of *stūpa*.

3. The contents of the texts

The main subject of the texts is the canon of proportions of the *stūpa*, but the proportions given are not proportions of the *stūpa* itself. They

are the proportions of the elevation which has to be drawn by the artist before he starts his work. Measurements are given by means of a module which is called *aṅgula* or *bhāga*. Its subunits are the *yava* etc. (cf. Dbl. 1: '*yavādhibhiḥ* ...')

The ratio diameter to height viz. height to diameter is given in six verses:

Dbl. 2:	d:h = 5:?
Dbl. 4:	d:h = 5:8
Dkt. 1:	d:h = 16 1/2 : 24
Fragm. B 1:	like Dbl. 4 (?)
Fragm. B 2:	like Dkt. 1 (?)
Dbl. 3:	h:d = 24-15

Dbl. 2 reads: '†*vistārābhi*† .. *caitasya* ... *śaraḥ kṛtvā* ...' 'Having the breadth ... of the *caitya* ... divided by five ...'

Dbl. 4: *stūpeṣu tāraṃ kṛtapañcabhāgaṃ*
guṇāṃśam ādhikyasamānatuṃgam |
daṇḍadvayaṃ syāc caturaśrabhāgaṃ
... dvayam eva kumbham |
... atha śeṣapīṭhaṃ
vadanti tuṃgaṃ munibhiḥ purāṇaiḥ ||

Dkt. 1: *stūpeṣu tārapañcārddhaṃ kṛtvā etat tribhāgikam* |
caturviṃśatibhede tu saṃkhyā stūpeṣu yojitā ||

Dbl. 3: *tuṃgamānam caturviṃśatkṛtvā tāraṃ tripañcakam* |
tuṃgamānena vistāraṃ caityasyotpādalakṣaṇe ||

The vertical division of the *stūpa* is given in six verses:

	Dbl. 5	Dbl. 6	Dbl. 8	Fragm. B, 2	Fragm. C, 6	Dkt. 2	Oral tradition* 1	Oral tradition* 2
trimālā	5	6	5	5 1/2	5 1/2	5	5	5 1/2
peśamālā	-	-	-	-	-	1/2	1	-
kumbha	8	8	8	8	8	8 1/2	8	8 1/2
caturaśra-koṣṭha	1 1/2	2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2
devakoṣṭha	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	}7
daṇḍa	-	6	6	6	6	6	5	
chattra	1	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
total:	-	12 1/2	24	24 1/2	24 1/2	25	24	24

*Informations by two traditional artists

Dbl. 5: *stūpeṣu tuṃgaṃ kṛtaturyyaviṃśaṃ*
pañcāṣṭadvyarddhaṃ yugmabhāgam ekam |
trimālakam budbudaturyyakoṣṭhaṃ
surālachattrāntayathā krameṇa ||

Dbl. 6: *ādyeka (?) pañcāṃgulabudbudāṣṭakaṃ*
netrādikoṣṭhaṃ surakoṣṭhadvayaṃ syāt |
mātrārddhachattraṃ rasathūpikāntaṃ
vadanti tuṃgaṃ munibhiḥ purāṇaiḥ ||

Dbl. 8: *stūpatuṃgamānaturyyaviṃśatiprabhāgikam*
pañcamāṣṭayagmabhāgam akṣim arddhaṣaṭtayam |
trīṇi mūlagarbhaturyyakoṣṭhadevakoṣṭhake
chattrathūpikāntapaṃktisūtram eva yojitam ||

Fragment B, 2:
trimālapañcārddhakagarbbham aṣṭa
catus surākoṣṭhayugārddhayugmam |
ṣaḍantakuntaś [ca] puno 'rddhachattraṃ
vadanti tuṃgaṃ munibhiḥ purāṇaiḥ ||

Fragment C, 6:
pañcārddham aṣṭayugmārddhaṃ yugmaṣadarddhayojitam |
trimālake [ca] garbbhe ca dvikoṣṭhe kuntachattrayoḥ |
eteṣu saptasthāneṣu saptasūtrāni santi ca ||

Dkt. 2: *trimālā pañca peśārddham aṣṭārddhaṃ garbbham eva ca |*
catuṣkoṣṭhe dvibhāgārddhaṃ devakoṣṭhe tathā dvayam |
kunte ṣaḍbhāgasaṃyuktaṃ chattre bhāgārddhasaṃyutam ||

The difference between the sum of the parts and the prescribed height of the *stūpa* in some of the texts shows that in these texts the *chattra* is taken for a part of the *daṇḍa* and, in Dkt. 2, the *peśamālā* is taken for a part of the *trimālā*.

The elevation (sgh. *pat biňdīma*) is drawn into a network of horizontal and vertical lines. The position of the horizontal lines is given by the measurements of the parts. The vertical lines are already described in Dbl. 8 and Fragment C, v. 6. We find two more verses on this topic:

Dbl. 7: *piyavasaṃ*[1] *caturtthaṃ ca budbude ca śaraṃ tathā |*
caturaśre stūpikānte ca saptasūtram prahārayet ||

Dbl. 14:
vṛttakānte trimālāgre budbude turyyakoṣṭhake |
stūpikānta idaṃ saptasthāne sūtraṃ tu yojayet ||

The seven or eight vertical lines, or plumb-lines, must touch the surface resp. outline at the points prescribed in the texts. These points are lying on one line reaching from the edge of the base to the top of the *stūpa* (see fig. 1 and 2).

Two verses of our collection enumerate the various forms of the dome. It can have the form of a lotus-bud (*padmākāra*), it can look like a heap of grain (*dhānyākāra*), like a bubble on the water (*budbudākāra*), like a bell (*ghaṇṭhākāra*), like a water jar (*ghaṭākāra*), or it can have the shape

of the Indian gooseberry (Phyllantus Emblica, skt. *āmalaka*, sgh. *nelli geḍiya*) (*āmalākāra*).

Fragment A, v. 1:

utpalaṃ dhānyarāśiṃ ca budbudākṛtilakṣaṇam |
ghaṇṭhākāraṃ ghaṭākāram āmalākāraṣaḍvidhiḥ ||

Fragment B, v. 1:

ghaṇṭhākāraṃ ghaṭākāram bubbulākāradhānyakam |
padmākārāmalam .....ṣaḍvidhiḥ ||

The rest of the verses (see Dbl. 9 ff.) are dealing with the construction of the *trimālā* and the dome. I must confess that I am not in a position to give a detailed explanation of the contents.

II. The role of the *stūpa* in Sinhalese ritual

Though the *stūpa* is an indispensible part of the Sinhalese Buddhist monastery, it does not play a predominant role in the normal ritual life. Nevertheless the erection of a *stūpa* is regarded as an act of great merit. Three solemn ceremonies are accompanying the construction work: the laying of the foundation-stone, the enshrining of the relic (*dhātunidhāna*), and the setting up of the spire (*kot pälaňdīma*).

While the other two ceremonies mark the beginning and the end of the work the *dhātunidhāna* takes place while the *stūpa* is still under construction, because the relic chamber is usually imbedded into the dome just underneath the *caturaśrakoṣṭha*. The *dhātunidhāna* has a double function. It does not only mark a decisive turning point in the ritual life of the community, it is also an important merit-making ceremony. The ceremony is usually attended by a great number of laymen who contribute offerings together with the relics.

The ritual proper is comparatively simple. It is preceded by a *paritta* ceremony.[2] This *paritta* ceremony is celebrated by Buddhist monks sitting in a small well decorated pavillion and chanting pāli texts from the *paritta* book for several hours or even days. By chanting the texts, religious merit (*puṇya*) is produced and transferred to the laymen gathered around the pavillion by means of a thread. It is also led to some big water jars, the water of which is afterwards used for protection or to expel evil spirits. Pieces of the thread are usually tied around the body or the arm also for protection from all kinds of evil. In the case of the *dhātunidhāna* the thread is tied around the *stūpa*.

The ritual is followed by a *sāṅghika dāna*, an almsgiving ceremony to the monks of the monastery. The *dhātunidhāna* itself has to take place exactly at an auspicious moment which has to be calculated before by an astrologer. A small procession of laymen, headed by a man who is carrying the relic casket on his head, is climbing up the scaffolding around the *stūpa*. The members of the lay community lining the way of the procession

to the *stūpa* are shouting '*sādhu, sādhu, sādhu, sā ...!*' to express their consent and to take part in the merit earned by carrying out the ceremony. Arrived in front of the open relic chamber, the procession stops waiting for the signal that the auspicious moment has come. The entire ceremony is accompanied by the traditional temple music, i.e. by drumming and blowing the *hornāva*, a clarinette-like instrument. When the signal is given, the drummers switch over to a faster rhythm and the music suddenly becomes louder. It remains like this till the end of the ritual. Exactly at the auspicious moment the relic casket is layed down into the relic chamber which is immediately closed by a mason already waiting.

Though this ceremony marks an important change in the ritual life of the community, it is mainly a merit-making ceremony and the *stūpa* is not yet regarded as fully consecrated after it. The consecration ritual proper is the *kot pälaṅdīma*, the setting up of the spire. This ritual can be celebrated at the same day as the *dhātunidhāna*, or, if the *stūpa* is not yet completed, at another auspicious day. In this case it is also preceded by a *paritta* ceremony. The metal spire, sometimes gilded, is kept in the *paritta maṇḍapa* while the monks are chanting the *paritta*. It is then carried to the top of the *stūpa* by a small procession. Like in the *dhātunidhāna* the laymen shout '*sādhu, sādhu ...!*' and try to touch the spire to partake in the merit earned by carrying out this ceremony. Before the ritual began, the top of the *stūpa* had been covered with a white cloth. It becomes visible again after the spire is fixed. The auspicious moment for uncovering it had been calculated before by an astrologer.

The structure of this ritual is the same we know from other consecration rituals and from rites of passage. Its characteristic feature is the liminal period which ends at the auspicious moment or, as Victor W. Turner takes it, the time betwixt and between.[3] This is the time when the passenger, - and this is in our case the *stūpa*, - has already left the state before and not yet reached the state after. During this period the passenger has to be protected against interpretations and actions on an undefined symbolical level; it has to be 'structurally invisible'.[4]

The fact that the *stūpa* is regarded as not yet fully consecrated though the relic is already enshrined makes clear that the worship of the *stūpa* and the worship of a relic are not one and the same thing. By enshrining a relic in a *stūpa*, and that means, to lay it down on a fixed point, the ritual of relic worship is given a new dimension: the dimension of space. The *stūpa* becomes a point of reference in the spatial arrangement of the ritual system.

Unlike an image of a god, e.g. in a land-holding temple in central Sri Lanka, the *stūpa* does not require ritual precautions to explain and to maintain its validity as a symbol and an object of worship. In the traditional cult of gods in the land-holding Sinhalese temples the symbolic substance of the object of worship, i.e. the image, is explained by mythology and maintained by consecration rituals, daily offerings and

ritual precautions to protect it agains dissecration. The symbolic substance of a relic, however, is maintained and explained by faith and by devotion to the Buddha. It therefore cannot be dissecrated, except that faith is destroyed. The symbolic substance of the *stūpa* is explained by religious interpretation of its form and style and it is maintained by the presence of the relic.

Since the *stūpa* is a reference point in the spatial arrangement of the ritual system, *stūpa* worship is not only an act of merit-making for an individual. *Stūpa* worship is mainly an affair of the community and therefore closely connected with religion as an institution and its integrating function. It is concerned with the problem of identity of the society and the legitimation of the social system.

As an object of worship, the *stūpa* has some symbolic substance, which is expressed by form and style. The fact, that I did not come across any cosmological or dogmatical ideas connected with the *stūpa* in Sinhalese Buddhism does not mean that there are no such ideas at all. It is possible that I missed them. Nevertheless, the symbolic substance of a religious building is always more than a simple translation of an idea into masonry. A stone structure or a part of it does not 'symbolize' this or that idea. As a product of a certain culture it reflects the habit or 'modus operandi' of the members of this culture.[5] It's symbolical meaning, therefore, can only be understood in the context of social interaction or ritual in which it plays a role. Architectural structures are only fossiles of a culture. If we want to understand their symbolical meaning, we must look at the way they are made, used and experienced by man.

Appendix

Transliteration of the texts

page 1^r Dāgab bäňdīmē lakṣaṇaya Colombo Museum Library 69 M 4

page 1^v

1. *yavādhibhiḥ munīndrasya padāṁbujam vakṣe hā thūpaśāstrāṇi Viśvakarmmoktasūkramai -*
2. *vistārābhi caitaśya saraḥ kratvā tagaitaṃ tuňgaṃ kathitaṃ munibhiḥ purai -*
3. *tuňgamānacaturviňśat kratau tārā tripaňcakam tuňgamānena vistāraṃ jātiyotpādalakṣaṇam -*
4. *thūpesu tāram kratapaňcabhāgaṃ gunaṃ samādhikyasamānatuňgaṃ daṇḍidvaya syāt caturaśrabhāgaṃ dvayam eva kumbhaṃ atha sesapīṭhaṃ vadanti tu -*

page 2^r *ňgaṃ munibhiḥ purānai -*

5. *thūpesu tuňgaṃ krata turyyaviňśaṃ paňcaṣṭudvarddhaṃ yugabhāgam ekaṃ trimālapesabudaturyyakoṣṭaṃ surālavatrānta yathā kramena -*
6. *ādyekapaňcāňgulabudbudāṣṭakam netrādhikoṣṭadvaṃ syāt mātrārddhachatraṃ rasathūpikāntaṃ vadanti tuňgaṃ munibhiḥ purānai -*

7. *piyavasaṃ caturtthaṅca budbudaṅca saran tathā caturaśraṃ thūpikāgraṅca saptasūtraṃ prahārayet -*

8. *thūpatuṅgamānacaturviṅśatibhāgikaṃ paṅcamaṣṭayūgmabhāga akṣim arddhaśaṭkayam trīni mūlagarbbhaturyyakroṭadeva-koṣṭakamchatrathūpikantapantisūtramena yujitam -*

9. *trimālayottuṅgakrataṅthisaṃtyā caturttham aṣṭadvayatrīni-yugmaṃ athasya saptadvacaturtthabhāgam vadanti mālādya purāṇadhīmatiḥ -*

10. *saptārddhadve sugārddhadva punar dvayasaḍarddhakam trayār-ddhasaṃkhyā padamādigrāyha ena dvimālake -*

11. *paṅca ekaṅca ekārddhaṃ punekaṃ caturārddhakaṃ dvayārddha puna tatsaṃkhya padamādyādi trimālake -*

12. *tuṅgamānacaturviṅśat kramato catuśśayivapadmopakundas ca upariddhopi yo*

page 2[v] *jayet maddhyāṅgulāṣṭakaṭyānām māna thūpāsane thathā -*

13. *sūtrobhayamaddhyastrau kaṇṭhau mūlakratau trikaṃ kaṇṭhatā-ra syāt tadvadhiḥ surakoṣṭake -*

14. *vatthakānta trimālāgre budbude turyyakoṣṭake thūpikāntam idaṃ saptasthāne sūtran tu yojayet -*

15. *yaśya pīṭhapramānena visamena vibhedakrat ekuṇadyāt kramāt saṃkhyā śailasopāna kārayet -*

16. *vrattamānatribhiḥ kratvā punekaṃ soḍasākratiḥ ekuṇaṃ sesa-vistāraṃ jātīyāt tāramānakaḥ -*

17. *kratvā dviguṇatārāc ñatvā tuṅgapramāṇakam tatorddhvaṃ maṅ-ḍalasyārddhaṃ vaṅgadvārakrataṃ viduḥ -*

18. *välikondehi avaṭa śatyā deka-yi - ehi vaṭa desätak-i bubula vaṭa sūvisi ratane kibisō koṭu vaṭa devu koṭuvē avaṭa raṅ-daṅā talādhara siṭa dasasakan avaṭa näta disrā sāmaśakarē kiyana vaṭadāgobehi vatādanā usa puḷula visinā kiyan duvi-vasa ṗumalinā -*

Our text is followed by another short fragment named Kākalakṣaṇa and ends with a colophon:

page 3[r] *Mātalē Uturupalātē Nilagama Sittara Gurunnānsēgē potē piṭa-pataya - - liyā nima kalē Kri. varṣa ek-dahas-nava-siya-dekē Jūli masa deveni dina Anurādhapura-dt-ya - -*

Dāgop karaṅḍu tänīma University of Ceylon Library 277367

(one page)

1. *thūpēsu tāran paṅcārddhan katvā etat trībhāgakaṃ caturvī-satibhēdē tu saṃkhyā yōjitam -*

2. *trimālapaṅcapēsārddhaṃ aṣṭārddhaṃ garbbham eva ca catur-aṣṭakoṣṭe dvibhāgārddhaṃ devakoṣṭe tathā dvayam kuntē sat-bhāgasaṃyuktaṃ chattrē bhāgārddhasaṃyuktam -*

dāgop karaṅḍu tänīma-yi - -

Fragment A Colombo Museum Library L/4

1. *utpalaṃ dhānyarāśiṅca budbudākratilakṣanam ghaṇṭākāra-ghaṇṭākāram āmbalākārasya ṣaṭvidhaiḥ -*

2. *vistāradviguṇasaptabhāgikam vedabhāgyam adhikam bhavet uvar-ttulāṅgam atharuddhabhāgikam sārddhvagaṇitadiṇa hamaṇayet -*

3. = Dbl. v. 4

4. = Dbl. v. 6

5. = Dbl. v. 7

Fragment B (H. Parker: Ancient Ceylon. London 1909. p. 336)

Thūpesu tāram kṛiṭa panca bhāgam
Guṇaṇ pamāṇaṇ tribhāga tungam
Gaṇthākāra Ghaṭākāram
Bubbulākāra Dhānyakam
Padmākārāmbala shaṭ vidham

Thūpesu tāram kṛiṭa panca bhāgam
Guṇaṇ pamāṇaṇ catuvīsa bhāgam
Trimāla pancārddhaka garbbham ashṭam
Catussurākoshṭha yugārddha yugmam
Śashṭānta kuntam puṇarddha chatram
Vadanticatah munibhih purāṇaih.

Fragment C Colombo Museum Library 69 L. 14

1. = Dbl. v. 7
2. = Dbl. v. 6
3. = Fragment A, v. 2
4. = Fragment A, v. 1
5. *thupassa(ka)yavaṭṭaṃ pañcabinnaṃtayocayo catur vasati bhedena saṃkha thupocayojitā* -
6. *pañcārddhaṃ aṣṭayugmārddhaṃ yugmaṣaṣṭārddhayojitā trimālake sarbbhe ca dvikoṣṭe kuntachatrayo etesu saptaṭhānesu saptasuptaṃ(ŏthu) saṃti ca* -
7. *thupatuŏgamāna caturviŏśatiprabhāgikaṃ panca aṣṭa yugma arddha akṣi arddhakṣikṣayaṃ trṭṇi māsargarbbhakoṣṭakoṣṭakuntayo* - - -

Notes and references

1. *piyavasam* is a 'sanskritization' of sgh. *piyavasāva,* the ledge around the *stūpa* on which the offerings are placed. Here it stands for *trimālā*.
2. For details see: Schalk, Peter, Der Paritta-Dienst in Ceylon. Diss. Univ. of Lund 1972.
3. Turner, Victor W., Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in rites de passage. In: Helm, J., ed., Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion. Seattle 1964, pp. 4-20.
4. ibid., p. 9.
5. cf. Panofsky, Erwin, Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism. New York 1957.

List of figures

1 The parts of the *stūpa*.
2 Elevation with measurements and plumb lines.
3 Catur aśkosṭha.
4 The lower part.

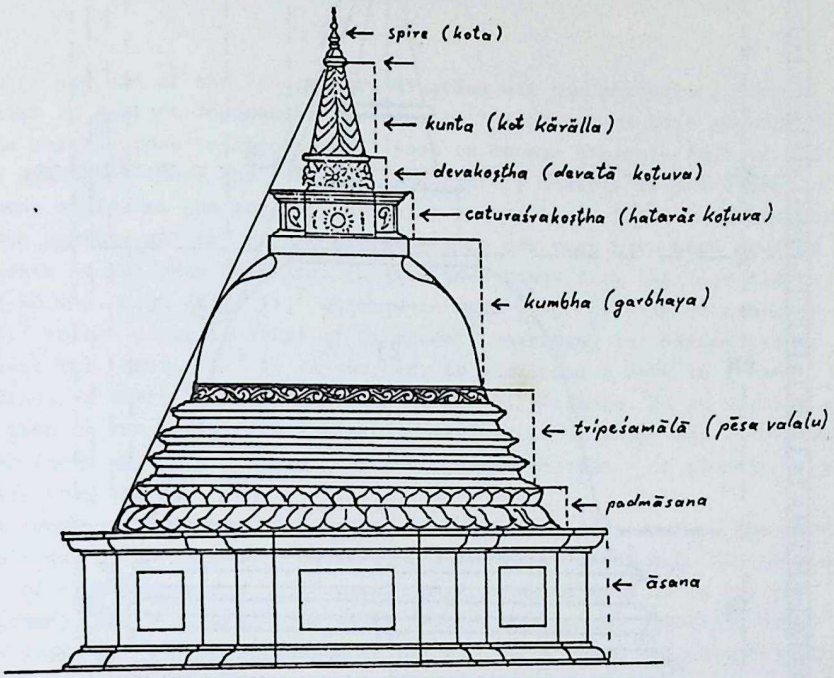

spire (kota)
kunta (kot kärälla)
devakoṣṭha (devatā koṭuva)
caturaśrakoṣṭha (haṭarās koṭuva)
kumbha (garóhaya)
tripeśamālā (pēsa valalu)
padmāsana
āsana

fig. 1

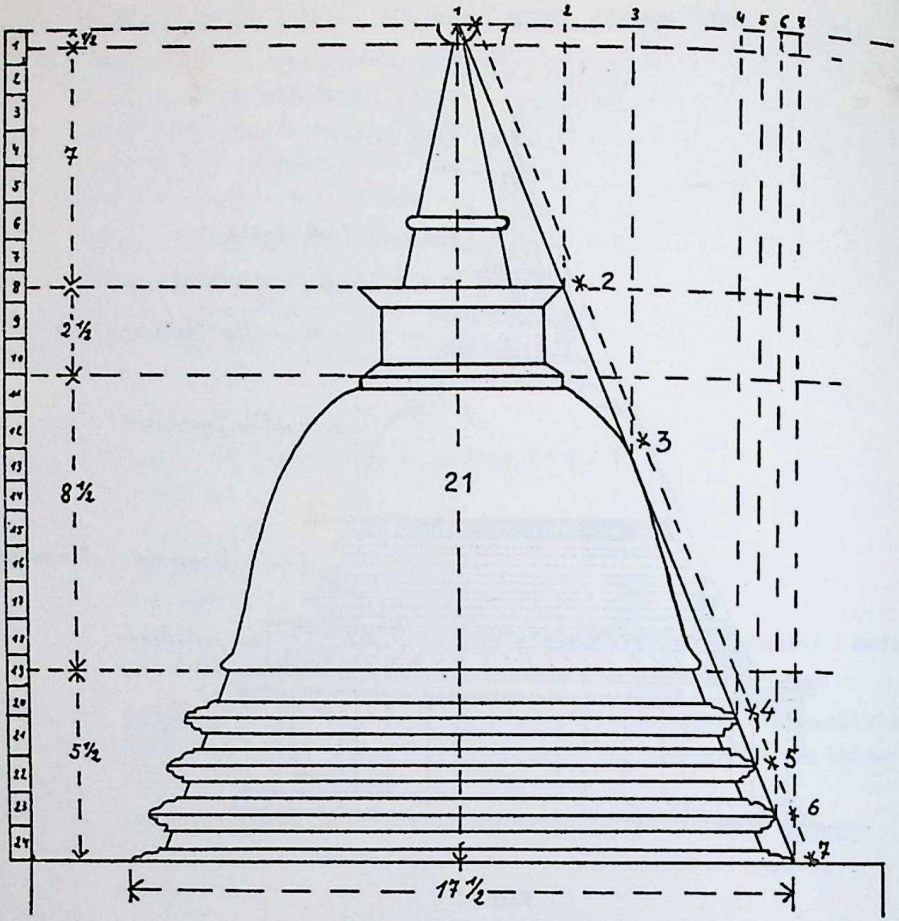


fig. 2

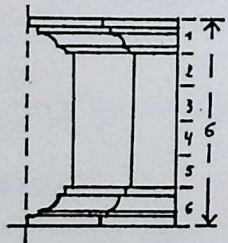


fig. 3

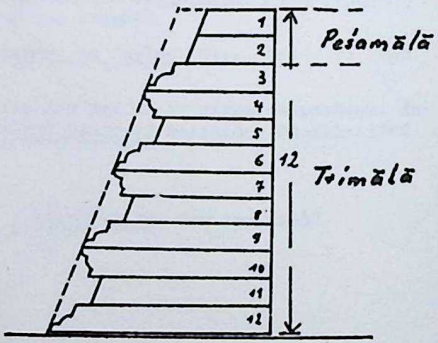


fig. 4

THE STŪPA IN INDONESIA

Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw

Until the end of the 7th century Hīnayāna was the prevailing form of Buddhism in ancient Indonesia. However, in the course of that century Mahāyāna quickly rose in importance,[1] soon to become the only form of Buddhism practised there and from the 8th century onwards we never hear of Hīnayāna again. As the earliest Buddhist monuments in Indonesia date from the 8th century all the *stūpas* discovered so far must have been erected by followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In size they range from the tiny clay *stūpas* 4-20 cms. high (fig. 1),[2] which were made with the help of a bronze mould,[3] to the gigantic *stūpa* of Barabuḍur[4] measuring 123 metres along its axis (pl. XXII, 1).[5] It is not easy to attribute a date to these buildings as there is hardly any inscriptional evidence. In an attempt to date them on the basis of a stylistic development of shape and decoration, we are faced with the problem that their ornamentation - if present - is usually very simple.

Barabuḍur - the most famous *stūpa* of Indonesia and indeed of the whole world - can be attributed roughly to a date round about A.D. 800 on the basis of stylistic and architectural comparisons as well as on the palaeography of the inscriptions under the reliefs on the concealed base.[6] A few years ago I drew attention to certain facts which indicate that the construction of this monument is likely to have started about A.D. 775,[7] but exactly how long it took to complete this enourmous building is anyone's guess, though it probably took something like forty years. Hardly any other Indonesian *stūpa* can be dated that closely and usually we have to be satisfied with a rough attribution to one or often even more centuries.

The reliefs on Barabuḍur were obviously inspired by daily life in ancient Java at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. In twenty-eight panels *stūpas* are depicted.[8] These can be divided into two classes with minor variations: the pot-shaped and the bell-shaped *stūpa*. The body of all the pot-shaped *stūpas* (fig. 2) is decorated with an ornamental band which is usually represented as a pearl border carrying four or eight antefixae from which festoons or garlands are suspended. One example has only a plain flat band.[9] Of the seven bell-shaped *stūpas* (fig. 3) three do not show the ornamental band.[10] The pinnacle is usually smooth and tapering with a circular cross-section but some *stūpas* have a complicated finial surmounted by one or more *chattras*. In most cases the base of both types of *stūpa* is square and supports a lotus on which the *aṇḍa* rests. In two examples the base takes the shape of a Greek cross.[11] Twelve *stūpas* carry one or more sunshades topped by a *ratna*-shaped pinnacle, eight

examples have only one *chattra*, one shows three, two have five (fig. 4) and one carries as many as eleven (fig. 5).

In all but two reliefs the *stūpa* seems to stand in the open air or is at most sheltered by a canopy, but in two cases it is depicted inside a temple (figs. 4-5). This is an important indication, for no *caitya*-halls or *stūpa*-shrines have so far been discovered in Indonesia and the few Indo-Javanese *stūpas* which have been preserved, all stand in the open air, either by themselves or inside a courtyard together with other buildings. However, in view of the two reliefs just mentioned we should envisage the possibility that *stūpas* were occasionally worshipped inside a building.

On the three circular terraces of Barabuḍur seventy-two bell-shaped *stūpas* standing on lotus pedestals and containing Jina images surround the central *stūpa* at the top (pl. XXII, 2). The cross-section of their pinnacles is octagonal - not circular. In the sixteen *stūpas* on the highest circular terrace the pinnacle is supported by an octagonal base which in all other cases - including the central *stūpa* - is square. In addition, the *stūpas* on the highest terrace have square perforations while those on the two lower terraces show diamond-shaped perforations. The *aṇḍa* of the central *stūpa* at the top of Barabuḍur which is decorated with a fine ornamental band without antefixae and garlands or festoons, is rather squat when compared to that of the *stūpas* on the circular terraces. So much for Barabuḍur.

We already mentioned the tiny clay *stūpas* in passing (fig. 1). Hundreds of these were found in 1924 at Pèjèng on the island of Bali[12] and in 1935 at Jongké in Java 7 km. north of Jogjakarta[13] while two have been reported from the neighbourhood of Palembang in Sumatra[14] and over 1200 were discovered during the restoration activities at Barabuḍur in 1974.[15] Although the bronze moulds[16] with which these votive objects were made may have been used for many centuries, the shape of these small *stūpas* indicates a date in the Central Javanese period, preferably the 8th or the 9th century, for it is similar to that of the bell-shaped *stūpas* of Barabuḍur. Occasionally four or eight small *stūpas* are added around the base. However, these objects can hardly be used in a study of the Indonesian *stūpa*, as their moulds may well have been imported from India. This is certainly the case with the moulds used for the tablets embedded inside these clay *stūpas*.

In 1928 Stutterheim discovered at Bĕdulu in Bali a fragment of a rock-cut relief lying in the rice-fields.[17] It depicts the top of a pot-shaped *stūpa* with thirteen *chattras* (fig. 6) which possibly belonged to another fragment found nearby by Conrad Spies three years later (fig. 7). This shows a pot-shaped *stūpa* on a round, pillar-like base. Its shape is most unusual in that a branch supporting a small *stūpa* grows out of the *aṇḍa* on either side. To the right stands a further, smaller *stūpa* and the relief consequently must have looked like a large, triple candlestick in the centre with a smaller, single candlestick on both sides. When pub-

lishing these fragments Stutterheim made the interesting remark that the number of *chattras* on top of a *stūpa* may be related to the importance of the person whose ashes were buried in it or who erected the monument.[18] He based this idea on the fact that the number of roofs of Balinese *merus* or temples is also related to the status of the builder and not to that of the deity worshipped inside. For various reasons he attributed the rock-cut relief to Śrī Kesarīvarmmadeva who was almost certainly a Buddhist and probably ruled in A.D. 917.[19]

It might be tempting to interpret the number of *chattras* as phases in a chronological development. However, Stutterheim's suggestion that this element is probably related to the status of the builder, seems a far better explanation for this phenomenon in view of the fact that the artists of Barabuḍur seem to have known *stūpas* with one, three, five or even eleven sunshades. Moreover, reliquary *stūpas* with seven and eleven *chattras* dating respectively from as early as roughly the 4th and 5th century A.D., were excavated in the monasteries of Mohṛā Morādu[20] and Jauliāñ[21] at Taxila. Literary evidence supports these archaeological arguments, for *stūpas* with thirteen sun-shades are already mentioned in the Tibetan version of the Vinaya Kṣudraka-vastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins dating from the 1st or 2nd century A.D..[22] All this proves that the number of *chattras* cannot be used as a chronological indication.

The largest number of sunshades discovered so far in Indonesia can be found on top of a small bronze, pot-shaped *stūpa* formerly in a private collection (fig. 8).[23] It has twenty-one *chattras* and probably served at one time as a reliquary casket, for its *aṇḍa* and base were left hollow. Stutterheim, who published the object, attributed it to the 8th century. Although its fine quality and decoration could indicate a date in the early Central Javanese period, it has a round base which is unknown among the representations on Barabuḍur but also present in the early 10th century rock-cut *stūpas* at Bĕdulu. As we shall see below, round bases occur regularly later on in Sumatra, between the late 11th and early 15th century. The bronze relic casket could therefore well be slightly later than Stutterheim thought and belong to the 9th or early 10th century. So much for bases and *chattras*.

As for the *aṇḍa*, we have already seen that two different forms were depicted in the reliefs of Barabuḍur. However, a third shape soon presented itself when the side of the bell-shaped *stūpa* became straight while the *aṇḍa* grew more and more elongated, resulting finally in a form resembling a *liṅga*. The very first stage in this process actually occurs on Barabuḍur, for a *stūpa* represented in a relief on the first gallery is not really bell-shaped as van Erp believed[24] and as his drawing suggests (fig. 9). The photograph of this relief[25] clearly shows that the *aṇḍa* has a vertical side so that the *stūpa* is no longer truly bell-shaped (fig. 10).

The elongation of the *aṇḍa* can first be noticed in two *stūpas* excavated and reconstructed at Palgading not far from Jogjakarta in 1923 and the following years (fig. 11).[26] The tapering *aṇḍa* lies on an octagonal base placed on a square pedestal. The panels of this pedestal are decorated with narrative reliefs. No festoons or garlands are suspended from the ornamental band around the *aṇḍa*. When publishing these two monuments in 1925 Bosch attributed them to the period of Barabuḍur in view of the fact that their form seems related to the bell-shaped *stūpas* of this building.[27] If the gradual elongation of the *aṇḍa* indicates a chronological development - as it seems to do in view of what will follow[28] - then we are inclined to date the two *stūpas* of Palgading to the first half of the 9th century, just after Barabuḍur.

In 1941 one of the 116 *stūpas* in the outer courtyard of Caṇḍi Plaosan not far from Kalasan was reconstructed.[28a] It is more than 7 metres high and has no decorative band, which is surprising (pl. XXII, 3). Its *aṇḍa* standing on a round lotus pedestal is more elongated than at Palgading though still slightly bell-shaped. As inscriptional evidence indicates that Caṇḍi Plaosan was constructed in the middle of the 9th century, the *stūpas* must date from about the same time.

In 1929 fifty-two small *stūpas* were excavated in the courtyard of Caṇḍi Kalasan (fig. 12).[29] In view of the remains discovered inside, these monuments obviously had a funerary function. I would propose to date them tentatively in the middle or the second half of the 9th century as it is likely that they belong to the period after the main building - originally consecrated in A.D. 778 - was subsequently enlarged twice by encasing it. These small *stūpas* clearly illustrate the tendency of the *aṇḍa* to become elongated. It is no longer bell-shaped as its side is almost straight while the round base lies on a square pedestal. It is crowned by a *chattra* but no garlands or festoons are suspended from the ornamental band.

Several rather similar monuments have been located in Central Java. That at Mulungan near Jogjakarta resembles the Kalasan *stūpas* though the *aṇḍa* is a bit more elongated and its side is now completely straight (fig. 13).[30] Consequently it is probably slightly later in date. Then there are the monolithic monuments discovered at Tugurejo near Sĕmarang and at Cupuwatu to the east of Jogjakarta which in some respects resemble each other. That at Tugurejo was found in 1936 and wrongly identified as a border-stone (fig. 14).[31] Its base is missing and in contrast to the *stūpa* of Cupuwatu (pl. XXII, 4) only the lower part of the *aṇḍa* has cannelures, while in the case of the latter this decoration continues up to the top. The pedestal of Cupuwatu is no longer square but octagonal.[32] The ornamental bands of both monuments show suspended garlands or festoons, an element which is missing at Palgading, Kalasan and Mulungan (figs. 11-13). Summarizing, the Palgading *stūpas* are probably the earliest, followed closely by those at Plaosan and Kalasan, while the other

three at Mulungan, Tugurejo and Cupuwatu may date from the second half of the 9th century if not even the early 10th.

When Krom published his great manual Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst in 1923 Cupuwatu was the only known monument of this kind. In his discussion he pointed out that it could be a *stūpa* or perhaps a *liṅga* in view of its shape and because the object was practically monolithic and did not have a cavity for relics.[33] It seems to us, however, that this last point cannot be used as an argument against an interpretation as a *stūpa*. In the first place it is well known that not all *stūpas* contain ashes, a fact confirmed by canonical texts.[34] Secondly, if this one did have a relic, it may have been embedded somewhere else, perhaps in the top. However, if so, we may never know, for the original pinnacle of Cupuwatu is missing and the flame-like finial which we see today is a 19th century restoration. Finally, various details such as the ornamental band around the body and the fact that the monument is supported by a row of tortoises as in the case of one of the *stūpas* depicted on Barabudur (fig. 5), indicate that it was meant to be a *stūpa*. These tortoises clearly underline the fact that the object represents the cosmic world mountain and hence it is a *stūpa*. It could, however, be argued that it is both a *stūpa* and a *liṅga*, for the shape of the *stūpas* discussed above indeed resembles that of a *liṅga* very closely. Moreover, the cross-section of some of them, such as those at Palgading and Mulungan, show an upward sequence from square via octagonal to circular, which seems to hint at the same sequence in a normal *liṅga*. All this is not surprising as the syncretism, which is so characteristic of Indo-Javanese religion, gradually reached a stage in which Buddha was equated with Śiva.[35] In fact, already in the late 9th or early 10th century the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan - an extremely important Old-Javanese text - states that the highest Buddhist entity Paramaśūnya is also known as Paramaśiva.[36] Van Erp believed that the monument of Cupuwatu is a *stūpa*, for in the great Barabuḍur monograph he described it as a "pillar-stūpa".[37] In view of what we have just said about the shape of all these objects and the religious syncretism of ancient Indonesia, it might perhaps be better to call these monuments *liṅga-stūpas*, provided the stress remains on the second half of the compound as these objects are basically *stūpas*, be it in the shape of a *liṅga*, which when all is said and done also represents the cosmic world mountain, like the *stūpa*.

We now come to a small monument in the National Museum in Jakarta (pl. XXII, 5). It was acquired from a private collection in the late 19th or early 20th century.[38] Two small chambers inside indicate that it was meant as a reliquary or funerary *stūpa*. The pedestal lying on a thin, square plate is basically square but as its corners are cut off, one could maintain that it resembles an octagon. Each of the four sides shows a standing figure. The multiple base is rather complicated and supports an *aṇḍa* surrounded by the unusual number of twelve smaller *stūpas*. It has a plain

ornamental band and is surmounted by a *ratna*-shaped finial. In spite of its rather low *aṇḍa* the monument as a whole has an elongated shape. Van Erp attributed it on the basis of its sculptural ornamentation to the early Eastern Javanese period, i.e. roughly the 10th or 11th century - a date which seems reasonably acceptable. However, it should be pointed out that this *stūpa* does not quite fit into the rather obvious development which we were able to outline for those in Central Java. For the *aṇḍa* is squat and the elongated shape of the monument is consequently due to the multiplication of the base, whereas in the Central Javanese *stūpas* discussed above this effect was produced by the elongated *aṇḍa* and not by the base. As we already saw, the *stūpas* at Bĕdulu in Bali dating from the early 10th century also have a squat *aṇḍa* and a tall base. In view of this it is possible that the object in the Jakarta Museum - the provenance of which is unfortunately not known[39] - hails from Bali. Perhaps the difference in shape between these *stūpas* and those in Central Java is connected with the fact that in some respects the art of the Eastern Javanese period apparently did not develop from the chronologically earlier art of Central Java. Certain aspects seem to go back to other origins and were perhaps imported directly from India into Eastern Java. As for Bali, this seems to us an indisputable fact, for the early art of this island obviously developed quite independently from that of Central Java.

So far we have been dealing with small monuments usually less than 4 metres high. Apart from Barabuḍur in Central Java, which constitutes a class all of its own, very few large *stūpas* have as yet been discovered - to be precise only two, both located in Eastern Java. The first, Caṇḍi Dadi near Tulungagung, is in an extremely bad state of repair.[40] All that now remains is a double, square platform in the shape of a Greek cross with an octagonal base on top. A circular hole in the centre of this base indicates the shape of the former *aṇḍa* which has completely disappeared. It is the highest monument in an ascending row of five which were once lying on the slopes of Mount Wajak, Eastern Java. Van Stein Callenfels believed that the four lower buildings also were *stūpas*[41] but so far no definite proof of this idea has been brought forward, as these lower monuments have almost completely crumbled away since they were discovered and described in the 19th century. As a result of its ruinous condition no date can be attributed to Caṇḍi Dadi. All that can be said is, that in view of its location it probably belongs to the Eastern Javanese period, i.e. the early 10th-15th centuries, but even the location cannot always be taken as an indisputable chronological argument. In any case it is obvious that Caṇḍi Dadi is hardly of any use for our investigations concerning the *stūpa* in ancient Indonesia.

The second large Eastern Javanese *stūpa* is that of Sumberawan discovered in 1904 to the northeast of the ancient capital of Singhasāri (fig. 15).[42] It is probably identical with the ancient Kasurangganan mentioned by Pra-

pañca in his Nāgarakṛtāgama[43] as a place visited in A.D. 1359 by Emperor Hayam Wuruk who ruled from 1350 till 1389 A.D. This does not, however, imply that the *stūpa* was erected by him. It was excavated and reconstructed as far as possible in 1937.[44] Unfortunately only its lower part could be rebuilt.[45] The higher parts were left in their provisional reconstruction and not replaced on the monument as the data regarding one of the layers of stone could not be ascertained.[46] However, the reconstruction drawings give an impression of the overall shape of the monument (fig. 15). Its original height must have been just over 8 metres. A double platform - the lower part square and the higher in the shape of a Greek cross - supports an octagonal base carrying the squat *aṇḍa*. As in the case of the late Central Javanese *liṅga-stūpas* its side is straight. The fact that the monument was not completed contributes to the problem of its date. For instance, the decorative band round the *aṇḍa* is unfinished and still completely smooth. Van Romondt who carried out the reconstruction work and published the monument, attributed it to the Eastern Javanese period. While pointing out some resemblance to certain Sumatran buildings of the 11th or 12th century, he finally concluded after much hesitation that, though nothing definite could be said with regard to Sumberawan's date, it might possibly belong to the late Eastern Javanese period, perhaps the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century.[47]

As an argument in favour of this attribution he brought forward the terracotta figurines discovered during the excavation of the site, as they probably belong to this period. However, in an appendix to van Romondt's report Stutterheim, the Director of the Archaeological Service at that time, discussed these figurines and pointed out that they were found at some distance away from the *stūpa*.[48] He ended by saying that although they probably date from the 14th or 15th century, they could possibly be much later and in any case their date should on no condition be connected with that of the *stūpa*, as there was no indication whatsoever that they were in any way related to the founding of this monument.[49] Consequently, I am rather doubtful about van Romondt's tentative attribution of Sumberawan to the late 14th or early 15th century, the more so as the then Government epigraphist in another appendix dated the mason marks found on several stones used in the *stūpa*, on palaeographical grounds to a period between the 11th and the 15th centuries.[50] In view of all this it seems to me that for the present we can only say that Sumberawan is a *stūpa* dating from the Eastern Javanese period.

Having dealt with the *stūpas* of Java except Barabuḍur, it is time to turn to those of Sumatra. Throughout the centuries Buddhism played an important role in this island as against Java where after the 9t century a tāntric form of Hinduism became the prevailing religion. Although quite a number of *stūpas* were discovered in Sumatra, no early examples have so far been traced. However, the thick tropical forests covering the island may

well still be hiding them, for in view of the early Buddha image found on the Bukit Sĕguntang near Palembang,[51] early *stūpas* must have existed as well.[52] In contrast to the Javanese *stūpas* which are constructed in stone, those of Sumatra are usually built of burnt bricks. While Sumberawan was standing all by itself,[53] the *stūpas* in Sumatra were often part of a large complex. For instance at Si Pamutung, Si Joreng Bĕlanga and Biaro Bahal No. I - all in Padang Lawas - a rectangular courtyard contained a number of buildings one of which was a *stūpa* while the others were temples or *maṇḍapas*.[54] The same was the case at Muara Takus on the river Kampar in Central Sumatra,[55] but here the courtyard contained at least four fairly large *stūpas* (fig. 16). Caṇḍi Bungsu consisted of a rectangular platform with two pedestals (fig. 17). That on the left supported a large *stūpa* surrounded by eight smaller ones, while that on the right carried a base on which a single large *stūpa* was standing. The third *stūpa* at Muara Takus is called Caṇḍi Tua and the fourth is the Maligai which is the tallest and best preserved building of its kind in Sumatra (pl. XXII, 6).[56] In ancient times it was enlarged by encasing it - a well-known devotional act in Buddhist countries. The elegant tower-like structure is built of brick and decorated with ornamentations in creme-coloured sandstone. Its cylindrical body rests on a lotus-pedestal which lies on a twenty-eight-sided base supported by a square platform. Towards the top the cylinder becomes bulbous. It is crowned by a *stūpa*-shaped element decorated with seated lions. In other Sumatran *stūpas*, for instance that at Si Joreng Bĕlanga in Padang Lawas, the top originally carried images of the four Dhyāni-Buddhas or Jinas facing the four cardinal points.[57]

The shape of the Maligai *stūpa* strongly resembles that of a group of small monolithic monuments of which at least seventeen have so far been discovered at various Buddhist sites in Padang Lawas.[58] Schnitger, who discussed a number of them in 1936 called them *stambhas*[59] but they are obviously small *stūpas* similar to those of Central Java mentioned previously. The most complete example was found near Biaro Bahal No. I (fig. 18).[60] The elongated *aṇḍa* is always supported by a circular base as at Bĕdulu in Bali. In the specimen discovered at Biaro Bahal No. I the pedestal in the shape of a Greek cross is still present but it is more usually missing. The finest of all is that of Si Joreng Bĕlanga. Its pedestal - once more in the shape of a Greek cross[61] - is decorated with lovely scrolls and small panels depicting musicians and dancers. The *aṇḍa* is 84 cms. high (pl. XXII, 7) and shows the same swelling towards the top as the Maligai *stūpa* (pl. XXII, 6). It has beautiful decorative bands and though the finial on top is unfortunately missing, four small Jina images seated in niches have been preserved. As in the case of some of the large *stūpas*, this element recurs in several of these small monuments.[62] The example discovered at Si Longgong is unusual in that it has Tārās in the four niches.[63]

The *stūpa* of Si Soldop[64] takes the shape of a naturalistic phallus,

which emphasizes its syncretistic, or rather tāntric character (pl. XXII, 8). Here *stūpa* and *liṅga* are obviously one and the same. As in Java, the Buddhism of Sumatra in this later period was strongly influenced by Tāntrism. This is clear from inscriptions dealing with tāntric rites[65] and the discovery in 1930 of a fine image of Heruka in Biaro Bahal No. II, Padang Lawas,[66] and that of an impressive Buddhist Bhairava figure probably representing King Ādityavarman (1356-1375 A.D.) found at Padang Roco in Sungei Langsat.[67]

From the above I think it is clear that the miniature *stūpas* of Sumatra continue the tradition of the small *liṅga-stūpas* of Central Java discussed earlier on. As in Java they were probably funerary monuments. It is interesting to note that in Sumatra the large, free standing *stūpas* and the small *liṅga-stūpas* have the same elongated *aṇḍa*. This uniformity might seem to be rather logical as both classes of monuments are *stūpas*, be it large and small. However, the only free standing Javanese *stūpa* of roughly the same period of which we know the shape - that of Sumberawan - does not show the elongated *aṇḍa* of the earlier, Central Javanese *liṅga-stūpas* or for that matter of the Sumatran *stūpas*, large or small.

To which date should all these *stūpas* in Sumatra be attributed? In 1931 Krom dated the Maligai in the 8th or 9th century[68] but this is obviously far too early in view of all the other material discovered in Padang Lawas. We already pointed out that the Maligai (pl. XXII, 6) strongly resembles the *liṅga-stūpa* of Si Joreng Bělanga (pl. XXII, 7). In 1935 Schnitger found an inscription at this site dated A.D. 1179.[69] Leaving aside the well-known Lokanātha from Gunung Tua dated in A.D. 1039 of which the exact provenance is unknown,[70] the inscription from Si Joreng Bělanga is the earliest dated epigraph discovered at any of these later Buddhist sites in Sumatra. An inscription excavated by IJzerman in 1889[71] from the body of a *stūpa* standing in the same courtyard as the Maligai, was attributed by Bosch to the 12th or 13th century on the basis of its palaeography.[72] For certain reasons which I cannot discuss in detail, Schnitger believed that this still leaves open the possibility that the Maligai was constructed in the 11th century.[73] If this is so, that would in any case be its very earliest possible date. Unfortunately the available material from Sumatra is very limited and the published details are insufficient to allow us to arrange all these large and small *stūpas* in a chronological sequence. We can merely say in general that they probably date from the period between the 11th and the 14th centuries.

So far we have confined our discussion almost exclusively to free standing *stūpas* which were objects of worship or funerary monuments. However, the *stūpa* could also act as an architectural motif. We already mentioned in passing the seventy-two bell-shaped *stūpas* on the three circular terraces of Barabuḍur (pl. XXII, 2). In addition to that 1472 *stūpas* occur on the balustrades of the lower galleries as ornamental decora-

tions.[74] Apart from being symbols in their own right and at the same time contributing to the overall symbolism of Barabuḍur as a whole,[75] the additional function of all these *stūpas* is that of an architectural motif in the same way as on the roofs of other Buddhist monuments in Central Java such as Caṇḍi Pawon, Caṇḍi Mendut, Caṇḍi Kalasan or the numerous chapels surrounding Caṇḍi Sèwu (fig. 19). In all these cases the roof was surmounted by a dome consisting of a bell-shaped *stūpa* surrounded by small *stūpas* (pl. XXII, 9).

Many of the Buddhist shrines in Padang Lawas such as the main shrine at Si Pamutung, had similar roofs (fig. 20). As in Caṇḍi Kalasan the top often rose from a square to an octagon which was surmounted by a circular *stūpa*-dome and as in Central Java smaller *stūpas* frequently surrounded the central dome.[76] However, the exact shape of these roofs and their *stūpas* is unfortunately not known as a result of the ruinous condition of these brick monuments.

We do, however, know the form of the crowning *stūpa*-dome of Caṇḍi Jawi situated at the foot of Mount Wĕlirang in Eastern Java (fig. 21).[77] This building was one of the two funerary shrines of King Kṛtanagara (1268-1292 A.D.) who was a great devotee of Tāntrism and so his two mausolea were at the same time both Buddhist and Śaiva temples. In fact, one of them was called Śivabuddhaloka or Śivabuddhālaya,[78] i.e. the abode of Śiva-Buddha, which was Kṛtanagara's posthumus name.[79] The rather squat *stūpa*-dome of Caṇḍi Jawi is pot-shaped and does not have a straight side as the *aṇḍa* of Sumberawan. Does this imply that Sumberawan is earlier or later than Jawi, i.e. the end of the 13th century? The matter is complicated by the fact that we know from the Nāgarakṛtāgama that the temple was struck by lightning in A.D. 1331[80] after which it was probably restored in the following year.[81] Although it is unlikely that the shape of the roof was changed at that time, we cannot be absolutely certain, so it would seem prudent not to draw any conclusions regarding the date of Sumberawan from a comparison of its shape with that of the *stūpa*-dome on top of Caṇḍi Jawi.

Purely Buddhist temples are rare in the Eastern Javanese period. An interesting case is Caṇḍi Jabung in Pasuruhan, built in A.D. 1354 (pl. XXII, 10).[82] It was the funerary shrine of one of the deceased members of the royal family and in ancient days it was known by the name of Vajrajinaparamitāpura.[83] In contrast to the usual groundplan of the Eastern Javanese sanctuaries which is either square or rectangular, that of Caṇḍi Jabung is circular. However, it is not a *stūpa* in the real sense of the word as it can be entered and therefore is a temple. In this connection it should be remembered that the *stūpa* as such, is a symbolical representation of the Buddha.[84] In fact, not only is the *stūpa* equated with the Master but he is actually supposed to be present inside, an idea clearly demonstrated in one of the reliefs on Barabuḍur (fig. 22).[85] Comparable

representations can be found in some of the caves at Ajaṇṭā[86] and Elūrā.[87] perhaps Caṇḍi Jabung is a similar case in a developed form, for although constructed as a temple which could be entered, its shape could suggest that it was at the same time considered to be a *stūpa*.[88]

So far we have been discussing the shape and its development in ancient Indonesian *stūpas*, in short their outward appearance. What about their hidden meaning or symbolism? This was no doubt exactly the same as everywhere else. For the various parts of the international Buddhist world were in close contact with one another. Monks and teachers travelled far and wide, and the Indonesian Buddhists were no exception. This is proved by the fact that in the first half of the 9th century King Bālaputra of Śrīvijaya built a monastery for Indonesian pilgrims and scholars at Nālandā, the internationally famous centre of Buddhist learning in Bihār.[89] Later on, in the early 11th century one of Bālaputra's successors founded a monastery for his countrymen at Nāgīpaṭṭana or Negapatam on the southeast coast of India.[90] In view of these continual, close, international contacts the interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the *stūpa* was undoubtedly the same in Indonesia as on the mainland.

In one respect Indonesia stands apart, for it was on Indonesian soil that Barabuḍur, the greatest of all *stūpas*, was built - not perhaps the greatest by way of measurements, for enormous *stūpas* were also constructed in India[91] and Śrī Laṅkā[92] - but the greatest from the point of view of symbolism (pl. XXII, 1).[93] A full discussion of this aspect of Barabuḍur is far beyond the scope of this paper. It may suffice here to state that every part of this marvellous building down to the minutest details of its shape and decoration such as, for instance, the different types of its gargoyles, have an obvious symbolical meaning. No *stūpa* in the whole Buddhist world achieves such an astounding perfection in the superhuman task of representing the Doctrine as well as the universe in an architectural composition and - even more difficult, if not practically impossible - of expressing in a visible form the great mystery of spiritual enlightenment.

Notes and references

1 Gonda, J., The Indian Religions in pre-Islamic Indonesia and their Survival in Bali. In: Handbuch der Orientalistik, Dritte Abt., Kähler, H., ed., Indonesien, Malaysia und die Philippinen unter Einschluß der Kap-Malaien in Südafrika, Zweiter Band, Religionen, Abschnitt 1, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, pp. 1-54, esp. pp. 6-8.

2 See footnotes 12-15. In addition: Stutterheim, W.F., Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java in Beeld, Weltevreden: Java-Instituut en G. Kolff & Co., 1926, p. 40, figs. 50-51; van Erp, Th., Nieuwenkamp's nieuwe Kijk op den Boroboedoer - geen Stoepa doch een steenen Lotus, gebouwd op een Eiland? In: Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw 16 (1931), pp. 237-254, esp. pp. 249-253, figs. 8-9; Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur, 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 5 vols., 1920-1931, Plate Vol. III, Afd. 1, pl. 42, figs. b-c (the vertical cross-sections of these two *stūpas* were accidentally exchanged) and Afd. 7, pl. 200, figs. c-d.

3 Juynboll, H.H., Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, V, Javaansche Oudheden, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1909, p. 151, No. 1630/39 (wrongly described as a mould for a ritual bell); Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 [1919], pp. 100-101; van Römondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan bij Singosari. In: Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Rapporten 1938, No. 2, Batavia, 1940, pp. 5-28, esp. p. 20, note 6 and pl. 45, D. Of the first two the provenance is unknown; the third was found at Bojolali.

4 For the location of the various sites mentioned in this article see Map.

5 Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ageless Borobudur - Buddhist Mystery in Stone - Decay and Restoration - Mendut and Pawon - Folklife in Ancient Java, Katwijk aan Zee: Servire, 1976, p. 11.

6 Idem, p. 53.

7 Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E., The Dvārapāla of Barabuḍur - New Evidence for the Date at which the Construction of the Monument was started, paper read at the International Conference on Barabuḍur, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 16-17 May 1974, to be published in the proceedings entitled: Barabuḍur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument, Woodward Jr., H.W. ed.

8 Krom. N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2), II. Bouwkundige Beschrijving, pp. 284-304, Plate Vol. III, Afd. 1, plts. 44-46.

9 Idem, Plate Vol. III, Afd. 1, pl. 44, fig. m.

10 Idem, Plate Vol. III, Afd. 1, pl. 44, figs. a-c.

11 Idem, Plate Vol. III, Afd. 1, pl. 45, figs. c-d.

12 Oudheidkundig Verslag 1924 (1925), p. 106; Stutterheim, W.F., Voorloopige Inventaris der Oudheden van Bali. In: Oudheidkundig Verslag 1925 (1926), pp. 150-170, esp. p. 165; Nieuwenkamp, W.O.J. Iets over de Klei-stoepa's van Pedjeng op Bali. In: Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw 10 (1925), pp. 207-210; Stutterheim, W.F., Oudheden van Bali, vol. I, Het oude Rijk van Pedjeng, 2 vols., Singaradja: Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk, 1929-1930, I, Tekst, pp. 105-106, II, Platen, fig. 3.

13 Uittreksel uit de Oudheidkundige Verslagen over 1931-1935, (1938), p. 17, pl. 13.

14 Lamb, A., Mahayana Buddhist Votive Tablets in Perlis. In: Journal Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 37 pt. 2, (1964), p. 59.

15 Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ageless Borobudur (see footnote 5), p. 16 and pl. 12.

16 See footnote 3.

17 Stutterheim, W.F., Enkele Oudheden van Bali. In: Djawa 16 (1936), pp. 74-87, esp. pp. 77-82 and figs. 2-3, 7; Bernet Kempers, A.J., Monumental Bali - Introduction to Balinese Archaeology - Guide to the Monuments, den Haag: van Goor Zonen, no date, pp. 131-133, plts. 79-81.

18 Stutterheim, W.F., Enkele Oudheden van Bali (see footnote 17), p. 78.

19 Ibidem.

20 Marshall, J., Taxila - an illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934, 3 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951, I, Structural Remains, p. 361, III, Plates, pl. 95, b; Marshall, J., A Guide to Taxila, 4th ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960, pl. XVII.

21 Marshall, J., Taxila (see footnote 20), I, p. 373, III, pl. 110, a.

22 See the contribution in this publication by Roth, G., Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa according to the Tibetan Version of the Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra, the Sanskrit Treatise Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana, and a corresponding Passage in Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgraha, § 4.

23 Stutterheim, W.F., De Oudheden-collectie Resink-Wilkens. In: Djawa 14 (1934), pp. 167-197, esp. p. 187, No. C. 139; Stutterheim, W.F., Een bronzen Stūpa. In: Djawa 19 (1939), pp. 138-141.

24 Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2), II. Bouwkundige Beschrijving, pp. 285-286.

25 Idem, relief I.B.a.366 reproduced in Plate Vol. I, Afd. 5, pl. XLI, fig. 366.

26 Bosch, F.D.K., De Oudheden te Palgading. In: Oudheidkundig Verslag 1925 (1926), pp. 61-66, plts. 15-20; see also Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2), Plate Vol. III, Afd. 7, pl. 202.

27 Bosch, F.D.K., De Oudheden te Palgading (see footnote 26), p. 66.

28 A similar chronological development in the shape of the *stūpa* can be noticed in other Buddhist countries, see Marchal, H., Note sur la forme du stūpa au Cambodge. In: Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient XLIV (1954), pp. 580-590.

28a Bernet Kempers, A.J., Herstel in eigen Waarde - Monumentenzorg in Indonesië, Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1978, p. 173.

29 Oudheidkundig Verslag 1929 (1930), p. 8; Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen Jaarboek V (1938), pp. 110-113.

30 Uittreksel uit de Oudheidkundige Verslagen over 1931-1935 (see footnote 13), p. 17.

31 Oudheidkundig Verslag 1936 (1937), p. 9, figs. 20-21; Oudheidkundig Verslag 1938 (1939), p. 7, fig. 8.

32 Krom, N.J., Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst, 3 vols., 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1923, I, pp. 255-257.

33 Idem, I, p. 256.

34 Bénisti, M., Étude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne. In: Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient L (1960), pp. 37-116, esp. pp. 48-53; Roth, G., Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa (see footnote 22), § 10.

35 Gonda, J., The Indian Religions in pre-Islamic Indonesia (see footnote 1), pp. 33-36.

36 Idem, p. 33.

37 Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2), II, Bouwkundige Beschrijving, p. 302.

38 Van Erp, Th., Nieuwenkamp's nieuwe Kijk op den Boroboedoer (see footnote 2), p. 249.

39 Ibidem.

40 Krom, N.J., Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst (see footnote 32), II, pp. 320-321; Krom, N.J., De Beteekenis van Tjandi Djadi. In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 80 (1924), pp. 447-450; Stutterheim, W.F., Tjaṇḍi Dadi een "Tower of Silence"? In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 81 (1925), pp. 543-551.

41 Van Stein Callenfels, P.V., Tjaṇḍi Dadi. In: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde LXXIV (1934), p. 624.

42 Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera 1904 (1906), p. 9, pl. 63.

43 Pigeaud, Th.G.Th., Java in the 14th Century - A Study in Cultural History - The Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D., 5 vols., The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960-1963, III, p. 39, canto 35, stanza 4. See also Stutterheim, W.F., Iets over den oorspronkelijken Naam van Tjandi Soemberawan. In: Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Rapporten 1938, No. 2, Batavia, 1940, Bijlage B, pp. 29-31.

44 Van Romondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan (see footnote 3).

45 Idem, pl. 1; Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art, Amsterdam: van der Peet, 1959, pl. 240.

46 Van Romondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan (see footnote 3), pl. 21.

47 Idem, pp. 23-28, esp. p. 27.

48 Stutterheim, W.F., Beschrijving der gevonden Terracotta-fragmenten. In: Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Raporten 1938, No. 2, Batavia, 1940, Bijlage C., pp. 32-34.

49 Idem, p. 34.

50 De Casparis, J.G., De Dateering der Teekens op de Tempelsteenen van Tjandi Soemberawan. In: Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Rapporten 1938, No. 2, Batavia, 1940, Bijlage D, p. 35.

51 Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Palembang, Bijlage C, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936, pl. I; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937, pl. opp. p. 1 and pl. I; Schnitger, F.M., Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1939, pl. I, fig. 1.

52 The "two small, sandstone *stūpas*" on the Bukit Seguntang mentioned by Schnitger of which he gives no details, could possibly be early, see Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. 3. Another *stūpa* discovered in 1960 of which we have not yet seen an illustration, has since been destroyed, see Bronson, B., The Archaeology of Sumatra and the Problem of Srivijaya. In: Early South East Asia - Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography, Smith, R.B., and Watson, W., eds., New York - Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 395-405, esp. p. 402.

53 The *stūpa* of Caṇḍi Dadi was probably standing in a walled courtyard and surrounded by a few smaller monuments, see Krom, N.J., Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst (see footnote 32), II, p. 321.

54 Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra. In: Oudheidkundig Verslag 1930 (1931), pp. 133-157, pl. VI; Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936, plts. XVI-XVII; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), plts. XXX and XXXII.

55 IJzerman, J.W., Beschrijving van de Boeddhistische Bouwwerken te Moeara Takoes. In: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde XXXV (1893), pp. 48-74; Schnitger, F.M., Vondsten te Moeara Takoes. In: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde LXXVI (1936), pp. 331-332; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), pp. 11-12.

56 For other illustrations see Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), plts. XVIII-XIX; Schnitger, F.M., Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra (see footnote 51), pl. V. The upper part of the reconstruction drawings of the Maligai *stūpa* in the publications mentioned in footnotes 55-56 are fanciful and unreliable.

57 Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. 20.

58 Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas (see footnote 54), pp. 28-29; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. 32, notes 79 and 80; van Erp, Th., Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas (Tapanuli Residentship) Sumatra. In: Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology XIV for the year 1939 (1941), pp. 13-20, esp. pp. 18-20 and plts. III, fig. c and IV.

59 Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas (see footnote 54), p. 28 and captions of plts. IV, IX, XII; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. 20 and captions of plts. XXV-XXVI, XXXIV bottom right, XXXVIII top centre, XXXIX, XLII top.

60 Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra (see footnote 54), pl. 35, fig. c; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), pl. XXXVIII top centre.

61 Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas (see footnote 54), pl. VI; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), pl. XXV.

62 For instance in that discovered at Parsaramahan, see van Erp, Th., Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas (see footnote 58).

63 Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas (see footnote 54) pl. IV; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), pl. XXVI top.

64 The captions of pl. XII in Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas (see footnote 54) have inadvertedly been exchanged. The *liṅga-stūpa* of Si Soldop is depicted on the right.

65 In particular the inscriptions from Suroasa and Kubur Raja, see Moens, J.L., Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste Bloeiperiode. In: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde LXIV (1924), pp. 521-579, esp. pp. 558-579.

66 Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra (see footnote 54), pl. 41; Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art (see footnote 45), pl. 228.

67 Moens, J.L., Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra (see footnote 65), plts. after p. 556; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. X and plts. XIII-XVI; Schnitger, F.M., Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra (see footnote 51), pl. III; Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art (see footnote 45), pl. 259.

68 Krom, N.J., Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931, p. 133.

69 Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. 21.

70 Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas (see footnote 54), pl. XI; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), p. 32, pl. XL bottom; Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art (see footnote 45), p. 69, pl. 197. Its date, formerly read as A.D. 1024, was corrected by Damais, L.-Ch., Études d'épigraphie indonésienne. In: Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient XLVII (1955), pp. 7-290, esp. pp. 207-208.

71 IJzerman, J.W., Beschrijving van de Boeddhistische Bouwwerken te Moeara Takoes (see footnote 55), p. 59.

72 Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra (see footnote 54), p. 149.

73 Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), pp. 11-12.

74 Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ageless Borobudur (see footnote 5), p. 172.

75 Idem, chapters 12-17, pp. 151-187.

76 Van Stein Callenfels, P.V., Rapport over een Dienstreis door een deel van Sumatra. In: Oudheidkundig Verslag 1920 (1920-21), pp. 62-75, pl. 7; Verslag van Dr. P.V. van Stein Callenfels over zijn Inspectiereis door Sumatra. In: Oudheidkundig Verslag 1925 (1926), pl. 5, a; Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra (see footnote 54), plts. 32, 40, VII-XI; Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51), plts. XXVII, XXXI-XXXII bottom, XXXVIII bottom left, XLIII; Schnitger, F.M., Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra (see footnote 51), pl. VII top; Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art (see footnote 45), plts. 223-224.

77 Oudheidkundig Verslag 1939 (1940), p. 15, pl. 24.

78 Krom, N.J., Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis (see footnote 68), pp. 344-345, 387.

79 Idem, pp. 328-329.

80 Pigeaud, Th.G.Th., Java in the 14th Century (see footnote 43), III, p. 65, canto 57, stanza 4.

81 Oudheidkundig Verslag 1939 (1940), p. 16.

82 Krom, N.J., Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst (see footnote 32), II, pp. 196-203, III, pl. 70. For the date of its construction see Krom, N.J., Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis (see footnote 68), p. 423.

83 Pigeaud, Th.G.Th., Java in the 14th Century (see footnote 43), IV, p. 87.

84 Bénisti, M., Étude sur le stūpa (see footnote 34), pp. 48-53; Shorto, H., The Stupa as Buddha Icon in South East Asia. In: Watson, W., ed., Mahayanist Art after A.D. 900 (Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia 2), London, 1972, pp. 75-81. See also the contributions by Ebert, Roth and Seckel in the present publication.

85 Relief IV.13. The photograph shows more clearly than the line-drawing that the Buddha is represented as sitting inside the *stūpa*, see Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2), Plate Vol. II, Afd. 12, pl. VII, fig. 13; see also Photograph Archaeological Service No. 1065 reproduced in van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E., The Dhyāni-Buddhas of Barabuḍur. In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 121 (1965), pp. 389-416, pl. 4.

86 Caves XIX and XXVI, see Zimmer, H., The Art of Indian Asia - Its Mythology and Transformations, 2 vols., New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1955, II, plts. 180, 183.

87 Idem, II, plts. 196-197.

88 Could the strange Potgul Vehera at Polonnaruva with its unique, round shape possibly be a similar building? See Paranavitana, S. Civilisation of the Polonnaru Period: Religion, Literature and Art. In: Ray, H.C., ed., University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon, 3 vols., Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959-1973, I, pt. II, p. 600.

39 Majumdar, R.C., The Pālas. In: The History and Culture of the Indian People, Majumdar, R.C., ed., 11 vols., Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, IV, 1955, p. 52.

90 Idem, p. 237.

91 Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E., South-East Asian Architecture and the Stūpa of Nandangaṛh. In: Artibus Asiae XIX (1956), pp. 279-290.

92 Paranavitana, S., Civilisation of the Early Period: Religion and Art. In: Ray, H.C., ed., University of Ceylon - History of Ceylon (see footnote 88), I, pt. I, pp. 258-262.

93 Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ageless Borobudur (see footnote 5), chapters 12-17, pp. 151-187.

List of figures

1 Votive *stūpas* from Bali (left) and Java (right) (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

2 Pot-shaped *stūpa* depicted in relief IV.B.33 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

3 Bell-shaped *stūpa* depicted in relief I.B.a.274 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J., and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

4 Pot-shaped *stūpa* with five *chattras* in a shrine depicted in relief II.45 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

5 Bell-shaped *stūpa* with eleven *chattras* in a shrine depicted in relief II. 98 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

6 Part of a rock-cut relief at Bĕdulu, Bali, showing a pot-shaped *stūpa* with thirteen *chattras* (Stutterheim, W.F., Enkele Oudheden van Bali - see footnote 17).

7 Fragments of a rock-cut relief at Bĕdulu, Bali (Bernet Kempers, A.J., Monumental Bali - see footnote 17).

8 Bronze reliquary casket in the shape of a *stūpa* with twenty-two *chattras* (Stutterheim, W.F., Een bronzen Stūpa - see footnote 23).

9 Van Erp's drawing of the *stūpa* depicted in relief I.B.a.366 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2 - Plate Vol. III, Afd. 1, pl. 44, fig. b).

10 Actual shape of the *stūpa* depicted in relief I.B.a.366 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabodur - see footnote 2 - Plate Vol. I, Afd. 5, pl. XLI).

11 The two *stūpas* at Palgading (Bosch, F.D.K., De Oudheden te Palgading - see footnote 26).

12 One of the small *stūpas* of Caṇḍi Kalasan (Van Romondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan - see footnote 3).

13 The *liṅga-stūpa* from Mulungan (Van Romondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan - see footnote 3).

14 The *liṅga-stūpa* from Tugurejo (Van Romondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan - see footnote 3).

15 Reconstruction drawing of the *stūpa* at Sumberawan (Van Romondt, V.R, De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan - see footnote 3).

16 Plan of Muara Takus (Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra - see footnote 51).

17 Caṇḍi Bungsu, Muara Takus (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

18 The *liṅga-stūpa* from Biaro Bahal No. I, Padang Lawas (Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra - see footnote 54).

19 Arrangement of *stūpas* on the roofs of 1. Caṇḍi Pawon; 2. chapel of Caṇḍi Sĕwu; 3. Caṇḍi Mendut; 4. Caṇḍi Kalasan (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

20 The main shrine at Si Pamutung, Padang Lawas (Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra - see footnote 51).

21 *Stūpa* crowning the roof of Caṇḍi Jawi (Van Romondt, V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan - see footnote 3).

22 Buddha seated inside a *stūpa* depicted in relief IV.13 of Barabuḍur (Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur - see footnote 2).

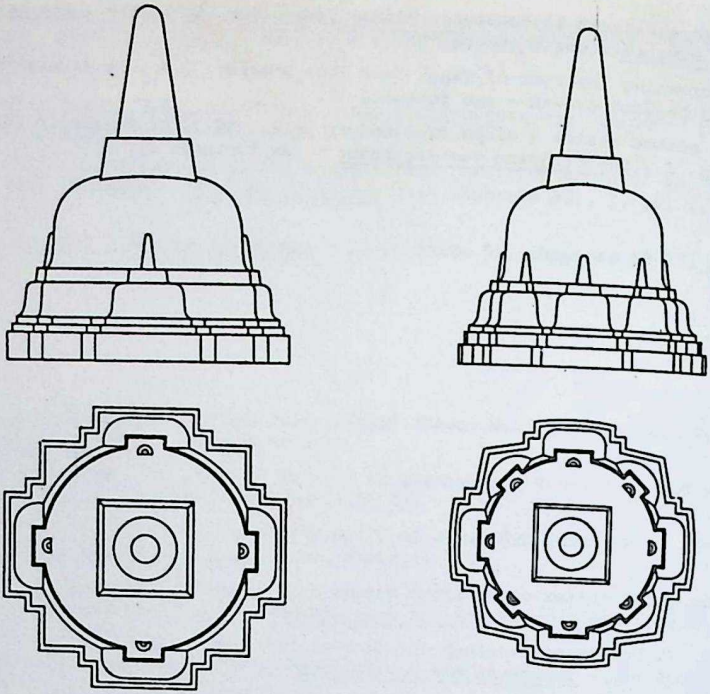


fig. 1

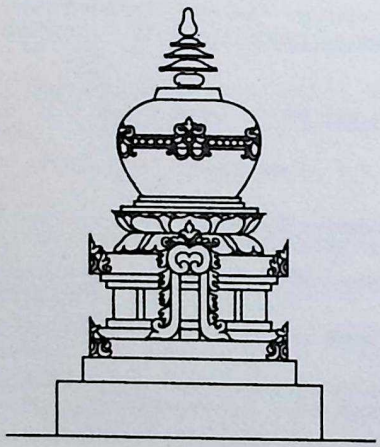


fig. 2

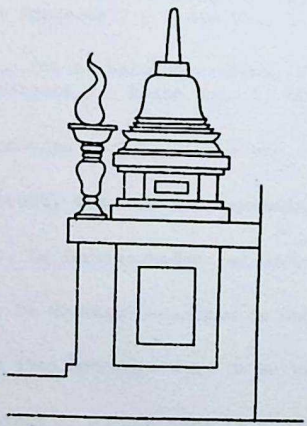


fig. 3

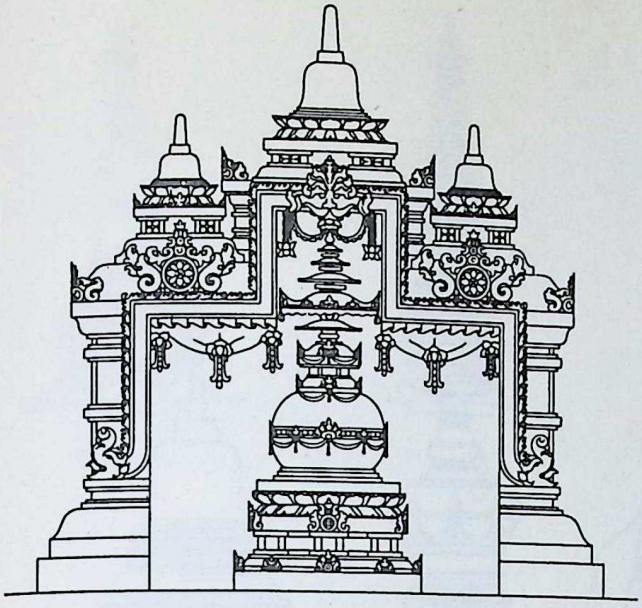


fig. 4

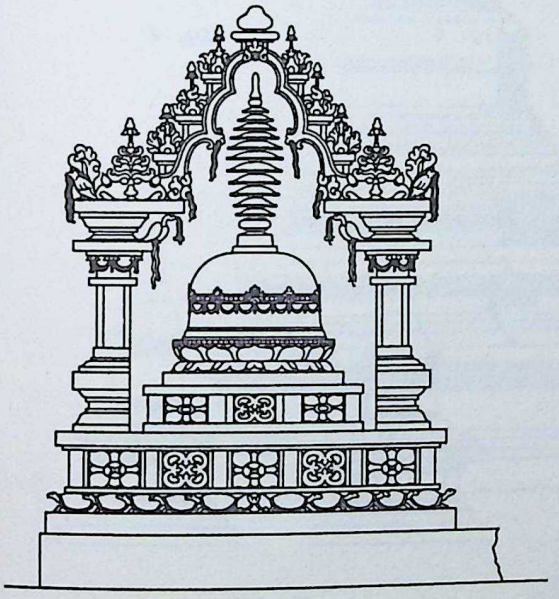


fig. 5

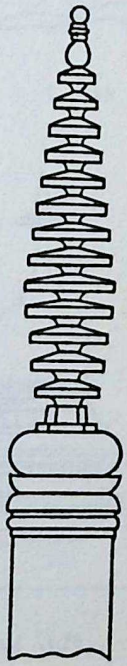


fig. 6

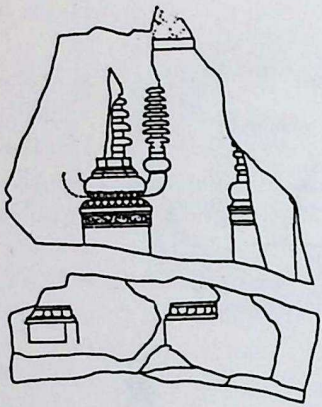


fig. 7

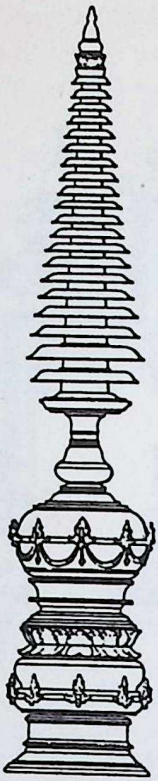


fig. 8

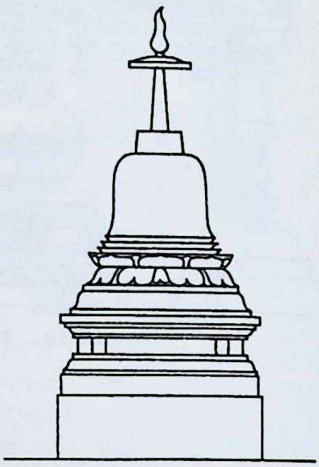


fig. 9

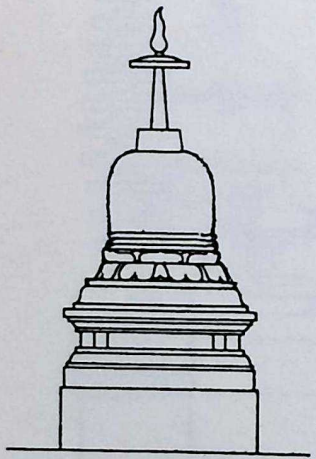
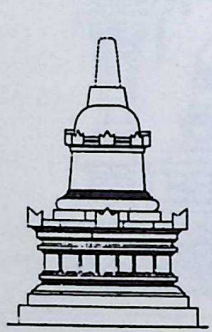


fig. 10



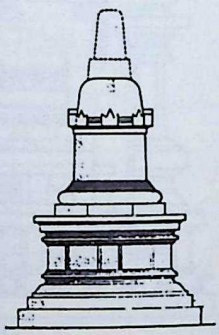


fig. 11

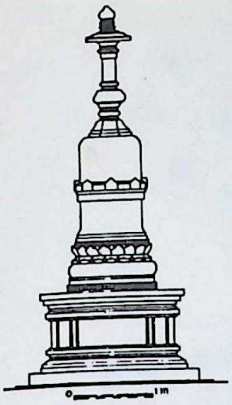


fig. 12

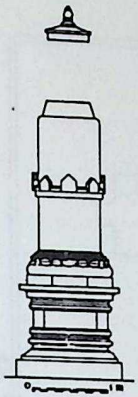


fig. 13

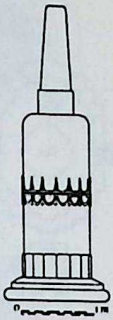


fig. 14

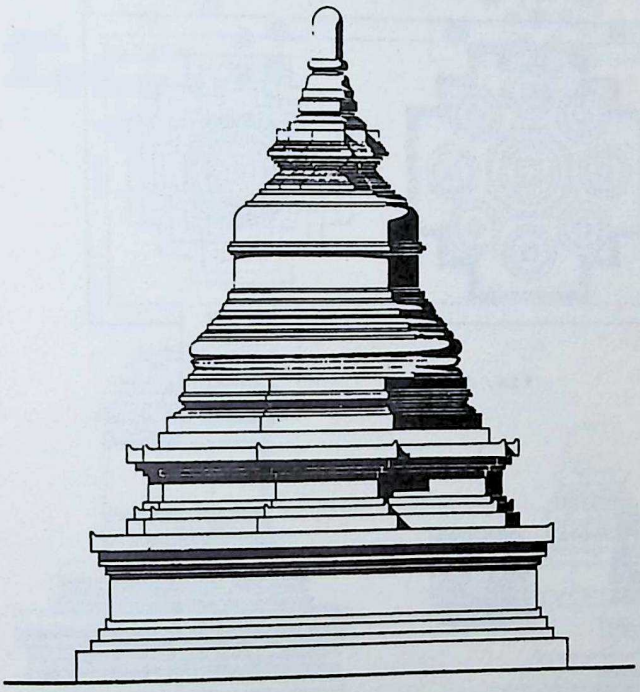


fig. 15

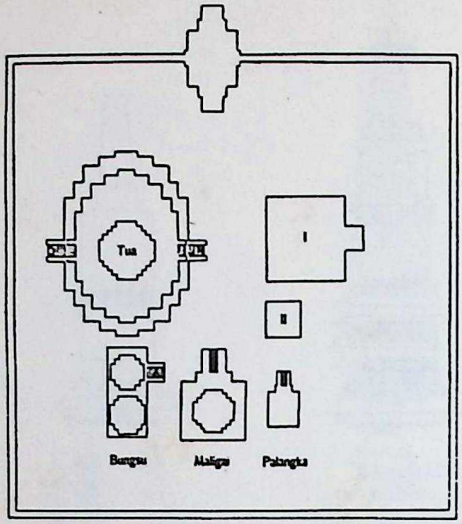


fig. 16

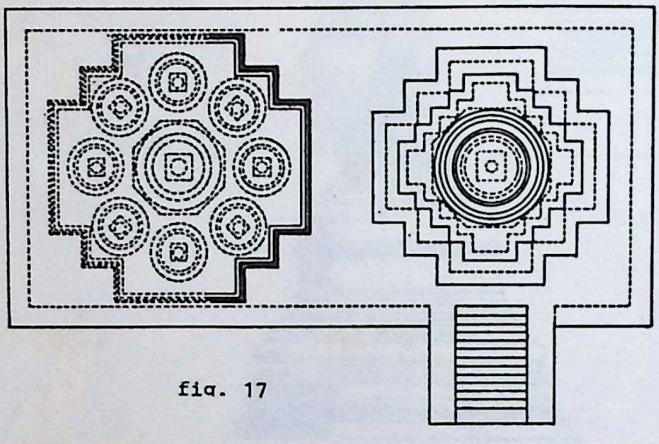


fig. 17

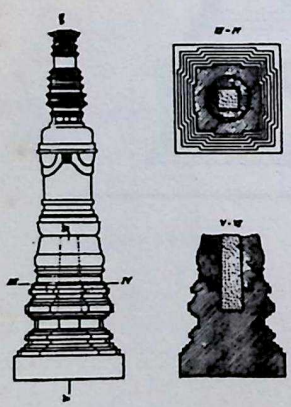


fig. 18

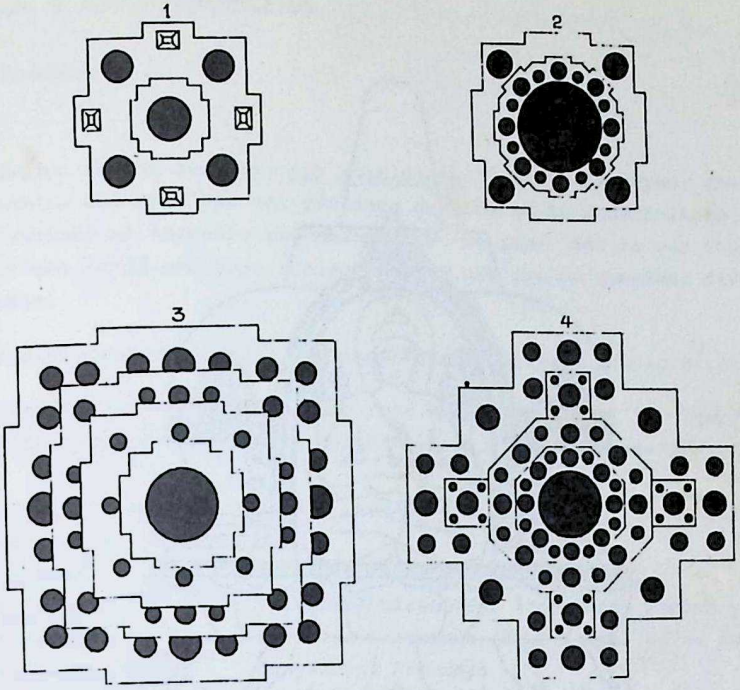


fig. 19

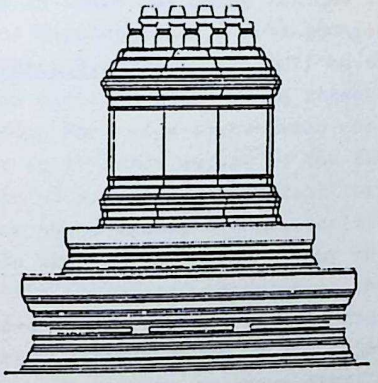


fig. 20

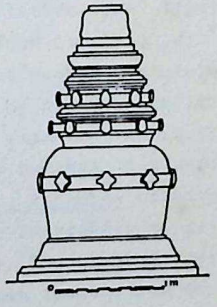


fig. 21

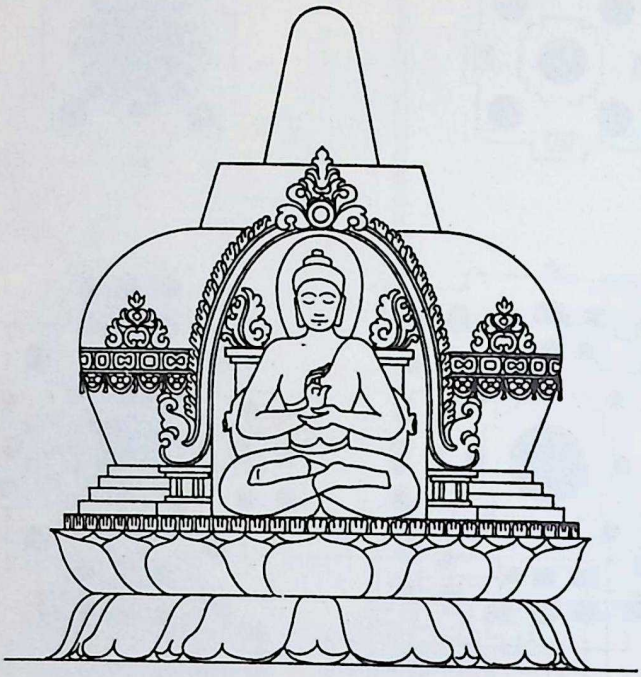


fig. 22

BOROBUDUR: A NEW INTERPRETATION

Lokesh Chandra

Borobudur is the monument par excellence of the Śailendras. The type of Śailendra Buddhism has not yet been determined in a definitive manner. From a variety of evidence assembled here, we find that it was the Buddhism of the *caryā* and *yoga tantras*, which are two of the four divisions of *tantras*.

1. Four divisions of *tantras* and their distinguishing characteristics

The *tantras* are classified into four broad divisions: (i) *kriyā-tantras*, (ii) *caryā-tantras*, (iii) *yoga-tantras*, and (iv) *annutara-yogatantras*.

1.1 Each division is presided over by a distinctly differentiated Buddha. They are as follows:

kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus
caryā-tantras	Vairocanābhisambodhi (one face, *dhyāna mudra*)
yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana (four faces, *cakra* in hand)
anuttara yogi tantras	Guhysamāja Akṣobhya
anuttara yoginī tantras	Cakrasaṁvara

1.2 Every division has its fundamental and explanatory *tantras*. As the Borobudur pertains to the *yoga-tantras*, so we will detail them only. The teaching of the *yoga* division of *tantras* is set forth in "two works, the fundamental tantra Tattvasaṅgraha (Toh. 479), and the explanatory tantra Vajraśekhara (Toh. 480). They have primary commentaries by three men who are famed in India as being learned in yoga, namely, Śākyamitra, Buddhaguhya, and Ānandagarbha".[1] Buddhaguhya, who wrote the fundamental commentary Tantrārthāvatāra (Toh. 2501) on the Tattvasaṅgraha lived in the middle of the eighth century as is attested by his letter (Toh. 4194) to the Tibetan King Khri-sron-ldeḥu-btsan who reigned from A.D. 755. His date is important as it lends weight to the fact that the eighth century was the golden age of *yoga-tantras*, a fact corroborated by other historic events.

1.3 The third specific characteristic of the *yoga-tantras* is that its *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is surrounded by the Thousand Buddhas. A glance over the complete set of 132 *maṇḍalas* of the Rgyed-sde kun-btus comprising all the classes of the *tantras* reveals that only the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* has the Thousand Buddhas shown in the outer enceinte. The Tibetan *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, which follows to every detail the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit original, is the classical *maṇḍala*, and it has 1037 (1000 + 37) deities.[2]

1.4 Among the fundamentals of tantric realisation were the Generation of the Residence[3] (*ādhārotpatti*) and the Invitation to the deities to be

Resident (*ādheya*) therein. The *ādhāra* was in the form of a four-sided Sumeru mountain, above it a canopy (*vitāna*), on top of the canopy the *kūṭagāra* 'eaved palace' and within it seats for the deities. The first five stories are the five terraces of the Sumeru mountain. In the worship of *maṇḍala*, the first step is evocation of the Sumeru, which is *ādhārotpatti* or generation of the residence, for the *ādheya* or the deities who are invoked to take abode therein. A three-storied eaved palace rests in the clouds atop Sumeru. This is the *kūṭāgāra* of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, and the three-storied *campana* of the Gyantse Kumbum, which is specially notable for its adherence to the injunctions of the Classical tantric texts in minute details of architectural form. For instance, the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta which is a fundamental text for the construction of *maṇḍalas*, makes it clear that *maṇḍalas* were situated in a *kūṭāgāra* or pavillion atop the Sumeru mountain, with the main deity in the centre and others in their appropriate placements (p. 8, 26, 42 *sumerūpari*, *sumerumūrdhni* 'on the summit of Sumeru').

1.5 The fifth important characteristic was that earlier elements were integrated into the scheme of *yoga-tantras*, whether it be literature, a painted scroll, or an architectural *maṇḍala*. For example, the entire path of temporal evolution of the manifestation of Buddhism was not disregarded, but was mirrored in the structural systematisation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and it was reduced to writing by Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub and by others who followed him. It is now available to us in the English translation of Mkhas-grub-rjes[4] fundamentals of the *tantras* by Prof. D. Lessing and Alexander Wayman, a work whose potential is yet to be realized for the history of the development of Buddhism. He sets forth the development into three *yānas*: the position of the *śrāvakas* the teachings of the *pāramitā* school in four stages, and finally the teachings of the *mantra* school again in four stages. Mkhas-grub-rje's masterly analysis is a sine qua non to understand the philosophical moorings and ritualistic context of the Borobudur which integrates in stone the same path of ascension: *śrāvaka-yāna*--Karmavibhaṅga, *jātakas* and *avadānas* of Śākyamuni; *pāramita-yāna*--Avataṁsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī); *mantra-yāna*--Vairocana.

Kobo daishi,[5] who introduced Tantric Buddhism (*Shingon*) to Japan in the ninth century, follows the same practice in bringing together the philosophical evolution of different strata of thought leading from the earliest through the One Vehicle of Avataṁsaka to the Vajradhātu Vairocana in the *Shingon* school as Ten Stages of Spiritual Progress (not to be confused with the *daśa-bhūmi*), which are:

1. Various paths of blind life driven by instinctive impulses (the stage of common people)
2. The Vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life (the stage of Confucianism)
3. The Vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have supernatural

power (the stage of Taoism and Brahmanism)
These three (1-3) are the Wordly Vehicles.

4. The Vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha (*śrāvaka*) striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hīnayāna Schools, Abhidharmakośa and Satyasiddhi (state of direct disciples)

5. The Vehicle of the self-enlightened ones (*pratyeka-buddha*) enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism

6-7. The doctrine of Three Vehicles, holding the Three Vechicles as real (the stages of the *mādhyamika* and *yogācāra* Schools)

8-9. The doctrine holding the One Vehicle as real (the stages of the Avataṁsaka and Tendai Schools)

10. The Diamond Vehicle as held by the *Shingon* School.

1.61 The Vairocana of the *yoga-tantras* presupposes the concept of Vairocana in the Avataṁsaka. Takakusu[5] says that the Avataṁsaka is "a sūtra in which the mystic doctrine of the Buddha Mahāvairocana is minutely described". The last chapter of the Avataṁsaka is the Gaṇḍavyūha which describes the pilgrimage of young Suddhana to fiftythree worthies, both religious and secular, to "realise the principle of dharmadhātu". Thus the integral relationship of the pilgrimage of Suddhana and Vairocana go back to an early period, at the latest to the fourth century when the first Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka took place. Vairocana is the lord of the *Kusuma-tala-garbha-vyūhālaṅkāra-lokadhātu* (*Rengedai sekai*) in the Avataṁsaka and also in the Brahmajāla-sūtra (T. 21, Nj. 554) which was translated into Chinese by Shiken during A.D. 223-253. The Avataṁsaka school had two main representations of: (1) the image of Vairocana as the Buddha of this school, and (2) the narrative paintings or sculptures of the pilgrimage of Suddhana.

1.62 The Avataṁsaka is a *mahāvaipulya-sūtra*. In the Tibetan Kanjur the full title is Buddhāvataṁsaka nāma mahāvaipulya sūtra (Toh. 44). So also in the Chinese translation, which can be rendered verbatim as mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṁsaka sūtra (Nj. 87=T. 278, Nj. 88=T. 279). The full title of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T. 848= Nj. 530, Toh. 494) itself indicates that it is in direct line of development with the Avataṁsaka. In spite of its being the fundamental text of the *caryā-tantras*, its title does not bear the term *tantra*, but *vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja*: Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharmaparyāya (Toh. 494): while *vaipulya* makes it a descendant of the Avataṁsaka *sūtrendrarāja* indicates a further and higher stage of development.

2. The presence of *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia

The presence of *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia is attested by (1) quotations from the texts of the *caryā* and *yoga tantras*, (2) the iconography of the Saṁ hyaṁ Nāgabāyu and Kalpabuddha, (3) the *maṇḍala* plan

of the Chandi Sewu, (4) the Ṅañjuk bronzes, and (5) the Nāgarakṛtāgama indicates that the Budur was a yogatantric sanctuary, and finally (6) the architectural complex of the Mendut-Pawon-Borobudur itself.

2.1 The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyanan Mantranaya[6] (SHKM) is a tantric text from Indonesia, with 42 Sanskrit verses, each verse followed by an Old Javanese commentary. Following the pioneering studies of Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shiro, Prof. de Jong (1974) has demonstrated beyond doubt that the verses of SHKM are derived from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Verses a-5ab, 6-9, 16-18, 20-22 are from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T. 848, Nj. 530, Toh. 494); while verses 26-42 stem from the Adhyardhaśatikā (T. 244, Nj. 1037, Toh. 488). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra belongs to the *caryā-tantras* and the Adhyardhaśatikā to the *yoga-tantras*. The SHKM proves the presence of the *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia.

2.2 There are two more Buddhist texts: Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha. They have rightly been recognised by Bosch[7] as deriving their value by "mentioning the names of the five Dhyāni-buddhas and some of their principal attributes and characteristics". They supply us with requisite data to assign their precise division of *tantras* and also determine the manifestation of this division as a *maṇḍala*. Out of the four divisions of *tantras* there are two whose central deity is Vairocana, namely the *caryā tantras* and *yoga tantras*. The *carya-tantras* are represented by the texts of Mahāvairocana-ābhisambodhi-vikurvita-adhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja (Toh. 494 = Sino-Japanese text T. 848, Nj. 530) and the Acala-kalpa (Toh. 495). The major texts of the *yoga-tantras* are the Tattvasaṅgraha and its explanatory *tantra* entitled the Vajraśekhara. Vairocana has separate and distinctive forms in these two divisions: in the *yoga-tantras* he is in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* while in the *caryā-tantras* he is in *dhyāna mudrā*. Both these forms are clearly delineated in the Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Sino-Japanese traditions. The iconography can be seen, for instance, in the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu *maṇḍalas* of the Shingon tradition: The Vajradhātu Vairocana is in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* while the Garbhadhātu Vairocana is in the *dhyāna mudrā*. Both the Indonesian texts define the *mudrā* of Vairocana as *bodhyagrī*, which unequivocally proves that the *yoga-tantras* were prevalent in Indonesia.

2.3 Bosch identifies the Chandi Sewu as the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, by comparing the pantheon of the Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, the central *maṇḍala* of the Japanese Vajradhātu (Jap. Kongokai). But he was beset with doubts by the fact that the *mahāmaṇḍala* was only "the central square of the maṇḍala", a part of the whole, and how could a part be a gigantic monument that the Chandi Sewu is and was intended to be. It is essential to point out the circumstances in which the twin *mandalas* (Jap. genzu mandara) of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu were

taken to Japan by Kōbō daishi in A.D. 806. His master Hui-kuo had them drawn for him on two scrolls. Different versions were synthesised on these two scrolls. The Japanese Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* is not one *maṇḍala*, but it is a collection of nine *maṇḍalas*: comprising 6 types of Vajradhātu *maṇḍalas*, one Naya-*maṇḍala* and two types of Trailokyavijaya *maṇḍalas*. The three represent different subdivisions of the *yoga-tantras*. Within the *yoga-tantras*, there are two explanatory *tantras* from the *upāya* and *prajñā* standpoints. The Vajradhātu *maṇḍalas* represent the Vajraśekhara which is explanatory *tantra* from the *upāya* standpoint. The *naya-maṇḍala* represents the Naya-sūtra which is explanatory from the *prajñā* standpoint. The *Trailokya-vijaya* is explanatory from the *upāya* view of the second section (*vajra-kula*) of the Tattva-saṅgraha. In Tibet they are separate *maṇḍalas*. The most important among them is the central *maṇḍala* which is rightly termed a *daimandara* (=*mahāmaṇḍala*), and is also known as the *Jojin-ne* (*kāya-maṇḍala*) and *karma-maṇḍala* in the Japanese tradition. Originally it was not the central part of a composite *maṇḍala*, but it was the primary *maṇḍala* of the *yoga-tantras*, with an independent existence of its own. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī too it has an entity of its own.

Bosch is perfectly right in saying that Vajradhātu deities embody themselves in the Sewu complex. Though its niches have been spoiled of their invaluable bronzes, but the entire plan is a confirmation. The central temple enshrined Vairocana, while the four surrounding cellas housed the other four Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddha and their niches the *parivāra-devatās* of each of the five Tathāgatas. The east cella of Akṣobhya was the antechamber whence the devotee entered the constellation of winding structures on his circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). The deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* were represented as follows:

24	Five Tathāgatas with their attendent deities
4	*pūjā-devīs* at the four corners of the buildings
8	*pūjā-* and *saṅgraha devīs* in the medium chapel (remains of five have been laid bare)
36	

The four rows of 240 subsidiary chapels house the Thousand Buddhas. Bosch surmises that thousand means 'very many' and 240 could suffice for a Thousand Buddhas of the *Bhadrakalpa*, "the founder of the complex ... erected 'merely' 240 sancturaries for harbouring the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa". This surmise is unnecessary. Each of the 240 subsidiary chapels housed 4 of the Thousand Buddhas, thus giving a total of 240 x 4 = 960 Buddhas. It suited the architectural configuration of the chapels that one of the Thousand Buddhas be placed in the centre and three others in the niches in the three walls, while the fourth side remained empty because of the entrance portal. The balance of 40 is as follows:

36 deities in the central temple
4 deities of the elements in the corners as in the Japanese *Mahāmaṇḍala*
960 Thousand Buddhas
1000

The four deities, namely Tejas, Āpaḥ, Vāyu and Pṛithvī, are situated in the four corners of the Japanese *mahāmaṇḍala*. These statues must have been placed in the corners of the enceinte under the open sky, or vestiges of lost chapels may be exhumed in future excavations. The expression Chandi Sewu can go back to the eighth century when the visualisation and construction of the gigantic ensemble took place.

2.4 Ñañjuk Bronzes. Ever since their discovery in 1913 from desa Chandi Reja near Ñañjuk (Kediri, East Java), these 90 bronzes have been the subject of study. Krom[8] studied 40 of them and at once came to the conclusion that they constituted a group. In 1929 Bosch[9] rightly recognised them as the central Vajradhātu-*mahāmaṇḍala* and he identified the *pūjā-devīs* and four *saṅgraha* deities. The credit goes to K.W. Lim[10] who rightly perceived that the central deity belongs "to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Ānandagarbha-type". Ānandagarbha is one of the three fundamental commentators on the Tattvasaṅgraha, the basic scripture of the *yoga-tantras*. The Ñañjuk bronzes must have formed part of a 37-deity Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* of bronze statuettes. Along with the Chandi Sewu niches, it constitutes an important proof of the predominance of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* of the *yoga-tantras* in the Buddhism of Indonesia.

2.5 Nāgarakṛtāgama 77.3 by Prapañca (A.D. 1365) enumerates the Budur as one of the important sanctums of the Vajradhara Buddhists (*kasugatan kabajradharan*) which was registered in the state archives. It is noteworthy that *Budur* is without the prefix *bara*. On the basis of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, and the actual discovery of *vajras* on small sheets of gold, Bosch had clearly surmised, as early as 1920, that the Borobudur pertained to the Vajradhara sect. The Vajradhara Buddhists were those who followed the *yoga-tantras* and their Lord was Vajradhara, while the Lord of the *anuttara-yoga tantras* Mahāvajradhara, who emanates all the deities in the Guhyasamāja-tantra. This distinction is relevant to the precise evaluation of the Nāgarakṛtāgama which is using '*vajradhara*' as a specialised technical term.

3. Etymology of the word Borobudur

3.1 As indicated by the Nāgarakṛtāgama, *Budur* was the main element of the compound Bara Budur. So *bara* should have a generic connotation of a sanctum. The possibility of *bara* being derived from *vihāra* via Maly *biyara* was mooted by Poerbatjaraka and Stutterheim.[11] The linguistic difficulties inherent in the transition from *biyara* to *bara* have stood in the way of its universal acceptance. But along with *vihāra* there was the collateral form *vahāra* which may be a mongeral term or an intentional

change to distinguish a tantric Buddhist monastic establisnment from a usual Buddhist monastery. The use of *vahāra* (pronouced *bahāra*) is attested in the famous Nav bahār, the renowned Buddhist monastery at Balkh which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in about A.D. 630, and was damaged by the Arabs in A.D. 663-4.[12] Hsüan-tsang translates *bahār* as monastery (sanskritised as *saṅghārāma* by Julien and Beal).

3.2 The name of the Sogdian town of Bokhara (also spelt Bukhara) also goes back to the word *vahāra*, which is made doubly probable by the discovery of a *vihāra* near Numidikath, the predecessor town of Bokhara. The pronunciation Bokhara with o is a dialectical variation of the ancient *vahāra*. The form Bokhara is attested in about 1666 as 'Bokara prunes' (Bernier, ed. Constable; 118). In the earliest document of 1221, the name occurs as Bachara.[13]

3.3 The lost colloquial Indic form *vahāra* developed into *bahār* and *bokhar* (a being pronounced as o). Pelliot's discussion[13] about the etymology of Bokhara does not take into account the possibility of the Indic form *vahāra*, which is enhanced by the Newari term *vahāl* for the Buddhist temples of Vajrayāna in Nepal. The Indonesian *bara*, pronounced in Modern Javanese as *boro* can be traced back to *bahāra* > *ba'ara* (by the elision of h) < *bāra* (coalescence of the two a). *bara* is influenced by *vara* 'excellent', 'supreme'. In modern Tamil, h is a glide for hiatus, *Murahari* for *Mura-ari* (*Murāri*). Conversely the h in *bahāra* was considered an epenthetic and dropped. The elision of intervovalic h is a widespread phenomenon in Tamil: e.g. *ahaṁkāra* > *aṁkāra*, Māmalla < Mahāmalla, the great Pallava king who ruled at Kanchi (A.D. 630-668). Compare the modern Balinese Mendra for Mahendra.

3.4 There were a number of other Nav-bihar in Sind, at Samarkand, at Bokhara, and even at Ray (east of Tehran). I must confess that I do not see why we have only "New monasteries in Iran".[14] The presence of many *Nav-bahār* alludes to the fact that it was a generic term referring to esoteric Vajrayāna monasteries in general rather than a specific name. The 'New' Monasteries belonged to the New Way of Vajrayāna Buddhism in contradistinction to Theravāda and Mahāyāna.

The prevalence of Vajrayāna in Iranian Central Asia is attested by (i) Vajrayāna texts in the Iranian-speaking domains of Khotan like the Adhyardhaśatikā prajñāpāramitā[15] which is a text of the yoga-tantric system. (ii) The Avataṁsaka, whose presiding Buddha is Vairocana and which is a precursor to the *caryā* and *yoga tantras*, was in vogue at Khotan. The T'ang Empress Wu tsö-t'ien (684-705) had sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of his *sūtra*. (iii) Śubhakarasiṁha (637-735), who was the first great master of Vajrayāna in China, has bequethed to us the Rita-sōgyara-gobu-shingan (Jap. pronunciation) which illustrates six *maṇḍalas* of Ṛta-saṁhāra or Tattva-saṅgraha. Its drawings are in the hand of an Iranian-speaking disciple as is evident from the Sassanoid coronets

of the deities and from the colophon *ācārya-śrī-śaubh[ik]asya suratah* where *suratah* is the Iranian word *sūrat* 'picture'. (iv) Amoghavajra (705-774) whose mother hailed from Samarkand, translated yoga-tantric texts into Chinese, with the help of Hui-lin from Kashgar. Besides, five disciples from Samarkand (K'ang), Tashkent (Shih), Tukhara (Lo), and Betik (Pi) are mentioned in his Memorial of A.D. 767. In another Memorial dated A.D. 768 he requested permission to tonsure three disciples from Tukhara and Ishtikhan. (v) The Khotanese Jātakastava was written for Cā Kimśan ambassador of the Khotanese kings Viśa sūra (967-977) and Viśa Darma (978-982) to increase the merit of householders of Vajrayāna. (vi) A bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese scroll records a conversation between a person from Tun-huang and a Khotanese *bhikṣu* going to worship Mañjuśrī in China. The Tun-huang resident asks "which book do you like". The *bhikṣu* from Khotan replies: "I like Vajrayāna".[16] The presence of Vajrayāna in Iranian-speaking Central Asia was thus a wide-spread phenomenon and the New Monasteries represented it.

3.5 Central Asia has preserved a distinction between earlier monasteries with their austere statuary and ascetic discipline and the new Vajrayāna monasteries in their splendour of ritual and graceful images of gods eternally young and of charming goddesses.

Bīrunī (Athār al-bāqīya, ed. E. Sachau, p. 206) considers *behār farxār* synonymous, but Al-Khwārizmī (Mafātīḥ al- u'lūm, p. 123) clearly distinguishes them semantatically: "buhār is the idol temple of India and farxar is the idol-temple of China and Upper Sughd or Sogdiana" (Richard N. Frye, Notes on the history of Transoxiana, HJAS. 19 [1956]. 115. n. 52). Al-Khwārizmī in all probability preserves a distinction in the denominational context of the two terms which though confused later on were once contradistinctive.

3.6 The second element of the name Budur, has been unconvincingly derived from Malay *budua*, or Sk. Buddha.[17] Moens has rightly come to the conclusion that *-ūr* is the South Indian suffix for a city, settlement. In Tamil *putu/budu* means 'new', and *putūr* refers to a 'new settlement'. There is a town called Budoor[18] in the Chingleput district in South India, and eight towns with the name Pudur, and Pudur-palayam, Pudur-Ramnad, Pudur-Uthamanur, not to mention about a hundred city names with Pudu-. Thus the word *Budur* is the Tamil term for a new settlement, and Bara Budur means the New Monasteries or *Nava-vihāra* like its Central Asian counterparts of the contemporary period.

3.7 A Tamil designation for the greatest Śailendra monument is no wonder. The Javanese-Balinese script itself is derived from that of the Pallavas. In all likelihood the Vajrayāna of the Śailendras was derived from Southern India. There are a number of traces in the Śailendra monuments which stem from Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary. From the ruins of Chandi Sewu a fragmentary inscription bears the words: *tiruraṇu*.[19] Cas-

paris considers it to be the designation of an official. Tamil *tiru* is *śrī*, and *raṇu* corresponds to Tamil *rāṇuvam* 'army' (Tamil Lexicon 6.3423). It may refer to king Samaratuṅga, who reigned 812-832.[20] It could have been his pet family name (*tiru=śrī*, *rāṇuva=samara*).

The inscription of Śrī Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764 = A.D. 842, which is correlated to the Borobudur by Casparis, begins with the date and the day is *canaiścarawara*[21] (Casparis, p. 86), instead of *śa*. *Ca* in place of *śa* is a common phenomenon in Tamil, where *śani* is *cani*.

A highly significant phrase occurs in the beginning of the two inscriptions:

I line 4
sīmā niṅ kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra.
II lines 2, 3
sīmā niṅ kamūlān <i bhūmi> sambhara

Casparis has rightly come to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the Borobudur complex, on the analysis of the village names occuring in the inscription. But his interpretation of the word *kamūlān* has to be viewed in a new light. *Kamūlān* is a homonymic counterpart of *mulasthāna*, where *ka- ... -an* denote *sthāna*. In Tamil this word occurs as *mula-t-tā-nam* (from *mulā-sthāna*) 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple' (Tamil Lexicon). *Tiru-mūlattānam* (*tiru=śrī + mūlasthāna*) refers to the sacred shrine of Tiruvārūr (Tamil Lexicon, p. 1913). The compound *bhūmi sambhara* is a proper name, a toponym. It means the 'land/Country of the sambhara'. With it we may compare the geographic name Bumi-ayu in Brebes, Central Java, whence a bronze of seated Tārā has been discovered with a Sanskrit inscription. It may be noted that the vowel length in the two inscriptions varies - *sambhāra* and *sambhara*. In Tamil *sambara* refers to the Buddhist community. *Sambara* is *saṁvara* meaning 'the Buddhist vows'. The transition from *sambara* to *sambhara* was an orthographic variation where *bh* lent the word dignity of hypersanskritism. It could also have been influenced by the Buddhist term *sambhāra* (*puṇya-sambhāra*, etc. in the Dharmasaṅgraha 117). Thus *bhūmi sambhara* meant the land of the *sambhara*, i.e. Buddhists. The whole expression *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhara* means 'a monastic foundation of Buddhists'. It is pertinent to cite the lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Borobudur, which refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpathasya parvvatasthale*). Boechari (Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Borobudur temple, cyclostyled paper, 1976, p. 11) poses the question "Does this text refer to the Borobudur?". We feel that it does. *Dakṣiṇāpatha* in Sanskrit is South India: the same as *bhūmi sambhara; parvatasthala* should refer to the Borobudur, the replica of Mount Sumeru. The Borobudur is in the village Bumisegoro (Skt. *sāgara-bhūmi*) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the seas, i.e. India. In stanza 8 of the Kalasan inscription of *Śaka* 700[22], the Śailendras do term themselves *ārya-santati*. As late as

the 11th century, Śailendras had intimate relations with South India: they founded a *vihāra* at Nagapaṭṭinam, to which the Chola King granted the income of a village for support.

4. Morphological elements of the Borobudur

4.1 The Borobudur was a *vihāra*: it is attested by the Inscription of Karangtĕñah of A.D. 824 (line 15: *āstām vihāra*).[23] The presence of the *vihāra* has been proved by archaeological excavations. Its remains were found to the Northwest of the monument.[24] It had a number of structures of which the monument now famous as the Borobudur was one, most probably in the centre of the ordering of the entire sanctified space. The same inscription speaks of *vividha-gaṇa-samākrānta-mūrttiś-ca meruḥ* in the previous line 23: namely, the gods reside on the Meru/Sumeru, an implicit allusion pregnant with significance for the structural definition of the Borobudur. The pyramidal architecture of the Borobudur with its square terraces, three super-imposed concentric platforms, crowned by a finial - without a clearly marked entrance but flights of steps on four sides - has puzzled scholars who have tried to designate it a *stūpa*.

4.2 The plan of the Borobudur is: 5 terraces, supporting 3 circular platforms adorned with 72 latticed campanulae, surrounding a larger central *stūpa* on a final and ninth terrace. The first five terraces are the five storeys of Sumeru, as we find in Nepalese temples, Tibetan texts and *thaṅka* paintings. In Nepal, the tradition of temples on a stepped pysamidal base has continued down to our times. The best known of such temples or *dega* is the five-storeyed temple of the Newars at Bhaktapur, the Nyatapola *dega*. It stands on a five-stepped pyramid.

4.3 Prof. Wayman[25] has illustrated the configuration of the Sumeru on a Tibetan scroll (*thaṅka*). It has five terraces which constitute Mount Sumeru (p. 108). Above the five-storeyed Sumeru is a cloud atop which rests a three-storeyed palace. On top of the palace roof is a tiny structure. This becomes clear in Mkhas-grub-rje's (A.D. 1385-1438) fundamentals of the Buddhist *tantras*. In his prescription[26] of the generation of the residence (*ādhārotpatti*) he says: "In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold silver, sapphire (*indranīla*) and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners.

Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (*vitāna*) appearing in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'" (p. 175). Thereafter, the deities are invited to be resident (*ādheya*) in the sanctified space.

This scheme corresponds to the Borobudur as follows:

5 terraces = five storeys of the Sumeru

3 circular platforms = base of *kūṭāgāra* (palace)

1 large central finial = *stūpa*

4.4 There must have been a wooden pavilion (*kūṭāgāra*) atop the three circular platforms. We know that Borobudur had wooden structures which have perished. Octagonal stone bases of the foundations of the monastic building have been found to the west of the monument. The discovery of bronze nails points that the building was of wood.[27] The pinnacle seems to have been octagonal and ended in a number of horizontal incisions, three parasols in succession and a jewel at the top.[28] The horizontal incisions in the pinnacle must have held the wooden *kūṭāgāra*, and other architectural end-elements.

4.5 The Borobudur is a *maṇḍala* dedicated to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. The abode of Vairocana is atop Sumeru as it is clearly pointed out in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī in the chapter on the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* that Lord Vairocana is seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* posture in the centre of the *kūṭāgāra* situated on Sumeru: *Sumerūpari kūṭāgāram tasya madhye ... viśvāmbhojasya karṇikāyāṁ bhagavān Vairocano* ... (text p. 44 § 19). In the Japanese tradition of the *Kongōchōkyō* (*Vajraśekhara-tantra*) Vairocana ascended Mount Sumeru to reveal the *maṇḍala* to sentient beings.[29] In his work on the fundamentals of the *tantras*, Mkhas-grub-rje says: After completing the five *abhisambodhi*, he became *samyaksambuddha* Mahāvairocana, proceeded to the summit of Mount Sumeru and proclaimed the *yoga tantras*,[30] that is, the Tattvasaṅgraha, its explanatory Vajraśekhara-tantra and other *tantras*.

4.6 The Vairocana Buddhas on the three circular platforms are in latticed *stūpas*. There is a clear difference between the *stūpas* on the first and second rows and those on the third. The pinnacles of the first two rows are supported by square bases, while those of the third by octagonal bases. The perforations in the first case are lozenges, and those in the other are squares:

1st and 2nd rows	square base	lozenge-shaped perforations
3rd row	octagonal base	square perforations

This divergence can be traced back to the Avataṁsaka-sūtra which gave rise to the earliest iconographical type of Vairocana in the art of Khotan and China. In a passage describing cosmological interrelationship it is stated that transformations of the Buddha exist sometimes in the form of Mount Sumeru, ... of circle-nets, ... of all square things, ... and of all sorts of ornamentation, ... circles, forms neither square nor circular, and triangles. Thus geometric forms are specifically mentioned in the text as forms in which the Buddha sometimes manifests. These geometric elements are actually painted on the body of Vairocana in the paintings of Khotan.

4.7 The 72 latticed *stūpas* enshrining the Vairocana Buddhas in the Borobudur represent the architectonic transcreation of the *stūpas* depicted on the body of Vairocana in the *Avataṁsaka* tradition as can be seen in the mural fragments from Khotan. The mural fragment Kuduk-tol .025 shows a *stūpa* with a high superstructure, the legs of Bremen A 16164 have a very elongated *stūpa* of several stories with *harmikā*, the left lower leg of panel D.IV.4 abv. (British Museum) shows a *stūpa* with high superstructure, and so on.[31] What were oddities as representations on the body of Vairocana himself were integrated into the grace of an architectural composition by the brilliant architect that Guṇadharma was, who conceived the Borobudur in the contemplative solitudes of Mount Menoreh.[32]

5. The Thousand Buddhas on the Borobudur

5.1 A glance over the complete set of 132 Tibetan *maṇḍalas* of the Rgyude-sde kun-btus comprising all the classes of *tantras* reveals that only the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, which follows down to every minor detail the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit text, is the classical *maṇḍala* with 1037 deities.[33]

5.2 In the Brahmajāla-sūtra (Jap. Bommōkyō, Chin. Fan-wang-ching) translated by Kumārajiva in A.D. 406 it is said: "I am called Vairocana (Jap. Roshana) and live in the ocean of the lotus world ... I incarnate myself into one thousand Buddhas". The Thousand Buddhas were, thus, an integral aspect of Mahāvairocana as early as the fourth century.

5.3 In the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, the Kanjur, the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra which describes the Thousand Buddhas, precedes Lalitavistara the biography of Buddha. At the Borobudur, too, the Lalitavistara is depicted besides half the Thousand Buddhas.

5.4 The Japanese Vajradhātu *mahāmaṇḍala* follows the classical norm in representing each one of the Thousand Buddhas[34] in the second enceinte.

5.5 A Javanese chronicle does refer to the thousand statues at Borobudur: "a story occurs in a fragment of a Javanese chronicle published by Poensen (BKI. 1901, p. 287) which pertains to the adventures of a Javanese crown-prince who died in the year 1758. In this story it is said that the crown-prince, after a life of dissipation, went to the Borobudur to visit the thousand statues of this sanctuary, after which visit he soon fell ill and died".

5.6 Frédéric[35] counts the Buddha statues at Borobudur as follows:

	Buddhas in the	mudrā	resemble
92	East	*bhūmi-sparśa*	[Akṣobhya]
92	South	*varada*	[Ratnasambhava]
92	West	*dhyāna*	[Amitābha]
92	North	*abhaya*	[Amoghasiddhi]
64	fourth gallery	*vitarka*	
72	latticed *stūpas*	*dharma-cakra*	[Vairocana]
504			

These 504 Buddhas, when doubled, make the sacred number of 504 x 2 = 1008.

5.7 It is interesting to note the pattern of variation in the depiction of the Thousand Buddhas in the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra. In the Lhasa xylograph of this *sūtra* which was woodprinted at the Zhöparkhang printery of the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lama as the authentic version, we find the illustrations of all the Thousand Buddhas with their names in versified stanzas. They are represented as Buddhas in the *dharma-cakra*, *bhūmi-sparś*, *varada*, *dhyāna* and *abhaya mudrās* - in this very order. This *mudrā* sequence is repeated 200 times to arrive at the number of a thousand, without any other change. At Borobudur, too, the same pattern is represented. To use the nomenclature of the Pañca-Tathāgata, namely, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amīthaba, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana, is inappropriate and misleading as each of the Thousand Buddhas has an individual name though their iconography is restricted to five forms which is common to the Pañca-Tathāgata. The description of the Borobudur has to undergo a total terminological revolution for the correct identification of the whole as well as of its constituent elements.

5.8 The Vajradhātu becomes a *mahāmaṇḍala* because of the Thousand Buddhas, which is its unique and contradistinctive attribute in the world of tantric *maṇḍalas*. The Vajradhātu *mahāmaṇḍala* added to the already existing five forms of the Buddhas a sixth one with the *vitarka mudrā*. These six forms of Buddhas were repeated 169 times to the auspicious number of 1008 (168 x 6 = 1008). That is why there are 504 Buddhas, and the niches and *stūpas* enclosing these 504, symbolically make up the requisite double number 504 x 2 = 1008. Thus the six forms of Buddhas on the main walls and circular terraces do not stand for Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amītabha, Amoghasiddhi, - , and Vairocana, but are simply six morphological types to delineate the 1008 Buddhas in 168 cyclic repetitions in sixes (168 x 6 = 1008). It was never realised that the neglected iconography of the Thousand Buddhas held a key to the Borobudur. It has been ignored so far as a tautology.

6. Central image of the Borobudur

6.1 The central image of the Borobudur enshrined in the final *stūpa* has not been found, and its absence has engendered a continued controversy. The intrusion of the unfinished image has complicated the issue. Its solutions have varied according to the interpretation of the type of Buddhism represented by the Borobudur.

6.2 In the early period of its discovery it was "a huge mass of stones enveloping the top of a hill and containing only a small room in its central dagob".[36] Kempers (p. 48-49) summarises the situation in the following words: "Inside the central dagob there is a large cella with a smaller one above it. During the whole of the 19th century there was a large hole in the walls of the dagob. An unfinished statue of a Buddha has been found inside the cella. It is exactly like those of the other Buddha images which show the attitude of 'touching the earth' (in the niches facing the east). Much controversy has arisen around this 'unfinished Buddha'. According to some it represents the Supreme Buddha manifesting himself incompletely in this manner. On the other hand there is reason to suppose that the sculptor left his work unfinished because of a mistake he made in carving one of the hands. Anyhow, it seems to be too much of a failure to figure as the Supreme Buddha. It may have been introduced into the cella through the hole in its walls for some reason unknown to us. The same goes for a number of smaller objects found in the same place, such as a small kris" We agree with Kempers that the unfnished statue was secretely introduced in the cella to compensate the disappearance of the golden image of Mahāvairocana enshrined therein, though Stutterheim p. 56 feels: "Hoepermans. statement is no more than an insinuation directed against the Resident and the Regent, reproaching the former with the theft of a small golden image found during the investigations, and the later for having played the role of henchman by having this substituted by the first Buddha statue to be found in the vicinity".

6.3 The golden age of Buddhism at Nāgapaṭṭinam was the 8-9th century. The central image of the Buddhist *vihāra* in this city was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint *Āḻvār* Tiru-mangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīrangam. "He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapaṭṭinam was very useful. It was to this effect: "The sthapathi who made this golden image and the Vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in Dvīpāntara". This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to Dvīpāntara where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the *vimāna*, which enabled the Āḻvār to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan" [37]

The word *paṭṭinam* itself denotes a settlement of *sambaras*, i.e. those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. A golden image was a lure as early as the 9th century, for howsoever noble a purpose, and why should it not be in the 19th century. It is not an isolated phenomenon. "According to unconfirmed stories dating from the colonial period, there were villages near the Dieng Plateau which paid their taxes in golden statues, the most precious produce of their soil".[38] We do not know their whereabouts.

6.4 The *sthapati* referred to above could have been responsible for the creation of the central image of the Borobudur. Even if there was some other *sthapati*, he could have hailed from India. The *sthapati* were in the Land of Gold, in Suvarṇabhūmi, and they would have insisted for a statue of solid gold for such a magnificent monument as the Borobudur, when there was a precedent in the main image of the *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭinam being of gold. A bronze statue of Vairocana, covered with hammered gold leaf, has been found from Sidorejo (Central Java). It can be assigned to about the ninth century. Significantly enough it bears a stylistic affinity with South Indian sculpture.[39] The cumulative effect of the evidence adduced so far indicates that the central image should have been of solid gold and consequently small in size.

6.5 Paragraph 1.4 details the two concomitant steps of Vajrayāna worship: (i) generation of the residence for the deities (*ādhāra*) and (ii) evocation of the deities to be residents (*ādheya*) therein. The entire architectural composition of the Borobudur down to the minute details of the geometric designs of the lattices of the *stūpas* on the circular platforms, favours, sustains and strenghtens the idea that it is an *ādhāra* for the *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu Vairocana. The first stage is to be followed by the second stage (*ādheya*) of the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* taking residence herein: the central image of Vairocana surrounded by 36 deities. The images of these 36 deities must have been fashioned out of seven or nine precious metals. They should have been placed in the now-vanished wooden *kūṭāgāra*.

The dichotomy of the *ādhāra* and *ādheya* was reflected in the construction itself: *ādhāra* was a fixed and permanent construction in stone and the *ādheya* or the images of precious metal were portable who 'take' residence in every ritual - true to hieratic requirements.

The 'unfinished image' is a sculptor's error, without any place in the scheme of the Borobudur. All the confusion has arisen because scholars were not aware of the basic fact that NO unfinished, faulty, or broken image is ever istalled in a sacred place.

7. Correlation of the reliefs to the central deity Vairocana

In paragraph 1.6 we have dealt with the different strata of Buddhist thought leading to the Vajradhātu Vairocana of the *yoga-tantras*. These

have been harmonized in the consecutively ascending sculptural components of the consummate architecture of the Borobudur.

7.1 The monastic complex of Tabo in Himachal Pradesh in India was consecrated to Vajradhātu Vairocana, by Riṅ-chen-bzaṅ-po in the 10th century. Its central *maṇḍala* hall is dedicated to Vairocana. Beneath the 37 images of the *maṇḍala* there are frescoes of the life of Śākyamuni on the right wall, and those of the pilgrimage of Sudhana along the left wall. The intrinsic proximity of Avataṁsaka and of the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana is thus reflected in the depiction of Sudhana's pilgrimage as a historical substratum in the onward spiritual journey to the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana. The entire Tabo complex is surrounded by a wall with 108 *stūpas*. Both the series of the life of Śākyamuni and the journey of Sudhana are also sculpted at Borobudur. A number of *stūpas* have been found at a distance from the Borobudur. These may have topped the ramparts of the Borobudur complex.

7.2 The Borobudur has reliefs drawn from the Karma-vibhaṅga, Lalitavistara, *jātakas*, *avadānas* and from the Avataṁsaka text of the Gaṇḍavyūha ending in the *Bhadracarī*. Karma-vibhaṅga represents the most fundamental level of the operation of karmic cause-and-effect. The *jātakas* and *avadānas* are the perennial effort of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas to liberate from the bonds of karmic causation, and Lalitavistara is the immortal story of Buddha Śākyamuni's discovery of the noble eightfold path. The whole represents the graduated path from the inexorable laws of *karma* (Karma-vibhaṅga), its cessation by the path leading upto Buddha Śākyamuni as propounded in the Lalitavistara, to its sophistication in Avataṁsaka (*Gaṇḍavyūha*) where Sudhana the eternal pilgrim is exhorted by Mañjuśrī to resort to Samantabhadra whose great vow (*Bhadracarī*) is to reach the Paradise of Amitābha (*Ratnakūṭa*), and transcending them all is Supreme Buddha (Jinapati) Vairocana [40] become Abhisambuddha.

Notes and references

1 Lessing, Ferdinand D., and Alex Wayman, Mkhas-grub-rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras. The Hague: Mouton, 1968, p. 25.

2 Frēdēric, Louis, The Temples and Sculpture of Southeast Asia. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965, p. 161.

3 Lessing/Wayman (see footnote 1), p. 175.

4 Lessing/Wayman (see footnote 1), pp. 17 ff.

5 Takakusu, Junjirō, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1956, p. 112.

6 BKI. 130(1974). 465-482.

7 Bosch, F.D.K., Buddhist data from Balinese texts. In: Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology. The Hague: Marinus Nijhoff, 1961, p. 113.

8 De bronsvondst van Ngandjoek, ROD. 1913. 59 ff.

9 Bosch (see footnote 7), pp. 109 ff.

10 Studies in later Buddhist iconography, BKI. 120(1964). 327-341, p. 337.

11 Moens, J.L., Barabudur, Mendut and Pawon. TBG. 84(1951). 332 ff.

12 Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960, 1.1033a, s.v. al-Barāmika or Āl Barmak.

13 Pelliot, Paul, Notes on Marco Polo. Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959, 1.108 ff. s.v. Bucara.

14 Pelliot (see footnote 13), p. 108.

15 Bailey, H.W., Vajrayāna Texts from Gostana. In: Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, Koyasan: University of Koyasan, 1965, pp. 27-39; Williams, Joanna, The Iconography of Khotanese painting, East and West 23(1973). 116-117.

16 Bailey, H.W., Hvatanica III, BSOAS. 9(1938). 539; Williams (see footnote 15), p. 117

17 Moens (see footnote 11), p. 333.

18 Post and Telegraph Guide, Centenary Edition, Part II, New Delhi: 1954, p. 125 a.

19 De Casparis, J.G., Prasati Indonesia I (Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd. Bandung: A.C. Nix & Co., 1950, p. 115.

20 De Casparis (see footnote 19), p. 201.

21 Fontein, Jan, R. Soekmono, Satyawati Suleiman, Ancient Indonesian Art. New York: The Asia Society Inc., 1971, p. 149 no. 30.

22 Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan, Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java, Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1972, vol. I, p. 36; Casparis (see footnote 19), p. 186.

23 De Casparis (see footnote 19), p. 40.

24 Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 45.

25 Wayman, Alex, The Buddhist Tantras. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973, p. 104, plate 9. pp. 102-109.

26 Lessing/Wayman (see footnote 1), p. 175.

27 Frédéric (see footnote 2), p. 160.

28 Bernet Kempers (see footnote 24), p. 48.

29 Matsunaga, Alicia, The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1969, p. 203.

30 Lessing/Wayman (see footnote 1), p. 27. 29, 35.

31 Williams (see footnote 15), p. 119.

32 Frédéric (see footnote 2), p. 161.

33 Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, parts 13-15, preface pp. 1-3. The three parts 13-15 show all the 132 *maṇḍalas* in line drawings. *Maṇḍala* 22 pertains to the Vajradhātu.

34 Lokesh Chandra, The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1972, schema II; Tajima, Ryūjun, Les Deux Grands Maṇḍalas et la Doctrine de l'Esoterisme Shingon. Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, tome VI, Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1959, p. 159.

35 Frédéric (see footnote 2), p. 162.

36 Bernet Kempers (see footnote 24), p. 17.

37 Ramachandran, T.N., The Nāgapaṭṭinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum. Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum VII.1, Madras: Govt. Press, 1954, p. 15.

38 Fontein (see footnote 21), p. 40.

39 Fontein (see footnote 21), p. 148 no. 27.

40 Weller, Friedrich, Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa. Nach einer fünfsprachigen Polyglotte herausgegeben. Leipzig, 1928.

Synopsis

1 Four divisions of *tantras* and their distinctive characteristics

- 1.1 Specific deities of four divisions
- 1.2 Fundamental and explanatory texts of the *yoga-tantras*
- 1.3 The Thousand Buddhas as a distinctive feature of the *yoga-tantras*
- 1.4 *Ādhāra/ādheya* as fundamental to tantric realisation
- 1.5 Integration of earlier elements in the *yoga-tantras*
- 1.6 Avataṁsaka and *yoga-tantras*

2 Presence of *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in Indonesia

- 2.1 Stanzas from *caryā* and *yoga tantras* in SHKM
- 2.2 The iconography of Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabayu and Kalpabuddha corresponds to that of the *yoga-tantras*
- 2.3 Chandi Sewu as the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 2.4 Ñañjuk bronzes represent the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 2.5 Nāgarkṛtāgama indicates that the Budur was a *yoga*-tantric sanctuary

3 Etymology of the name Borobudur

- 3.1 *Nav-bahar<Nava-vahāra*
- 3.2 Bokhara>*vahāra*
- 3.3 Nepalese *vahāl*
- 3.4 *Nav-bahār* as a generic term for *yoga*-tantric monasteries
- 3.5 Two types of monasteries: *behār* and *farχār*
- 3.6 Etymology of Budur
- 3.7 Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary in Śailendra inscriptions

4 Morphological elements of the Borobudur

- 4.1 Borobudur is a *vihāra* with a *meru*
- 4.2 Correspondence of the Borobudur to the plan of Sumeru
- 4.3 Tibetan descriptions of Sumeru correspond to the Borobudur
- 4.4 Wooden *kūṭāgāra* atop Borobudur
- 4.5 As the Sumeru, Borobudur is the abode of Vairocana
- 4.6 Perforations of the latticed *stūpas* represent the geometric transformations of Vairocana
- 4.7 Latticed *stūpas* themselves correspond to the *stūpas* painted on the body of Vairocana in Khotanese murals

5 The Thousand Buddhas on the Borobudur

- 5.1 The Thousand Buddhas are an exclusive feature of the classical Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 5.2 Vairocana incarnates himself into a Thousand Buddhas (Brahmajāla-Sūtra)
- 5.3 Sequence of the Lalitavistara and Thousand Buddhas
- 5.4 Thousand Buddhas in the Japanese Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*
- 5.5 Japanese chronicle speaks of Thousand statues at the Borobudur
- 5.6 The 504 x 2 Buddhas at Borobudur
- 5.7 Pattern of Thousand Buddhas in the Lhasa xylograph of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra
- 5.8 Niches and *stūpas* over 504 Buddhas

5 Central image of the Borobudur

6.1 Central image is not extent

6.2 Large hole in the cella atop in the 19th century

6.3 The central image of the Nāgapaṭṭinam *vihāra* and its *sthapati* went to Indosia

6.4 Central image of Borobudur should also have been of gold

6.5 The 36 deities surrounding the central Vairocana

7 Correlation of the Borobudur reliefs to its central image of Vairocana

7.1 A parellel at the Tabo monastery in India

7.2 Harmony of the sculptural components and the *maṇḍala*

Farewell speech and vote of thanks on Friday, July 7th, 1978

Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren! oder besser doch: Liebe Kollegen! aber am besten noch: Liebe Freunde!

So sind wir denn jetzt ans Ende dieser schönen Woche hier in Heidelberg gelangt, und die Kongreßleitung hat mich gebeten, einige Worte zum Abschluß zu sprechen. Die Leitung hatte die vernünftige Idee, Englisch als Kongreßsprache zu wählen, um den internationalen Charakter dieses Symposiums zu unterstreichen, und ich fahre deshalb jetzt, Ihr Einverständnis vorausgesetzt, auf Englisch fort.

Throughout these interesting days in Heidelberg I continually felt that something was strangely missing. Packing my suitcase this morning I suddenly knew what this missing element had been, for while I picked up a file, a letter dropped out. It was signed in his neat and characterful handwriting "Hermann Goetz" - the last letter he wrote to me and which I had taken along as in it he had drawn my attention to something I intended to look up here. Yes, indeed, Dr. Hermann Goetz has been missing here and to some of us this time Heidelberg was no longer the same Heidelberg as we had known it when he was still alive. How he would have enjoyed our meetings and how he would have contributed to our discussions in his lively way! Tomorrow it will be exactly two years since he passed away and on the 17th of July he would have celebrated his 80th birthday.

Working in the library of the Kern Institute before the war, I knew this neat handwriting as that of a certain Dr. Goetz, for previously he too had worked there as a librarian before going out to India. After the war, when my husband and I went to India for the first time, we made personal acquaintance with him and his wife when we stayed in their lovely, spacious bungalow in Baroda and a life-long friendship grew up after that. Already in those days - twenty-seven years ago - we noticed how Mrs. Goetz supported him in every way, for she was always there in the background, taking away worries about domestic problems and accompanying him on all his journeys. In short, she provided the serene atmosphere required for quiet research. Without Dr. Goetz the Department of Indian Art of the Südasien-Institut would not be what it is today and so, indirectly, the Institute is indebted to Mrs. Goetz, who as usual is sitting there today in the last row of this hall - as always in the background. By way of these flowers we should like to symbolically express to you, Mrs. Goetz, our deep sense of gratitude for all you did in a lifetime for Dr. Goetz and therefore indirectly for the Südasien-Institut and thus for all of us.

In the past week we have been looking at the *stūpa* from different points of view. In time we spanned a period stretching from prehistory to the present day. Geographically we ranged from India to the Far East and from Tibet to South-East Asia. We looked at different shapes of the *stūpa* and we studied its symbolical meaning.

Our meetings and the ensuing discussions often reminded me of a situation in which a number of people are looking at a landscape from the top of a hill located near the seaside. Those with their backs turned towards the inland mountains maintain that the sea can be seen from the top of this hill, while those looking in the other direction claim that the hill provides a wonderful view of the mountains. Of course the actual all-round view from the hill-top is a combination of both and so, in the end, both parties are in fact right.

Looking back over the past week a deep sense of gratitude surges up. I am sure I am speaking on behalf of all participants and especially the foreign guests, when I try to express our warm thanks to all those who have made this interesting symposium possible. In the very first place thanks are due to Dr. Dallapiccola, for it was she who took the initiative to organize this meeting. In carrying out the work for it she never spared herself. Many of us have realized that the various envelopes we received these days were addressed and delivered by her personally. She often did not attend the lectures because she was too busy in the office doing all sorts of necessary jobs and she consequently missed a great deal of our interesting discussions and especially the wonderful slides, for I am afraid that only part of these will be reproduced in the final printed report. So she continually made a great personal sacrifice for all of us.

Then there are Dr. Halcour and Frau Zingel of the Geschäftsstelle of the Südasien-Institut. They were both responsible for all the administrative work and throughout this week they were always cheerfully ready to help us with our various little problems.

Next our thanks are due to the students who helped with the projecting of the slides, the tape-recorder and the microphone: Mr. Bandini, Mrs. and Mr. Charton, Miss Molitor, Mr. Unbescheid and Mr. Zoller.

Finally, I would like to mention the various staff members of the Südasien-Institut who attended our meetings and who quietly helped their colleagues to run things smoothly by keeping a watchful eye from the background. Names come to my mind such as those of Dr. Goswamy, Dr. von Dewall, Dr. Lütt, Dr. Sontheimer etc.

I sincerely hope that I have not forgotten anybody, but if so, please forgive me, for the number of helpful people is simply countless. In one way or the other all of them made our week in Heidelberg most interesting, pleasant and unforgettable. Thank you all thrice over from the bottom of our hearts: for all you did for us, for your warm hospitality, in short, for a wonderful experience!

J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw

ALLCHIN, Frank Raymond
* 9 July 1923; B.A. London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1950; Ph.D. London, 1954. Lecturer, SOAS, London, 1954-59; University Lecturer in Indian Studies, Cambridge, 1959-72; Reader in Indian Studies, Cambridge, 1972 upto the present date; Fellow of Churchill College, 1963 upto the present date; Fellow, Society of Antiquaries, Royal Asiatic Society, Royal Society of Arts. Author of various books including Source book for Indian Archaeology, vol. 1., with D.K. Chakrabarty (in press, expected 1979, New Delhi).

BHATTACHARYA, Gouriswar
* 1924 in Malda (West Bengal); B.A. (Hons. in Sanskrit) in 1945; M.A. (Sanskrit with Epigraphy and Iconography) of the Calcutta University, 1950. 1951 ff. Keeper of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Viśvābharatī (Santiniketan); 1955-62 Assistant in the Government Epigraphists Office, Ootacamund; 1962-67 research work at the University of Basel (Switzerland). Ph.D. 1967. Since 1968 in Berlin, first as a trainee and then as a scientific scholar in the Museum of Indian Art; 1974-75 Lecturer for Hindi and Bengali, University of Kiel.

CHANDRA, Lokesh
* 11 April 1927; son of Professor Raghu Vira; educated at Punjab and Utrecht Universities; Hony. Director, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi; Member of Parliament of India; worked in Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian art, literature and history. Over 180 publications including A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon 1-20, The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas, Buddha in Chinese Woodcuts.

DENWOOD, Philip
* 1941; educated Universities of London and Liverpool, studying history, geography, architecture and town planning; Joined School of Oriental and African Studies 1964 to study Tibetan. Appointed Lecturer in Tibetan in 1969; visited Nepal and Bhutan 1967-68; India 1971-72; Ladakh 1975. Main publication The Tibetan Carpet, Aris & Phillips, Warminster, 1974.

EBERT, Jorinde (maiden name CRAMER)
* 11 September 1943 to the paediatricians Dr. Selke and Dr. A. Cramer; childhood in the Near East and Africa; Return to Germany 1958; 1963 "Abitur" and studies in Sinology, Indian-, Central-Asian- and European Art, Freie Universität Berlin; 1968-69 exchange-scholarship to the Sophia University, Tôkyô, Japan; October-March 1970-71 collection of material for a doctorate thesis on "Parinirvāṇa" in Japan; 1975-78 papers on various aspects of the Parinirvāṇa-theme; 1978 doctoral thesis, Würzburg University. Married to Prof. Dr. Rolf Ebert (theoretical physicist), two children.

FISCHER, Klaus
Dr. phil. in History of Art, Heidelberg 1948; "habilitation" in Indian History of Art, Bonn 1966. Bonn University, Seminar for Oriental History of Art, Wissenschaftlicher Rat and Professor.

FRANZ, Heinrich Gerhard
* 1916 in Dresden, Germany; 1934/39 study of History of Art, Classic Archaeology and Orient-History, Universities of Munich, Vienna and Berlin; Dr. phil Berlin 1939; 1943 Dr. phil. habil., Breslau University (Wroclav); 1946 Mainz University, lecturer, 1950 apl. Professor; 1962 Graz University, Professor and Head of the Institute of History of Art. Travels in the Near-East for study of Islamic art, research in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan. Studies in the Far-East. Publications on baroque architecture, esp. in Bohemia and Saxony, on Netherlandish landscape painting, on Buddhist art and Hindu and Islamic art of India.

GAIL, Adalbert
* 11 August 1941 at Düren, West Germany. 1968 doctorate with a thesis on Indian Philology, Munich; 1969-72 postgraduate studies at Paris and Prague; 1972-73 curator of Central Asian Section of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin; since 1974 Professor for Indian Art at the Freie Universität Berlin; 1978 "habilitation" for Indian Philology and Art.

GOSWAMY, Brijinder Nath
* 15 August 1933 in Sargodha, India. Professor of History of Art and Head of the Department of Fine Arts, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India. Author of various publications on Indian Art.

GUTSCHOW, Niels
* 1941 in Hamburg. Educated (Dipl.-Ing) as an architect and planner, Technische Hochschule Darmstadt; Ph.D. on the Castle Towns of Japan. 1974-77 research fellow of the German Research Council at the Technische Hochschule Darmstadt with repeated field work in Nepal and India. In collaboration with the German UNESCO-commission research into urban conservation. At present conservation officer of the municipality of Münster.

IRWIN, John
John Irwin began his professional career as organizer of the British Royal Academy's great Winter Exhibition of Indian Art held in 1947-48. After 32 years in the Victoria & Albert Museum, he recently retired from the position of Keeper of the Oriental Department. He is now a short-term Research Fellow of Leverhulme Foundation and works at his home.

Klimkeit, Joachim
* 23 July 1939. Born and grown-up in India; English school education; studies on Religious Theology and Philosophy in Tübingen, Heidelberg and Bonn; Ph.D. thesis (1964) on Comparative Religious Science; Research in Harvard (USA) and Bangalore (South India); "habilitation" in Bonn, 1968; appointed full Professor and Director of the Seminar of Religious Science, Bonn University, 1972. Main field of research: History of Indian Religions, Manichaeism, Problems of Comparative Religious Science. Author of several publications.

LEDDEROSE, Lothar
* 12 July 1942 in Munich. Studies in the History of East Asian Art, History of Western Art 1961-1969 in Cologne, Bonn, Paris, Taipei and Heidelberg. Ph.D. thesis (1969) on "Die Siegelschrift (chuan-shu) in der Ch'ing Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der chinesischen Schriftkunst". Grant from the Commonwealth Fund of New York, Harkness Fellowship (1969, 2 years, Harvard Universities); studies at the National Palace Museum, Translator and English editor "National Palace Museum Quarterly" (as of fall 1971). Research fellow at the University of Tokyo, grant from the German Research Council (January 1973-September 1975); Associate Researcher Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Berlin Dahlem); part-time lecturer, Universities of Berlin and Cologne (1975); "habilitation" University of Cologne (February 1976); since October 1976 Professor of East Asian Art History, Heidelberg University.

LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, Johanna Engelberta
* 25 October 1919 at Amsterdam. 1941 "Candidaats" examination Indo-Iranian Studies (Sanskrit, Cultural History of India, Ancient History of Indonesia); 1945 "Doctoraal" examination Indo-Iranian Studies (Art and Archaeology of India, Art and Archaeology of Indonesia, Art and Archaeology of Indo-China, Pāli); 1949 Ph.D. degree, thesis on "The Scythian Period"; 1942-51 "Docent" Sanskrit, University of Groningen; 1946-51 "Lector" Ancient History and Culture of Indonesia, University of Utrecht; 1951-59 Lecturer Indian Art and Archaeology, University of Cambridge; 1959 Professor of Archaeology and Prehistory, Ancient History and History of Art of South and South-East Asia, University of Amsterdam. 1958 Virginia Gildersleeve Fellow, American Association of University Women; 1961 Dean Vibert Douglas Fellow, Canadian Association of University

Women; 1977 Research Fellow St. Edmund's House, Cambridge University. Editor "Handbuch der Orientalistik", Abt. Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie; editor "Studies in South Asian Culture". 125 publications.

MICHELL, George
Trained originally as an architect; studies in Indian archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies; doctoral thesis on Chalukya temples. Publication on 'The Hindu Temple: an introduction to its meaning and forms'; currently engaged in studying the David McCutchion archive of Bengali brick temples. Co-editor of Art and Archaeology Research Papers (AARP); editor of 'Architecture of the Islamic World'. For several years organisation of courses on oriental architecture at the Architectural Association, London.

MITTERWALLNER, GRITLI VON
Dr. phil. 1963 in Art History, Indology and Archaeology, University of Munich; "habilitation" in Indology in Munich, 1971; teaching Indian Art and Archaeology in the Institute of Indology and Iranian Studies, University of Munich, since 1971. Author of several publications.

PIEPER, Jan
* 1944. Studies in Architecture, Berlin and Aachen; post-graduate studies in History and Theory of Architecture (Architectural Association), Development Planning (Development Planning Unit), London University; Ph.D. thesis on Colonial Changes in the Indian Urban System; architect and town planner with Prof. Böhm and Buckinghamshire County Council, England. Since 1974 Assistant Professor, Institut of Urban Planning, Aachen University. Study (for "habilitation") on Indian Urban Geography and Architectural Anthropology.

ROSEN, Elizabeth
* New York City. B.A. in Art History, Hunter College, The City University of New York, 1963; M.A. in Art History, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1970. Currently completing Ph.D. in Indian Art on the Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Institute of Fine Arts.

ROTH, Gustav
* 22 January 1916 in Breslau (Silesia). Studies on Sanskrit, New Persian, Russian and History of Art, Pāli, Tibetan, Iranistics, Archaeology, 1937-40; trained in New Persian and Hindustani, Interpreter Unit of the German Army, Meissen, 1941-43; interpreter of Hindustani, Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) of Subhas Chandra Bose, area of Bordeaux. Studies in Indology, Vedic Sanskrit and Avesta, Arabic and New Persian, History of Art, Munich University; Ph.D., Indology, Iranistics and History of Art, 1952. Government of India scholarship for two years, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University; participation in the Kumrahar Excavations, Pāṭaliputra, deciphering of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet, 1953-55. One year lecturer, Science College, Patna University. Lecturer of German, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, 1956-59. Research at the Bīr Library, Kathmandu. Assistant Professor, Indologisches Seminar, Göttingen University (teaching Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, Bengali). At present Assistant Professor, Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde, Göttingen University (Middle and New Indic Languages). Author of many publications.

RUELIUS, Hans
* 16 March 1941 in Hochheim/Main. Studies on Indology, Religious Science, Philosophy, Anthropology, Indo-European Linguistics, Greek and Ecclesiastical History, Marburg University, 1963-65; studies on Religious Science, Philosophy, Indology, Tibetan, Göttingen University; research in Ceylon (fellowship from the German Academic Exchange Service), 7 months 1968/69; Ph.D. thesis on Śāriputra and Ālekhyalakṣaṇa, Göttingen University, 1971.

SECKEL, Dietrich
* 6 August 1910 in Berlin. 1936 Dr. phil. (Berlin) in Art History and German Philology and Literature; thesis on: Hölderlins Sprachrhythmus, Leipzig 1937. 1937-47 Lecturer in German language and literature at Japanese Government colleges and universities (Hiroshima, Urawa, Tokyo); research work in East Asian Art. 1948-76 Lecturer, later Professor of East Asian Art at Heidelberg University; since 1976 Professor Emeritus. Author of numerous publications on East Asian Art.

SHERRIER, Julian
Native of Gandhara. Student of Buddhist Art. Talk on 'Mahāparinirvāṇa' S. Asian Seminar at Victoria and Albert Museum, April 1977.

SLUSSER, Mary Shepherd
Ph.D. in Anthropology-Archaeology-Art history, Columbia University, NYC. Fieldwork in Indochina, especially Laos, and in Nepal. Six years in Nepal. Author of several papers and a two-volume work on Nepal.

WIESNER, Ulrich
* 1943 in Breslau. Museum of Eastern Art, Cologne. Lecturer at Cologne University. Special fields of research: Nepalese architecture, Chinese export ceramics to Islamic countries, history of scientific writing on East Asian Art.

ADDRESSES OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE SEMINAR

Dr. P. Aithal	South Asia Institute, Department of Indology, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. F.R. Allchin	Institute of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Ave., GB-Cambridge CB3 9DA
Dr. (Mrs.) B. Allchin	Institute of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Ave., GB-Cambridge CB3 9DA
Mr. G. Bandini	South Asia Institute, Department of Indology, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. (Mrs.) D. Gräfin Bernstorff	South Asia Institute, Department of Political Science, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. G. Bhattacharya	Herbststraße 24, D-1000 Berlin 51
Mr. P.M. Charton	South Asia Institute, Department of History. History of Art, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. (Mrs.) A.L. Dallapiccola	South Asia Institute, Department of History. History of Art, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. Ph. Denwood	School of Oriental and African Studies, Department of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, Malet Street, GB-London WC1 7HP
Dr. (Mrs.) M. von Dewall	South Asia Institute. Department of Ethnology. Archaeology, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. (Mrs.) J. Ebert	Mittlerer Steinbachweg 13, D-8700 Würzburg
Prof. Dr. (Mrs.) E. von Erdberg	Ludwigsallee 59, D-5100 Aachen
Dr. E. Fischer	Rietberg Museum, Gablerstraße 15, CH-8002 Zürich
Prof. Dr. K. Fischer	Seminar für Orientalische Kunstgeschichte, Universität Bonn, D-5300 Bonn
Prof. Dr. H.G. Franz	Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Graz, Universitätsplatz 3, A-8010 Graz
Prof. Dr. G. Fussman	13, Rue de Seltz, F-6700 Straßbourg
Prof. Dr. A.J. Gail	Franziusweg 43, D-1000 Berlin 49
Mrs. A. Goetz	Gutenbergstraße 8, D-6900 Heidelberg
Mr. K.-H. Golzio	Balduinstraße 7, D-5450 Neuwied 1
Prof. Dr. B.N. Goswamy	Department of Fine Arts, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 160009, Panjab, India
Dr. N. Gutschow	Wilhelmstraße 63, D-4400 Münster
Dr. D. Halcour	South Asia Institute, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. J.C. Harle	The Ashmolean Museum, Department of Eastern Art, GB-Oxford OX1 2PH
Mrs. E. Hoddy	Burgunderstraße 17, D-5000 Köln

Mr. J.C. Irwin	Ashford Chace, Steep Petersfield, Hampshire GU32 1AB, England
Dr. M. Jansen	Königsstraße 23, D-5100 Aachen
Dr. (Mrs.) G. Jettmar	Bergstraße 148, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. D.B. Kapp	South Asia Institute, Department of Indology, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. Dr. H.J. Klimkeit	Religionswissenschaftliches Seminar, Universität Bonn, D-5300 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Mrs. I. Klinger	Kunsthistorisches Institut, Department of Far Eastern Art, Seminarstraße 4, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. M. Kraatz	Religionskundliche Sammlung der Philipps-Universität, D-3550 Marburg
Prof. Dr. Kraft	Im Gabelacker 8, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. Dr. L. Ledderose	Kunsthistorisches Institut, Department of Far Eastern Art, Seminarstraße 4, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. Dr. (Mrs.) J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw	Van Breestraat 22, NL-Amsterdam-Z.
Dr. J. Lütt	South Asia Institute, Department of History, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. L. Lutze	South Asia Institute, Department of Indology II (Modern Languages and Literatures), Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. G. Michell	AARP, 102, St. Paul's Road, GB-London N1 2LR
Dr. (Mrs.) G. von Mitterwallner	Hanfstaenglstraße 19. D-8000 München 19
Miss. J. Molitor	South Asia Institute, Department of History. History of Art, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. (Mrs.) E. Moser-Schmitt	Heinrichstraße 15, D-6842 Bürstadt 2
Mrs. Young Sook Pak	Im Gabelacker 8, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr.J. Pieper	Bismarckstraße 106, D-5100 Aachen
Mrs. U. Rettberg	Surya Galerie, Hauptstraße 37, D-6713 Freinsheim
Dr. (Mrs.) W.Reuss-de Lobo	Museum für Indische Kunst, Takustraße 40, D-1000 Berlin 33 (Dahlem)
Mrs. E. Rosen	401 East 74 Street, New York, N.Y. 1oo21, USA
Dr. G. Roth	Brandenburgerstraße 12, D-3406 Bovenden 1 (Lenglern)
Prof. Dr. D. Rothermund	South Asia Institute, Department of History, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. H. Ruelius	Rohnsterassen 8, D-3400 Göttingen
Prof. Dr. J. Schäfer	Archäologisches Institut, Marstall-Gebäude, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. Dr. D. Seckel	Hans-Thoma-Straße 49, D-6900 Heidelberg

Mr. J. Sherrier	6, Spanish Place, GB- London W1
Dr. Ing. K.G. Siegler	Humboldstraße 6, D-7000 Stuttgart
Dr. (Mrs.) M. Slusser	c/o USAID, American Embassy, 144, Avenue de la Liberté, Tunis, Tunisia
Dr. P. Snoy	South Asia Institute, Department of Ethnology, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Prof. Dr. G. Sontheimer	South Asia Institute, Department of Indology III (History of Religion and Philosophy), Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. Thewald	Seminar für Orientalische Kunstgeschichte, Universität Bonn, D-5300 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Dr. (Mrs.) M. Thomsen	Linden-Museum, Asien-Abteilung, Hegelplatz 1, D-7000 Stuttgart
Dr. U. Wiesner	Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Universitätsstraße 100, D-5000 Köln 1
Mrs. S. Zingel-Avé Lallemant	South Asia Institute, Im Neuenheimer Feld 330, D-6900 Heidelberg
Dr. (Mrs.) M. Yaldiz-Kessel	Museum für Indische Kunst, Takustraße 40, D-1000 Berlin 33 (Dahlem)

Index of the works cited

Abdul Waheed Khan, Md., A Monograph on an Early Buddhist Stupa at Kesanpalli. 121

Abdul Waheed Khan, Md., An Early Sculpture of Narasiṁha. 120

Abegg, E., Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran. 264

Acharya, P.K., A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture. 34, 204

Ackermann, H.C., Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. 86

Agrawala, R.C., Newly Discovered Sculptures from Vidiśa. 86

Agrawala, V.S., A new Gupta Temple at Darra in Malwa. 85

Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum III. Jaina Tirthankaras and other Miscellaneous Figures. 84

Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, IV - Architectural Pieces. 83, 85, 86

Agrawala, V.S., Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra. 83

Agrawala, V.S., Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P. 8

Allchin, F.R., Neolithic Cattle Keepers of South India. 155

Allchin, F.R., Sanskrit Eḍūka - Pāli Elūka. 8

Allchin, F.R., The Petition to Rām. 154

Alsdorf, L., Der Stūpa des Kṣemaṃkara. 207

Andrews, F.H., Wall paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein. 49

Añjanī Nandan Śaraṇ, Vinaya Pīyūṣ. 155

Āpasthamba-Śrautasūtra. 264

Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, Annual Report 1911-1912. 35

Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Reports (ASCAR) for the years 1909-1914. 265

Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1908-1909. 50

Ariana. 33

Arthaviniśyaya-sutra. 205

Asmussen, J.P., Der Manichäismus als Vermittler literarischen Gutes. 237

Asmussen, J.P., Manichaean Literature. 237

Auboyer, J., Le trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne. 34

Auboyer, J., The Art of Afghanistan. 110

Auboyer, J. & J. Enault, La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne. 66

Auer, G., N. Gutschow, Bhaktapur: Gestalt, Funktionen und religiöse Symbolik einer nepalischen Stadt im vorindustriellen Entwicklungsstadium. 142

Bachhofer, L., Die frühindische Plastik. 51

Bagley, R.W., P'an-lung-ch'eng: A Shang City in Hupei. 243

Bailey, H.W., Hvatanica III. 317

Bailey, H.W., Vajrayāna Texts from Gostana. 317

Bandyopadhyay, S., see: University of Calcutta. Department of Ancient History.

Banerjea, J.N., The Development of Hindu Iconography. 84

Banerji, R.D., Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture. 110, 111

Banerji, R.D., The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments. 32

Banerji, R.D., Three Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum. 83

Bareau, A., La construction et le culte du stûpa d'après les 'Vinayapitaka'. 203, 204, 224

Bareau, A., Les Recits canoniques des Funerailles du Buddha et leurs anomalies: nouvel essai d'interprétation. 216

Bareau, A., Les Sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule. 121, 122, 123, 216

Bareau, A., Recherche sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sutrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka. 216

Barrett, D., A Group of Bronzes from the Deccan. 110

Barrett, D., Sculpture from Amaravati in the British Museum. 86, 121

Barrett, D., Two unpublished sculptures from the Andhradeśa. 172

Barthoux, J., Les fouilles de Haḍḍa: 1. Stupas et Sites. 49

Barua, B.M., A Bodh-Gayā Image Inscription. 84

Beal, S., see: Hsüan-tsang.

Begley, W.E., Viṣnu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra. 120

Bénisti, M., Étude sur le stûpa dans l'Inde ancienne. 32, 164, 203, 204, 207, 224, 289, 291

Bénisti, M., Le stūpa monolithe du Musée National de Phnoṃ Penḥ. 173

Bénisti, M., Rapports entre le premier art Khmer et l'Art Indien. 85

Bénisti, M., and Ph. Stern, Évolution du style d'Amarâvatî. 225

Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ageless Borobudur. 288, 291, 292

Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art. 289, 290, 291, 317

Bernet Kempers, A.J., Herstel in eigen Waarde. 289

Bernet Kempers, A.J., Monumental Bali. 288

Bhagavānlāl Indraji, Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padaṇa. 109, 110

Bhandarkar, D.R., Buddhist Stūpa at Saidpur in Sind. 34

Bhandarkar, D.R., Excavations near Mirpur Khas. 51

Bhandarkar, D.R., Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II. 84

Bhandarkar, D.R., The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagarī. 86

Bhattacharya, A.K., The Theme of Churning the Ocean in Indian and Khmer Art. 33

Bhattacharya, B., The Indian Buddhist Iconography. 109

Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya. 205

Bigandet, P., Life and Legend of Gautama Buddha of the Burmese. 216

Blo-ldan-snying-po, 'Dus-pa rin-po-che dri-ma rmed-pa gzi-brjid rab-tu 'bar-ba'i mdo. 181

Bosch, F.D.K., Buddhist data from Balinese texts. 316

Bosch, F.D.K., De Oudheden te Palgading. 289

Bosch, F.D.K., Het Lingga heiligdom van Dinaja. 35
Bosch, F.D.K., The Golden Germ. 35, 207
Bosch, F.D.K., Verslag van een Reis door Sumatra. 290, 291
Boyce, M., The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian. 237
Briggs, G.W., Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Jogis. 8
Brockelmann, C., Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān Luγāt at-Turk. 237
Bronson, B., The Archaeology of Sumatra and the Problem of Srivijaya. 290
Brown, P., Indian Architecture. 66
Buddhacarita. 33
Bukkyô Geijutsu = Ars Buddhica. 256
Burgess, J., A Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kachh. 8, 9
Burgess, J., The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta. 66, 121
Burrows, E., Some Cosmological Patterns. 33
Bussagli, M., Arte del Gandhara. 110
Bussagli, M., Eros Indiano. 96
Bu ston, the collected Works. 204
Caland, W., see: Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra.
Census of India 1961. 142
Chanda, R., The Mathurā School of Sculpture. 85
Chandra, M., A study of the terracottas from Mirpur Khas. 51
Chandra, P., Stone sculpture in the Allahabad Museum. 172
Chavannes, E., see: Shi-chi.
Chhabra, B.Ch., Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehvalasri's Time. 120
Chôsen Koseki Zufu, 6. 256
Combaz, G., L'Inde et l'Orient Cassique. 86
Comissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, Rapporten. 289
Coomaraswamy, A.K., Early Indian Architecture. 33
Coomaraswamy, A.K., Elements of Buddhist Iconography. 31
Coomaraswamy, A.K., Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst. 95
Coomaraswamy, A.K., La Sculpture de Bharhut. 86
Coomaraswamy, A.K., Le corps parsemé d'yeux. 35
Coomaraswamy, A.K., Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique. 225
Coomaraswamy, A.K., Yakṣas. 264
Corpus des pierres sculptées Han (Estampes). 244
Cousens, H., Buddhist stupa at Mirpur Khas. 51
Cousens, H., The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts. 265
Cowell, E.B., see: Divyāvadana.
Croissant, D., Funktion und Wanddecor der Opferschreine von Wu Liang Tz'u. 244
Cunningham, A., Archaeological Survey of India. Reports. 32, 86
Cunningham, A., Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple at Buddhagaya. 66, 84

Cunningham, A., The Stūpa of Bharhut. 95

Damais, L.-Ch., Études d'épigraphie indonésienne. 291

Davidson, H.R.E., The Hill of the Dragon. 34

Davidson, J.L., Art of the Indian Subcontinent from Los Angelos Collections. 111

De Casparis, J.G., De Dateering der teekens op de Tempelsteenen van Tjandi Soemberawan. 289

De Casparis, J.G., Prasati Indonesia I. 317

Dehejia, V., Early Buddhist Rock Temples. 66

Deo, S.B., Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu. 164

Derrett, J.D.M., Bhū-bharaṇa, Bhū-pālana, Bhū-bhojana: an Indian conundrum. 36

Desai, D., Erotic Sculpture of India. 96

Deydier, H., Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhara. 48

Dhaky, M.A., The 'Akāsāliṅga' finial. 35

Dharma-Samgraha. 204

Director-General of Archaeology in India, Annual Report 1919-20. 85

Divyāvadana. 31, 32, 154, 264

Dube, K., Tourism and Pilgrimage in Varanasi. 142

Dutt, N., Buddhist sects in India. 121

Dutt, S., Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. 121

Edgerton, F., Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. 8, 204, 207

Eggeling, J., see: Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Eliade, M., Cosmical homology and yoga. 34

Eliade, M., La coincidentia oppositorum et le mystère de la totalité. 94

Eliade, M., Spirit, Light and Seed. 35

Encyclopaedia of Islam. 317

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. 7, 8

Erp (van), Th., Nieuwenkamp's nieuwe kijk op den Boroboedoer. 287, 289.

Erp (van), Th., The Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas. 290

Fabri, C.L., Mesopotamian and early Indian Art. 86

Filliozat, J., Catalogue du fond sanscrit. 203

Fischer, K., Erotik und Askese in Kult und Kunst der Inder. 95, 96

Fischer, K., Schöpfungen indischer Kunst. 95

Fleet, J.F., Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their successors. 84, 87

Fontein, J., R. Soekmono, S. Suleiman, Ancient Indonesian Art. 317

Fontain, J. and Wu Tung, Han and T'ang Murals. 243

Foucher, A., Étude sur l'iconogaphie bouddhique de l'Inde. 164

Foucher, A., L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara. 109, 216

Foucher, A., La vieille route de Bactres à l'Inde à Taxila. 49

Foucher, A., Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhāra. 94, 95

Foucher, A., The Beginnings of Buddhist Art. 109

Foucher, A., J. Auboyer, Les vies Antérieures du Bouddha. 95, 96
Francke, A.H., Antiquities of Indian Tibet. 130
Franz, H.G., Buddhistische Kunst Indiens. 48, 49, 50, 51
Franz, H.G., Der buddhistische Stupa in Afghanistan. 49, 50
Franz, H.G., Der buddhistische Umgangstempel. 51
Franz, H.G., Der Stūpa mit der Kultnische. 49, 173
Franz, H.G., Die buddhistische Kultsäule. 51
Franz, H.G., Hinduistische und islamische Kunst Indiens. 49, 51
Franz, H.G., Pagode, Stupa, Turmtempel. 50
Franz, H.G., Pagode, Turmtempel, Stupa. 49, 50
Franz, H.G., Stupa, Tempel und Umgang. 49
Franz, H.G., Von Gandhara bis Pagán. 49, 50, 51
Frazer, J.G., The Serpent and the Tree of Life. 35
Frédéric, L., Tempel und Skulpturen. 110
Frédéric, L., The Temples and Sculptures of Southeast Asia. 316, 317
Fussman, G., Le renouveau iranien dans l'empire Koushan. 51
Fussman, G., Pur une problématique nouvelle des religions indiennes anciennes. 95
Fussman, G., Ruines de la vallée de Wardak. 49
Fussman, G. and M. Le Berre, Le Monastère de Gul Dara. 49

Gabain (von), A., Alttürkische Grammatik. 237
Gabain (von), A., Türkische Turfantexte X. 236
Gai, G.S., The Inscriptions of Rāmagupta. 87
Garbe, R., Indien und das Christentum. 207
Gaster, T.H., Some Ancient Oriental Folklore. 33
Geiger, W., see: Mahāvaṁsa.
Gershevitsch, I., A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian. 237
Getty, A., The Gods of Northern Buddhism. 109
Gnosh, A. and H. Sarkar, Beginning of Sculptural Art in South-East India. 225
Gnoli, R., Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters. 164
Gnoli, R., see: Sanghabhedavastu.
Goetz, H., Imperial Rome and the Genesis of Classic Indian Art. 66
Goetz, H., Nepal. 172
Goetz, H., The Early Wooden Temple of Chamba. 95
Gonda, J., The Indian Religions in pre-Islamic Indonesia and their survival in Bali. 287, 289
Goswamy, B.N. and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori. 8
Goswamy, B.N. and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar. 8
Gren, E., see: Ariana.
Gropp, G., Archäologische Funde aus Khotan. 49
Growse, F.S., Mathurā. 83
Grünwedel, A., Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in chinesisch Turkistan. 237
Grünwedel, A., Buddhist Art in India. 109, 110

Grünwedel, A., Buddhistische Studien. 96

Grünwedel, A., Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und in der Mongolei. 111

Gupta, P.L., Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities. 111

Gupte, R.S., Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. 110

Gupte, R.S., The Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures (Caves) of Ellora, Aurangabad. 110

Gutschow, N., Kāṭhmāṇḍu. 142

Gutschow, N., Prozessionen in Patan, Nepal. 142, 155

Gutschow, N. and B. Kölver, Ordered Space: Concepts and Functions in a Town of Nepal. 142

Härtel, H., Indische und Zentralasiatische Wandmalerei. 225

Härtel, H., Some Results of the Excavations at Sonkh. 120

Hallade, M., Indien: Gandhara. 66, 110, 111

Hambis, L., Central Asia. 50

Hambis, L., Mission Paul Pelliot II. 49

Hambis, L., Mission Paul Pelliot III. 49, 50.

Handurukande, R., The Benefit of Caitya Worship. 264

Hargreaves, H., Excavations at Jamalgarhi. 48, 49

Hargreaves, H., Excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dehri. 50

Hargreaves, H., Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi. 50

Harle, J.C., Gupta Sculpture. 66, 85, 86, 87, 110

Harle, J.C., Three Types of Wall in Early Western Calukyan Temples. 66

Hartland, E.S., Primitive Paternity. 35

Hasrat, B.J., History of Nepal. 174

Hastings, J., see: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Haug, W., Studien zur Geschichte und Vorgeschichte der Literatur des europäischen Mittelalters. 95

Heesterman, J.C., The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration. 34

Heinrichs, A., Mani and the Babylonian Baptists. 236

Heinrichs, A., and L. Koenen, Ein griechischer Mani-Codex. 236

Held, G.J., The Mahābhārata. 35

Henning, W., Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch. 236

Hirakawa, A., The Rise of Mahāyāna and its Relation to the Worship of Stupas. 33, 122, 123, 204

Hodgson, B.H., On the Extreme Resemblance that Prevails between many of the Symbols of Buddhism and Saivism. 173

Holmberg, U., Der Baum des Lebens. 33, 34

Holmboe, M.C.A., Traces de Buddhisme en Norvège. 34

Hôryûji Gojû-no-tô Hihô Chôsa. 256

Hsüan-tsang, Si-yu-ki. 109, 207

Hultsch, E., Inscriptions of Aśoka. 224

Hummel, S., Die Lamaistische Kunst in der Umwelt von Tibet. 130

Hummel, S., Geschichte der Tibetischen Kunst. 130

IJzerman, J.W., Beschrijving van de Boeddhistische Bouwwerken te Moeara Takoes. 290, 291

Image (the) of the Buddha. 110, 111

Indian Archaeology. 1954-1955. 122

Indian Archaeology. 1956-1957. 120

Indian Archaeology. 1957-1958. 120, 122

Indian Archaeology. 1958-1959. 109

Ingholt, H., Gandhāran Art in Pakistan. 84, 86, 109, 110, 111

International Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period. 48

Irwin, J.C., 'Aśokan' Pillars. 32, 33, 264

Irwin, J.C., Indian Art. 111

Irwin, J.C., The Axis Mundi and the Phallus. 36

Irwin, J.C., The Heliodorus Pillar at Besnagar. 32, 35

Irwin, J.C., The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis. 31

Irwin, J.C., The Stūpa and the Cosmic Axis (*yūpa-yaṣṭi*). 31, 32

Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), Reports on the 1956-1950 in Swat (Pakistan). 96

Itihāsa-samśodhana pramāṇa-prameya. Ed. by D. Vajracharya. 164

Johnston, E.H., see: Buddhacarita.

Joseph, M.B., The Vihāras of the Kāṭhmāṇḍu Valley. 142

Joshi, N.P., Mathura. 87

Joshi, N.P., Mathura Sculptures. 95, 96

Juynboll, H.H., Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum V. 288

K'ao-ku 1963/9; 1972/6. 243, 244

K'ao-ku Hsüeh-pao, 1965/1. 243, 244.

Kara, G. and P. Zieme (Ed. and Tr.), Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung. 237

Karmay, S.G., The Treasury of Good Sayings. 181

Keall, E.J., Qaleh-i Jazdigird and the question of its date. 66

Kenneth, K.S., Ch'en. 244

Kirfel, W., Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. 264, 265

Kirpatrick, C., An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. 142

Klimburg, M., Male-female polarity symbolism in Kafir art. 95

Klimkeit, H.-J., Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln aus Turfan. 236, 237

Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Jaarboek V. 289

Konow, S., Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions. 122

Kramrisch, S., Die Figurale Plastik der Guptazeit. 84

Kramrisch, S., The Art of Nepal. 173

Krishna-Deva, Temples of North India. 66

Krom, N.J., De Beteekenis van Tjandi Djadi. 289

Krom, N.J., De bronsvondst van Ngandjoek. 316

Krom, N.J., Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis. 291

Krom, N.J., Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst. 289, 290, 291

Krom, N.J. and Th. van Erp, Beschrijving van Barabudur. 287, 288, 289, 291

Kuiper, F.B.J., Cosmogony and Conception. 33

Kuladatta, Kriyā-samgraha. 203

Kumar, K., The Buddhist Origin of Some Brahmanical Cave Temples at Ellora. 174

Lamb, A., Mahayana Buddhist Votive Tablets in Perlis. 288

Landon, P. Nepal. 155

Le Coq (von), A., Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien II. 236, 237

Le Coq (von), A., Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I. 237

Lessing, F.D. and A. Wayman, Mkhas-grub-rje's Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras. 316, 317

Lévi, S., Le Népal. 155, 163

Lewis, B., see: Ariana.

Licchavikālakā-abhileka. Compendium by D. Vajracharya. 163, 164, 165

Lim, K.W., Studies in later Buddhist Iconography. 316

Lippe, A., The Freer Indian Sculptures. 225

Litvinsky, B.A., Outline of Buddhism in Central Asia. 48

Lohuizen-de Leeuw (van), J.E., Catalogue Rietberg Museum. 111

Lohuizen-de Leeuw (van), J.E., South-East Asian Architecture and the Stūpa of Nandangarh. 292

Lohuizen-de Leeuw (van), J.E., The Dhyāni-Buddhas of Barabudur. 291

Lohuizen-de Leeuw (van), J.E., The Dvārapāla of Barabudur. 288

Lohuizen-de Leeuw (van), J.E., The 'Scythian' Period. 84

Lokesh Chandra, The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas. 317

Longhurst, A.H., The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. 120, 121

Luard, C.E., Gazetteer Gleanings in Central India, 1. 87

Luard, C.E., The Buddhist Caves of Central India - 2. 86

Lubac (de), H., Aspects du Bouddhisme. 31

Lüders, H., Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur. 94, 95

Lüders, H., Die Vidyādharas in der buddhistischen Literatur und Kunst. 95

Lüders, H., Mathurā Inscriptions, unpublished papers. Ed. by Klaus L. Janert. 84

Mackenzie, D.N., The Buddhist Sogdian Texts in the British Museum. 237

Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (MPS). 203

Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta. 122

Mahāvadānasūtra. 109

Mahāvaṁsa. 123

Mahāvyutpatti. 203

Maillard, M., Essai sur la vie matérielle dans l'oasis de Tourfan pendant le haut Moyen-Age. 50

Majumdar, R.C., The Pālas. 292

Mallmann (de), M.T., Introduction à l'inconographie du Tântrisme Bouddhique. 84

Mallmann (de), M.T., Notes de l'iconographie Tāntrique, V. 84

Marchal, H., Note sur la forme de stūpa au Cambodge. 289

Marg. 110

Marshall, J., A Guide to Taxila. 66

Marshall, J., Excavations at Sārnāth. 85

Marshall, J., Taxila. 49, 155, 288

Marshall, J., Taxila - An illustrated account of Archaeological Excavations. 86, 87, 288

Masterpieces of Chinese Bronze Mirrors. 244

Matsunaga, A., The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation. 317

Mehta, R.N. and Chowdhary, Excavations at Devnimori. 51

Meister, M., Construction and conception. 66

Michalowski, K., Palmyra. 66

Michell, G., Early Western Calukya Temples. 67

Michell, G., The Hindu Temple. 142

Michell, G., The Regents of the directions of space. 265

Michell, G., The Southern Indian Temple Style. 67

Mitra, D., Buddhist Monuments. 67, 109, 110, 111

Mitra, D., Sanchi. 109

Mitra, D., Three Kushan Sculptures from Ahicchcchatrā. 87

Mitterwallner (von), G., Studien zur Chronologie der Gupta Kunst. 83, 85, 87

Mitterwallner (von), G., Studies on the Art under the Guptas. 84

Mizuno, S., Chûgoku no Bukkyô-Bijutsu. 244

Moens, J.L., Barabudur, Mendut en Pawon. 316

Moens, J.L., Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste Bloeiperiode. 290, 291

Monier-Williams, M., A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. 7

Mudaliar, V.M., New Light on the Linga Cult. 34

Mukherji, P.C., A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, in 1899. 34

Mus, P., Barabudur, Esquisse d'une Histoire du Bouddhisme. 31, 265

Mus, P., Barabudur - Les origines du stupa et la transmigration. 31, 224

Nābhā Dās, Śrī Bhaktamāl. 154

Nagaswamy, R., Gangaikondacholapuram. 265

Nanavati, J.M. and M.A. Dhaky, The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat. 83, 85

Needham, J., Science and Civilisation in China. 244

Neil, A.R., see: Divyāvadana.

Nicholas, C.W. and S. Paranavitana, A Concise History of Ceylon. 265

Nieuwenkamp, W.O.J., Iets over de Klei-Stoepa's van Pedjeng op Bali. 288

Niṣpannayogāvalī. 109

Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions. 35

O'Flaherty, W.D., Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva. 95, 96

Ol'denburg, S.Th., Russkaja Turkestankaja Ekspeditzija. 50

Ooka, M., Temples of Nara and their Art. 244

Ort, L.J.R., Mani. 237

Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (1919). 288

Oudheidkundig Verslag 1924 (1925). 288

Oudheidkundig Verslag 1925 (1926). 288, 289

Oudheidkundig Verslag 1929 (1930). 289

Oudheidkundig Verslag 1937 (1938). 289

Oudheidkundig Verslag 1939 (1940). 291

Pal, P., Bronzes of Kashmir. 96, 110, 111

Pal, P., Buddhist Art in Licchavi Nepal. 164, 172, 173, 174

Pal, P., The Aiḍūka of the Viṣṇudharmottara-pūraṇa and certain aspects of stūpa symbolism. 8, 35

Pal, P., The Arts of Nepal: Part 1. Sculpture. 155, 172, 173, 174

Pal, P., The Sensuous Immortals. 111

Panofsky, E., Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism. 274

Paranavitana, S., Civilisation of the Early Period: Religion and art. 292

Paranivitana, S., Civilisation of the Polonnaru Period: Religion, Literature and Art. 291, 292

Paranavitana, S., The Stūpa in Ceylon. 20, 33, 264, 265

Pelliot, P., Notes on Marco Polo. 317

Pensa, C., Considerazioni sul tema della bipolarità nelle religioni indiane. 94

Perrot, G. et C. Chipiez, History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria and Lycia. 34

Petech, L., Medieval History of Nepal. 174

Petersen, Th., Zwei neugefundene Kultobjekte aus der älteren Steinzeit. 34

Pieper, J., Asthetics of Hindu Urban Architecture. 130

Pieper, J., Arboreal art and architecture. 32

Pieper, J., Die Anglo-Indische Station. 130

Pieper, J., Südindische Stadtrituale. 130

Pigeaud, Th.G.Th., Java in the 14th century. 289, 291

Pisani, J., Von Leochares bis Aśvaghoṣa. 96

Plaesche, H., Zur Chronologie der Amarāvatī-Schule. 86, 225

Polotsky, H.J., Manichäische Homilien. 236

Post and Telegraph Guide. 317

Prakīrṇaka-Caitya-Lakṣaṇa Mahāsāṁghika-Lokottaravādin. In: Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana. 203

Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. 37

Pruscha, C. et al., The Kathmandu Valley, the Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage. 155

Przyluski, J., La légende de l'empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna) dans les textes. 33, 154.

Przyluski, J., Le Concile de Rajagriha. 216

Przyluski, J., Le Parinirvana et les Funerailles. 216, 217

Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon. 317

Ramachandran, T.N., Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 1938. 121

Ramachandran, T.N., The Nāgapaṭṭinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum. 111, 317

Rao, T.A.G., Elements of Hindu Iconography. 35

Rea, A., South Indian Buddhist Antiquities. 67

Regmi, D.R., Ancient Nepal. 155

Regmi, D.R., Medieval Nepal. 155, 164, 172

Rhie, M.M., Some Aspects of the Relation of 5th century Chinese Buddha Images ... 83

Rijal, B.K., Archaeological activities in Lumbini 1976-77. 155

Robertson, J.M., Christianity and Mythology. 32

Romondt (van), V.R., De Werkzaamheden aan de Oudheid te Soemberawan bij Singosari. 288, 289

Rosen, El.S., The History and Buddhist Architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. 120

Rosenfield, J.M., The Dynastic Art of the Kushanas. 50, 84, 95, 108, 109, 110, 165

Roth, G., Particular Features of the Language of the Ārya-Mahāsāṁghika-Lokottaravādins. 206

Roth, G., Remarks on the Stūpa-Lakṣaṇa-Kārikā-Vivecanam. 207

Roth, G., see: Bhikṣunī-Vinaya.

Route de la soie (La). 49

Rowland, B., The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu and Jain. 67

Rowland, D., Zentralasien. 50

Saddharma-Puṇḍarika or The Lotus of the True Law. 224

Sādhanamālā. 109

Sahni, D.R., Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth. 84, 85

Śākya, Hemarāja, Śri-Svayambhū Mahācaitya. 207

Samtani, N.H., see: Arthaviniśyaya-sutra.

Sanghabhedavastu. 201

Sankaranarayanan, S., Rentala Pillar Inscriptions of Siri-Chantamula I. 121

Sarkar, H., Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India. 67, 120, 121, 122, 123

Sarkar, H. and B.N. Misra, Nagarjunakonda. 96, 120

Sarkar, H.B., Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java. 317

Sastri, K.A.N., A History of South India. 265

Sastri, K.A.N., The Cōḷas. 265

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. 264

Schafer, E.H., The Golden Peaches of Samarkand - A Study of T'ang Exotics. 244

Schalk, P., Der Paritta-Dienst in Ceylon. 274

Schiefner, A., Zur buddhistischen Apokalyptik. 109, 110

Schlingloff, D., Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch. 204

Schmitthausen, L., Die vier Konzentrationen der Aufmerksamkeit: Zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung einer spirituellen Praxis des Buddhismus. 204

Schnitger, F.M., Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra. 290, 291

Schnitger, F.M., Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang Lawas. 290

Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra. 290, 291

Schnitger, F.M., Vondsten te Moeara Takoes. 290

Schuyler, C., The TLV Pattern on the Cosmic Mirrors of the Han Dynasty. 244

Schwab, J., Das altindische Thieropfer. 32

Schwartz, M., Review of: D.N. Mackenzie (ed. and trsl.) The Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions' in Sogdian. 237

Schwartz, M., Sogdian Fragments of the Book of Psalms. 237

Seckel, D., Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens. 243

Seckel, D., The Art of Buddhism. 243

Seimal', E.V., Kushanskaja Chronologija. 48

Shah, P., see: Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa.

Shakya, H., Abhileka-prakāśa. 164

Sharma, R.C., Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in the State Museum Lucknow. 86

Sharma, R.C., Kuṣāṇa Acquisitions in the Mathurā Museum during the last decade. 84

Sharma, R.C., Mathurā Museum and Art. 85

Shih-Chi, 244

Shorto, H.L., The Stūpa as Buddha Icon in South East Asia. 34, 291

Sickman, L. and A. Soper, The Art and Architecture of China. 244

Silva (de), L., The symbolism of the Indrakīla in the Parittamaṇḍapa. 33

Sircar, D.C., A Note on the Mathurā Inscriptions of Candra Gupta II. 84

Sircar, D.C., Indological Notes. 87

Sircar, D.C., More Inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. 122

Sircar, D.C., Nagarjunakonda Inscriptions of the Time of Abhira Vasushena. 120

Sircar, D.C., Some Brahmi Inscriptions. 122

Sircar, D.C. and K.G. Krishnan, Two Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda. 120

Sircar, D.C. and A.N. Lahiri, Footprint Slab Inscription from Nagarjunikonda. 123

Sivaramamurti, C., South Indian Bronzes. 111

Slusser, M.S., Nepal Mandala: A Cultural History of the Kathmandu Valley. 163, 164

Slusser, M.S. and G. Vajracharya, Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures: A Reappraisal within their Cultural and Historical Context. 163

Slusser, M.S. and G. Vajracharya, Two Mediaeval Buildings: An Architectural and Cultural Study. 163

Smith, R.B. and W. Watson, Early South East Asia. 290

Smith, V.A., Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period. 86

Smith, V.A., The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Matura. 51, 85

Snellgrove, D.L., Buddhist Himalaya. 155

Snellgrove, D.L., Shrines and Temples of Nepal. 173

Snellgrove, D.L., The Nine Ways of Bon. 181

Snellgrove, D.L., see: Image (The) of the Buddha.

Snoy, P., Die Kafiren. 95

Soper, A.C., Japanese Evidence for the History of the Architecture and Iconography of Chinese Buddhism. 244

Soper, A.C., The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan. 243

Soundara-Rajan, K.V., Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples of Andhra Pradesh. 120, 123

Soundara-Rajan, K.V., Indian Temple Styles. 67

Srinivasan, K.R., Temples of South India. 67

Srivastava, K.M., Kapilavastu in Basti District of U.P. 84

Stein, A., Ancient Khotan. 49

Stein, A., Innermost Asia. 49

Stein, A., Serindia. 49

Stein, R.A., Tibetan Civilisation. 33

Stein Callenfels (van), P.V., Rapport over een Dienstreis door een deel van Sumatra. 291

Stein Callenfels (van), P.V., Tjaṇḍi Dadi. 289

Stein Callenfels (van), P.V., Verslag van Dr. P.V. Stein Callenfels over zijn Inspectiereis door Sumatra. 291

Stern, Ph. et M. Bénisti, Évolution du style Indien d'Amarāvatī. 86

Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana. 203, 204, 206

Stutterheim, W.F., Beschrijving der gevonden terracotta-fragmenten. 289

Stutterheim, W.F., Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java in Beeld. 287

Stutterheim, W.F., De Oudheden-collectie Resink-Wilkens. 288

Stutterheim, W.F., Een bronzen Stūpa. 288

Stutterheim, W.F., Enkele Oudheden van Bali. 288

Stutterheim, W.F., Iets over den oorspronkelijken Naam van Tjandi Soemberawan. 289

Stutterheim, W.F., Voorlopige Inventaris der Oudheden van Bali. 288

Stutterheim, W.F., Oudheden van Bali. 288

Stutterheim, W.F., Tjaṇḍi Dadi - een "Tower of Silence". 289

Sūtra (The) of the Causes and Effects of Actions' in Sogdian. 237

Suzuki, D.T., see: Tripitaka, The Tibetan.

Taddei, M., Harpocrates - Brahma - Maitreya. 96

Taddei, M., India. 110

Taddei, M., Inscribed Clay Tablets and Miniature Stūpas from Ghazni. 34

Taddei, M., Tapa Sardar. 49

Tajima, Ryūjun, Les Deux Grands Maṇḍalas et la Doctrine de l'Esoterisme Shingon. 317

Takakusu, Junjirō, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosphy. 316

Taylor, G., The Roman Temples of Lebanon. 67

Thanka Art. 164

Toyo Bunko Research Society, Memoirs. 121

Tripitaka. (The Tibetan) 204

Trivedi, R.K., see: Census of India.

Tsui Chi, Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsen. 236, 237

Tucci, G., Buddhism. 86

Tucci, G., Il tempio di Bsam Yas. 34

Tucci, G., mc'od Rten e ts'a ts'a nel Tibet Indiano ed Occidentale. 32, 130, 181, 203, 204

Turner, V.W., Betwixt and Between. 274

Uhlig, H. Buddhistische Kunst aus dem Himalaya. 111

Uittreksel uit de Oudheidkundige Verslagen over 1931-1935. 288, 289

University of Calcutta. Department of Ancient History. Ācārya-Vandanā. 31, 32

Vajracharya, D., see: Itihāsa-saṁśodhana-prameya.

Vajracharya, D., see: Licchavikālakā-abhileka.

Viennot, O., Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde ancienne. 31, 33

Viennot, O., Le Temple Ruine de Mukuṅdara entre Mālwa et Rājasthān. 85

Viennot, O., Temples de l'Inde Centrale et Occidentale. 67

Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa. 8, 207

Vogel, J.Ph., Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda. 122, 123

Vogel, J.Ph., Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā. 51, 84, 86

Vogel, J.Ph., La Sculpture de Mathura. 51, 84, 110

Vogel, J.Ph., Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda. 121, 122, 123

Vogel, J.Ph., The Mathurā School of Sculpture. 84

Vogel, J.Ph., The Sacrificial Posts of Isāpur. 32, 264

Vogel, J.Ph., The Temple of Bhitargaon. 67

Waldschmidt, E., Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha. 216

Waldschmidt, E., Ein zweites Daśabalasūtra. 204

Waldschmidt, E., see: Mahaparinirvanasutra (Das).

Waldschmidt, E., und W. Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus. 237

Watters, T., On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India. 110

Watts, A., Erotic Spirituality. 94

Way (The) of the Buddha. 94, 95

Wayman, A., The Buddhist Tantras. 317

Wayman, A., and H. Wayman, The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā. 121, 122

Weiner, S.L., Ajaṇṭā Iconography and Chronology. 85

Weller, F., Der chinesische Dharmasaṃgraha. 206

Weller, F., Divyāvadāna. 207

Weller, F., Schauplatz und Handlung im Buddhacarita. 96

Weller, F., Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa. 317

Wen-Hsüan, Die chinesische Anthologie. 243, 244
Wen Wu 1976/2. 244
Wen Wu 1977/2. 244
Wheatley P., The Pivot of the Four Quarters. 33
Wheeler, M., Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers. 67
Wiesner, U., Nepal. 172, 174, 207, 265
Wiesner, U., Nepalese Temple Architecture. 173
Wiesner, U., Zur Frage der vier sogenannten Asoka-Stūpas in Patan. 154
Willetts, W., An 8th Century Buddhist Monastic Foundation Excavation at Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District of Orissa. 173
Williams, J., Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life. 84
Williams, J., The iconography of Khotanese painting. 317
Williams, J., The Sculpture of Mandasor. 86, 87
Wilson, H.H., Notice sur trois ouvrages boudddhiques reçus du Népal. 35
Winternitz, M., History of Indian Literature. 154
Woodward Jr., H.W., Barabodur. 288
Wrede, H., Stadtrömische Monumente, Urnen und Sarkophage des Klinentypus in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten n.Chr. 225
Wright, History of Nepal. 174

Yang Lien-Sheng, An additional Note on the Ancient Game Liu-Po. 244

Zach (von), E., see: Wen-Hsüan.
Zimmer, H., The Art of Indian Asia. 291
Zürcher, E., The Buddhist Conquest of China. 244

Index of geographical names, persons, gods and monuments

The spelling of the names is according to the current English transcription

Abhayagiri 260, 262
Abhayakaragupta 302
Abhira Guptas 163 (n)
Abhira Vasushena, see Vasushena
Ackermann, H.C. 86 (n)
Adam 30
Adityavarman 285
Afghanistan passim
Agni 26, 265 (n)
Agrawala, V.S. 4, 72, 76, 84 (n), 86 (n)
Ahicchatra 5, 74, 102, 104,
Ahura Mazda (= Ohrmizd) 232
Aihole 64, 65, 265 (n)
Ai Khanum 51 (n), 61
Ajanta 41, 60, 61, 64, 65, 75, 80, 103, 105, 160, 210, 222, 287
Ajita, see Maitreya
Akshobhya 231, 305, 313
Allchin, F.R. 2, 3, 29, 30, 32 (n), 201
Alsdorf, L. 13
Amaravati 7 (n), 21, 41, 59, 60, 65, 66, 79, 80, 114, 117, 167, 210, 221 sqq., 260, 261, 263
Ämoäkka, 267
Amithaba 231, 305, 313, 316
Amitayus 301
Amoghasiddhi 305, 313
Amoghavajra 308
Ananda 19, 103, 116, 183, 184, 197, 198, 211, 214, 215, 216 (n)
Anandadeva 163 (n)
Anandagarbha 301, 306
Anathapindada 184
Andhra 41, 47, 59, 61, 64, 112 sqq.
Annurudha 211 sqq.
Anshuvarma 152
Antichak 47
Anuradhapura 261 sqq.
Apah 306
Apollo 26
Arabian Sea 66
Aristhanemi 80, 81
Aristophanes 26, 35 (n)
Arjuna ratha 65
Ashoka 19, 20, 138, 147 sqq., 219
Ashokan Stupas 147 sqq.
Ashtabhujaswamin, see Vishnu
Ashtadikpala 262 sqq.
Ashtamatrika 140
Ashvaghosha 91, 94, 95 (n)
Aśoka, see Ashoka
Astana 45
Aśvagoṣa, see Ashvaghosha
Atlantic 229
Auboyer, J. 34
Augustinus (S.) 31, 229, 234
Aurangabad 105
Avalokiteshvara 100, 105, 107
Azes 149

Baal-Shamin 60
Babylonia 229
Bactria 39, 51 (n), 59, 62, 66, 199
Badami 65, 265 (n)
Bagmati 151
Bailey, H.W. 33 (n)
Balaputra 287
Bali 278, 282
Balkh 40, 307
Bandini, G. 321
Banepa 158
Banerjea, J.N 74
Banerji, R.D. 85 (n)
Bangladesh 64
Barabudur 24, 210, 261, 277 sqq., 301 sqq.
Bareau, A. 118, 185, 206 (n), 210
Barthoux, J. 80
Beal, S. 307
Bedsa 60
Bedulu 278, 279, 282, 284
Bell, H.C.P. 262
Benares 100, 142, 148
Bengal 8 (n), 106, 107, 210
Bénisti, M. 13, 195, 196, 201, 202, 205 (n)
Bernet Kempers, A.J. 314
Bernier, F. 307
Besnagar 28
Betik 308
Bhairava 140, 285
Bhaja 18, 61, 186
Bhaktapur 137 sqq., 310
Bhallika 76
Bhamala 40, 223
Bharhut 60, 79, 91 sqq., 148, 153, 210, 221
Bhattacharya, G. 32 (n), 90, 94, 96 (n)
Bhattacharyya, D.C. 8 (n)
Bhikshatana 93
Bhikshu-Kashyapa, see Maha-Kashyapa
Bhimsen 140
Bhitargaon 63
Bhubaneswar 62
Bhupatindra Malla 137, 139
Bhutan 128
Biaro Bahal 284, 285
Bihar 100, 106

Bilsad 73
al-Biruni 308
Bishnupur 107
Bodhgaya 1, 16, 20, 63, 73, 76, 101, 102, 148, 153, 171, 173 (n), 252
Bodhisiri 119
Bodnath 139
Boechari 309
Bögü Khan 230
Bokhara 307
Borobudur, see Barabudur
Bosch, F.D.K. 202, 280, 285, 304 sqq.
Brahma 263
Brahm Nath 8 (n)
Brebes 309
Buddha Gaya, see Bodhgaya
Buddhaguhya 301
Buddhajiva 118
Budhagupta 81
Bukit Seguntang 284
Bumi-Ayu 309
Bumsegoro 309
Burgess, J. 6, 7
Bu-ston Rin chen grub 185, 302
Butkara 39, 41, 94
Bziza 62

Caland, W. 32 (n)
Calcutta (Indian Museum) 75
Candragupta, see Chandragupta
Central Asia passim
Ceres 30
Ceylon, see Sri Lanka
Cha Bahil 153, 159, 164 (n), 167 sqq.
Chadasiri 117
Chai Jung 242
Cha Kimshan 308
Chakrasamvara 301
Chalukya 64, 65
Chamtamula 114, 121 (n)
Chamtisiri 114 sqq.
Chandi Bungsu 284
Chandi Dadi 282
Chandi Jabung 286, 287
Chandi Jawi 286
Chandi Kalasan 280, 286
Chandi Mendut 286
Chandi Pawon 286
Chandi Plaosan 280
Chandi Sewu 286, 304, 306, 308
Chandi Tua 284
Chandigarh 6
Chandragupta II 81
Ch'ang-an 253, 255
Changspa 127, 129
Changu Narayana 157, 162
Charsadda 104
Charton, A. 321
Charton, P. 321
Charumati vihara 150, 153
Chedi 120 (n)
Chien-fu-sse 253
China 43 sqq., 238 sqq., 249 sqq. et passim
China Sea 229
Chisho Daishi, see Enchin
Chola 64, 107, 263, 310
Chotscho, see Kočo
Choya Bahil 151
Chuma Ganesh 140
Chunda 183
Chupuwatu 280, 281
Coomaraswamy, A.K. 12, 18, 19, 31, 261
Cunningham, A. 148

Daianji 242
Daigoji 251
Dallapiccola, A.L. VII, 321
Dattatreya 140
De Casparis 308, 309
Deccan 41, 47, 62, 65, 66
Delphi 26
Denwood, Ph. 128
Deogarh 80, 82, 83
Deopatan 150, 153, 168, 170
Derrett, J.D.C. 36
Desa Chandi Reja 306
Devanampiya Tissa 13
Devnimori 47
Dewall (von), M. 244 (n), 321
Dhaky, M.A. 27
Dhamek 149
Dhamnar 78
Dharmachakra 149
Dharmadeva 159
Dharmarajika 39, 46, 148
Dhritarashtra 4
Dhruva Tila 74, 77, 78
Dhvaka Bahal 161, 162, 170
Dhyani Buddhas 101, 284, 304
Dieng 315
Diesfeld, H.-J. VII
Digudhyah 141
Dikpalas 262
Dilberdjin 51 (n)
Dioscures 51 (n)
Dipankara Buddha 72, 73, 75, 140, 141
Divankara, see Dipankara
Dolanji 178
Drona 216
Durga 138
Dutt, S. 113
Dutthagamini 17
Dvipantara 314

Ebert, J. 90, 291 (n)
Ehuvala Chamtamula 112, 116, 118, 120 (n), 121 (n), 122 (n)
Ejima, Y. 195, 206 (n)
Ellora 41, 65, 105, 160, 287
Enchin 253
Eran 80 sqq.
Erp (van), Th. 279, 281, 282
Euripides 17

Fabri, C.L. 80
Fa-hsien 100 sqq., 186, 195
Fa-kin 147
Filliozat, J. 198

Firuz Shah Tughluq 32 (n)
Fleet, J.F. 82
Fo-kuang-sse 253
Fondukistan 105
Foucher, A. 80, 210
Francke, A. 127
Frédéric, L. 313
Frye, R.N. 308
Fujiwara Munehiro 253
Fukien 229
Fussman, G. 51 (n)

Gail, A. 94
Gandhara IX, 39 sqq., 59, 62, 63, 66, 74, 80, 91, 103, 104, 108, 119, 128, 167, 210, 221 sqq.
Gangaikondacholapuram 263
Ganges 47, 63, 147, 148, 152, 263
Garbe, R. 199
Garhwa 81, 82
Gautama 100, 102 sqq., 212, 219, 223
Gaya, see Bodhgaya
Getty, A. 102
Ghantashala 172 (n)
Ghazni 40
Gnoli, R. 201
Goetz, A. 320
Goetz, H. 167, 320
Gokarneshvara Tila 72, 79
Golgotha 30
Golmadhi 139, 140
Goswamy, B.N. VIII, 35 (n), 93, 199, 321
Govinda 81
Govindnagar 77
Grünwedel, A. 42, 45, 108, 225 (n), 233
Guhyasamaja Akshobya 301
Guhyeshvari 150
Gul-Darrah 40
Gunadharma 312
Gunung Tua 285
Gupta 47, 61, 62, 63, 65, 72 sqq., 91, 112, 162, 222
Gurupadaka, see Kukkutapadagiri
Gutschow, N. 153, 155 (n)
Gyantse 302

Hadda 40, 46
Hadigaon 162, 164 (n)
Härtel, H. 120 (n)
Hagia Sophia 174 (n)
Halcour, D. 321
Han 239 sqq., 250
Hanumante 137, 141
Harle, J.C. 63, 94
Harshavardhana 157
Haryana 6
Hatra 46, 61
Hayagriva 101
Hayam Wuruk 283
Heesterman, J.C. 24
Heliodorus Pillar 28
Hemis 127
Hemis Gompa 128
Herodotus 35 (n)
Heruka 285
Himachal Pradesh 316
Himalaya 105, 137
Hindu Kush 66
Hirakawa, A. 113, 115, 185
Hodgson, B.H. 171
Hokkiji 238, 239
Holingol 239
Holmboe, M.C.A. 34
Honan 255
Horyuji 238 sqq., 249, 250
Hsi-an 255
Hsiao-yen-t'a 255
Hsüan-tsang 100 sqq., 148, 149, 154, 307
Hui-kuo 305
Hui-lin 308
Hummel, S. 130
Hunan 239
Hupei 243
Hutt, A. 35 (n)

IJzerman, J.W. 285
Ikshvaku 112, 114, 115, 117, 120 (n)
Imre-Mara 90
Inaco 139, 140
Indonesia passim et 277sqq.
Indra 15, 22, 23, 24, 140, 141, 261, 265 (n)
Indrayani 140
Indreshvara Mahadeva 157
Indus Valley 47, 127, 128, 229
Iran 199
Iraq 61
Irwin, J.C. VII, VIII, 29, 90, 202, 264 (n)
Ishana 265 (n)
Isisimgi 92
Istanbul 174 (n)
Istikhan 308
I-tsing 185

Jaggayyapeta 59, 60, 66, 121 (n)
Jakarta 281, 282
Jakarta (National Museum) 281, 282
Jakhbar 6, 8 (n)
Jalalabad 40
Jamalgarhi 39
Japan 238 sqq. et passim
Jaulian 39, 45, 46, 279
Jawa passim et 277, 278, 282 sqq., 306, 309
Jawi 286
Jesus 29, 30, 31, 231 sqq.
Jetavana Dagoba 262
Jogjakarta 278, 280
Jong (de), G.W. 304
Jongké 278
Joseph, M.B. 142 (n)
Juan-Yüan 240
Julien, S. 307
Jung, C.G. 35 (n)
Kabul 40

Kadariki 92
Kafiristan 90
Kailasa 162
Kalachuri 120 (n)
Kalasan 280, 309
Kalawan 46
Kali 171
Kal Pande 154
Kama 90 sqq.
Kamadhatu 90
Kamakura 253
Kamal-Pokhari 141
Kampar 284
Kanakamuni 219
Kanauj 157
Kanchi 307
Kandahar 154
Kandy 267
Kanheri 61, 105
Kanishka 2, 40, 46, 48 (n)
Kanishka (stupa) 46
Kanthkot 6
Kapilavastu 148
Kapisha 39, 59, 154
Karangtenah 310
Kargil 106
Karli 61
Karmay, S.G. 175
Karttikeya 112, 114
Karunamaya 138
Kashgar 40, 308
al-Kashgari Mahmud 235
Kashi-Kshetra 141
Kashmir 4, 61, 105, 106, 119
Kasthamandapa 157, 162
Kashyapa Buddha 102, 103
Kasia 222
Kasurangganan 282
Kathamdau 139
Kathmandu 137 sqq., 154, 157 sqq., 166 sqq., 202
Kediri 306
Kesanapalli 121 (n)
Khajuraho 62, 91
Kholvi 78
Khotan 40, 307, 308, 311, 312
al-Khwarizmi 308
Kirivehara 21, 261, 262
Kirtipur 139, 150, 153, 154
Kobo-Daishi, see Kukai
Kočo 41, 42, 44, 45, 230, 234
Konagamana 147
Konarak 91
Kondamotu 120 (n)
Kondane 60
Kongobuji Temple 212
Korea 249 sqq.
Koya-san 212, 253
Kraatz, M. 93
Krakucchanda 27
Kramrisch, S. 74
Krishna (river) 120 (n)
Kritanagara 286
Krom, N.J. 281, 285, 306
Kshemenkara 12
Kubera 4, 265 (n)
Kuča 40, 42, 233
Kuduk-tol 312
Kuiper, F.B.J. 13, 18, 23, 33 (n)
Kukkutapadagiri 101, 102, 103, 108
Kukai 253, 302, 305
Kuladatta 164 (n), 183, 195, 196, 202, 224 (n)
Kumarajiva 118, 312
Kumbheshvara 152, 173 (n)
Kumrahar 252
Kunala 39
Kushinagara 211, 212, 215, 221, 222
Kushana 39, 46, 47, 48 (n), 72, 74 sqq., 92, 103, 104, 163, 173 (n)
Kvaerne, P. 175
Kyoto 251

Ladakh 106, 127 sqq.
Lakshmana Temple 64
Lalitpur 196
Lalma 40
Lamayuru Gompa 127, 128
Lanon, P. 152, 154
Lasku-dyah 138
Lassen Chr. 3
Lauriya-Nandangarh 40
La Vallée Poussin (de), L. 13
Lebanon 62
Le Coq, v.A. 234
Leh 127 sqq.
Lele 158
Lembatidranga, see Lele
Lessing, F.D. 302
Levy, R. 142 (n)
Lhasa 313
Licchavi 138, 147, 150, 151, 153, 154, 157 sqq., 166, 168 sqq.
Lim, K.W. 306
Liu-chia-chü 239, 241
Lodroe Rinpoche 206 (n)
Lohuizen-de Leeuw (van), J.E. 27, 94, 199, 225 (n), 265 (n)
Lokahirtimahavihara, see Naka-Baha
Lokanatha 101, 285
Lokapalas 4, 7, 8 (n), 160, 262
Lokeshvara 101, 138
Lommel, H. 13
Lo-yang 43, 242
Lubac, H. 31
Lucknow 72
Lütt, J. 321
Lumbini 74, 148
Lung-men 43, 250
Lu-she-na 236

Madhuban (or Maholi) 74
Madras 107
Mahabalipuram 64, 65
Mahabalipuram (rathas) 64, 65
Mahabodhi 63
Mahadeva Pushpabhadraswamin 112
Mahakala 169, 173 (n)
Maha-Kashyapa 102, 103, 199, 212 sqq., 223
Mahakuta 64
Mahanaga 21

Mahasena, see Karttikeya
Mahavairochana 303, 311, 312, 314
Mahavajradhara 306
Mahipala 149
Maholi, see Madhuban
Mahua 62
Maitreya 74, 100 sqq., 231 sqq.
Maligai 284, 285
Malla 137, 138, 149 sqq., 157, 158 sqq., 211 sqq.
Mallmann (de), M.T. 74, 84 (n)
Manandhar, T.L. 140, 142 (n), 174 (n)
Mandara 24
Mandasor 80, 81
Mani 229 sqq.
Manikyala 39
Manjushri 308, 316
Mankuwar 82
Mansa Devi 6
Manushi Budda 102
Mara 90 sqq., 191
Marshall, J. 39, 148, 149
Mathura 14, 47, 72 sqq., 91, 92, 103, 104, 210, 222, 260
Mathura (Government Museum) 72 sqq.
Matsyendranath 140
Maudgalyana 184
Maurya 147, 148, 152, 153
Meguti (hill) 65
Meguti (temple) 64
Melanippe 17
Menoreh 312
Meru 4, 16, 177, 179, 261, 263, 264, 279, 302, 309 sqq.
Mesopotamia 16
Minanatha 173 (n)
Miran 40, 41, 45
Mirisaväti 260
Mirpur Khas 47
Mitra, D. 25
Mitterwallner (von), G. 51 (n), 225 (n)
Mkhas-grub-rje 310, 311
Moens, J.L. 308
Mohra Moradu 172 (n), 279
Molitor, J. 321
Mongolia (Inner) 239
Mori-tim 40
Mrtiyu 91
Muara Takus 284
Mukden 130
Mukherji, P.C. 25
Mukundara 62, 78
Mulbek 106
Mulungan 280, 281
Mus, P. 12, 13, 18, 219, 220

Nagapattinam 107, 287, 310, 314, 315
Nagarahara 39
Nagari 80
Nagarjuna 2, 253
Nagarjunakonda 7 (n), 41, 47, 63, 65, 94, 112 sqq., 210
Nagarjunasagar 112, 114
Nagas 26, 103, 178, 216 (n)
Nageshvara 26
Nagipattana, see Nagapattinam
Naka-Baha 169, 173 (n)
Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha 65
Nalanda 47, 63, 287
Nanda 91, 94
Nanjuk 304, 306
Nara 238, 242, 249, 252
Narasimha 81, 82, 120 (n)
Narendradeva 157
Nasamana 140
Nav Bahar 307
Negapatam, see Nagapattinam
Nepal 137 sqq. et passim
Nigali Sagar 147, 219
Nirriti 265 (n)
Nissankamalla 262
Numidikath 307
Nyatapola dega 310

O'Flaherty, W. 93
Ohrmizd, see Ahura Mazda
Ort, L.J.R. 233
Orissa 173 (n)
Osia 62
Oxus 48 (n), 61

Padang Lawas 284 sqq.
Padang Rocho 285
Padmapani 72, 105
Paharpur 47, 64
Paiva 212
Pakistan 39, 48 (n), 90
Pal, P. 2, 3, 4 sqq., 8 (n', 105, 166, 167
Pala 47, 106, 107, 222
Palembang 278, 284
Palgading 280, 281
Pallas Athena 30
Pallava 64, 65, 308
Palmyra 60, 65
Panauti 157
Pandava 140
P'an-lung-chen 243
Parakramabahu I 262
Paramashiva 281
Paramashunya 281
Paranavitana, S. 20, 21, 260
Parker, H. 267, 274
Pashupathinatha 153, 157, 158, 162, 174 (n)
Pasuruhan 286
Patan 137 sqq., 147 sqq., 169, 170, 173 (n)
Patna 148
Pattadakal 64, 65
Patuko Dhun 153
Pauni 151
Pèjèng 278
Pelliot, P. 307
Persia 230
Peshawar 46, 199
Petra 61
Pieper, J. 16
Pindori 6
Pinjore 6

Pitalkhora 60
Plaosan 280
Poensen 312
Poerbatjaraka, R. Ng. 306
Polonnaruva 21, 210, 261 sqq.
Potala 313
Prajapati 14
Pratyeka-Buddha 184, 199
Prapancha 282, 306
Prithvi 306
Prithvi Narayan Shah 154
Priyadarshi 148
Pruscha, C. 152
Przyluski, J. 18, 147, 210, 212
Pseudo-Chrysostom 30
Pujahari Math 142
Punjab 6

Qumtura 223, 224
Qyzil 223, 224, 233

Rahula Gupta 198
Rajagriha 148, 215
Rajasthan 80
Rajendra Chola 263
Rajgir 63
Ramanatha, A.A. 200
Ramgupta 81
Ranganatha 314
Rani, S. 198
Rankotvehara 261, 262
Rashtrakuta 64
Ratnasambhava 305, 313
Rato-Matsyendranath 138
Rawak 40, 46
Ray 307
Regmi, D.R. 149, 150, 166
Rentala 121 (n)
Rin-chen-bzan-po 316
Rishayashringa 92, 94
Roda 62
Romondt (van), V.R. 283
Rosen, E. 90, 94
Ross, A. 32 (n)
Roth, G. 94, 164 (n), 264 (n), 288 (n), 289 (n), 291 (n)
Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, see Rishyashringa
Rudrapurushadatta 120 (n), 121 (n)
Ruegg, D. Seyfort 201
Ruvanväli 260

Sachau, E. 308
Saidpur 26
Sakai Shiro 304
Sakya, H. 196, 198, 202
Salam-Ganesh 140
Samantabhadra 316
Samaratunga 309
Samarkand 307, 308
Samudragupta 75
Sanchi 7 (n), 13, 39, 60 sqq., 79, 81, 82, 91, 92, 149, 151, 154, 162, 163, 198, 210, 221, 238
Sarcar, H. 94, 113, 115, 116, 121 (n)
Sarnath 61, 63, 72 sqq., 148, 149, 210
Sarnath (Site Museum) 73 sqq.
Sarvadeva 112, 113
Sarvavid Vairochana 301
Sasanians 61, 229
Saurashtra 6
Schlingloff, D. 190
Schmithausen, L. 198
Schnitger, F.M. 284, 295
Seckel, D. 238, 291 (n)
Semarang 280
Sena 222
Senart, E. 18
Sengupta, R. 34 (n)
Shah, P. 3, 4, 7, 8
Shah-ji-ki-dheri 46
Shailendra 301, 308 sqq.
Shakyamitra 301
Shakyamuni 16, 74, 175, 177, 180, 210, 219, 220, 223, 252, 302, 316
Shang 239, 243 (n)
Shankara 172
Shankaracharya 172
Shankardar 40
Shankha 261
Shapur 229
Shariputra 183, 184, 197, 198
Shenrap 175 sqq.
Shen-si 43
Sherrier, J. 94
Shiva 112, 158, 281
Shivabuddhalaya 286
Shivabuddhaloka 286
Shivadeva 170
Shiva-Pashupatinath 138
Schorchuq, see Sorčuk
Shravasti 148
Shri Kahulunnan 309
Shri Kesarivarmadeva 179
Shrimala 113 sqq.
Shri Rangam 314
Shrivijaya 287
Shubhakarasimha 307
Siddha-Pokhari 141
Siddhartha 90, 100, 103 sqq.
Siddhi Narasimha Malla 150
Sidorejo 315
Si Joreng Belanga 284, 285
Si Longgong 284
Sind 47, 307
Singhasari 282
Sinkiang 40, 45
Si Pamutung 284, 286
Sircar, D.C. 82
Sirkap 39, 46, 78, 148, 149
Sirpur 64
Sirsukh 39
Si Soldop 284
Six Dynasties 44
Slusser, M. 142 (n), 155 (n)
Smith, H. 8 (n)
Smither, J.G. 260
Snellgrove, D.L. 175
Sondani 80 sqq.
Sonkh 120 (n)

Sontheimer, G. 93, 321
Sopara 103
Soper, A. 238, 244 (n)
Sorčuk 42
Spies, C. 278
Spituk Gompa 127
Sri Lanka 20, 21, 47, 48, 260 sqq., 267
Srinivasan, K.R. 65
Stein, A. 40
Stein Callenfels (van), P. V. 282
Strabo 35 (n)
Stutterheim, W.F. 278, 279, 283, 306, 314
Su-bahal-hiti 161
Subashi 40, 42
Subhada 212
Subhadra 211
Suddhana 303, 316
Sukhavati 231
Sumatra 278, 279, 283 sqq.
Sumberawan 282 sqq.
Sumeru, see Meru
Sundari 91
Sungei Langsat 285
Sung-shan 255
Sung-yun 199
Sura Pratap 154
Surjamadhi 140
Surkh Kotal 46
Surya-Binayaka 140
Susa 46
Suvarnabhumi 315
Svayambhunath 139, 150, 152, 153, 159, 170, 202, 261
Swat 39, 41, 46
Syrkup 42, 45

Tabo 316
Tachapal 137, 139, 140
Taddei, M. 207 (n)
Tai-san 45
Takakusu, J. 303
Takht-i-Bhai 46, 104
Tamil-Nadu 107
Tamonten 240
T'ang 43, 253
Tara 101, 284, 309
Tarai 25, 147
Tarim Basin 44
Tashkent 308
Taumadhi 137, 140, 142
Taxila 39, 40, 45, 46, 59. 115, 122 (n), 148, 149, 279
Taxila (silver scroll) 122 (n)
Tehran 307
Tejas 306
Tekhacho Tol 138
Teku 166, 167
Tepe-i-sardar 40
Tepe-i-shotor 40
Ter 65
Tertullian 30
Tibet passim
Tidar 24
Tigawa 61, 62, 81, 82
Tikse Gompa 128
Tiru-mangai 314
Topavăva 263
Topdarrah 40
Top-e-Rustam 40
Toyika 103
Toyuq 42
Trapusha 76
Trivikrama 65
Tsang 175
Tsemo Gompa 129
Tucci, G. 24, 127, 187 sqq., 196, 207 (n)
Tugurejo 280, 281
Turkhara (Lo) 308
Tulungagung 282
Tundi Khel 171
Tun-huang 212, 229, 252, 308
Turfan 40, 41, 42, 229, 230, 234
Turkestan (Eastern) 40, 44
Turner, V.W. 271
Tveitane, M. 34 (n)

Udayagiri 77
Uku-baha 173
Unbescheid, G. 321
Upper Shivalaya 65
Uttarasena 40

Vairochana 101, 236, 254, 255, 302 sqq.
Vairochanabhisambodhi 301
Vaishali 148
Vajradhara 306
Vajrajinaparamitrapura 286
Vanaspati 16, 17
Vanavasi 118
Varahamihira 91
Varanasi, see Benares
Varuna 265 (n)
Vasumitra 114
Vasushena 120 (n)
Vayu 165 (n), 306
Vibhandaka 92
Vidisha 77, 80 sqq., 154
Vidyadhara 92
Viennot, O. 31
Vijayanagara 64
Viramadevi 163 (n)
Virapurushadatta 114, 116, 119, 120 (n), 121 (n), 122 (n)
Virudha 4
Virupaksha 4
Visha Darma 308
Visha Sura 308
Vishnu 15, 120, 138, 263
Vishvakarma Cave 65
Vogel, J.Ph. 51 (n), 78, 86 (n)
Vritra 22

Wajak 282
Waldschmidt, E. 189, 191, 193, 210
Wang Hsüan-t'se 157
Wardakh 40
Wayman, A. and H. 113, 114, 302, 310

Wei (Northern) 43, 44
Weiner, S.L. 85 (n)
Welirang 286
Wiesner, U. 147, 161, 164 (n)
Winternitz, M. 147
Wogihara Unrai 304
Wright, D. 150, 153, 172
Wu (empress) 241, 307
Wu-t'ai-shan 253

Yakshamalla 174 (n)
Yakushiji 242, 252
Yama 265 (n)
Yar 41, 42
Yar-khoto 42, 45
Yung-ning ssu 242
Yün-kang 43, 44, 45, 250
Zhan-zhung (ancient Western Tibet) 176
Zingel, S. 321
Zoller, K.P. 321
Zongtse, J. 185

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

John Irwin: The Axial Symbolism of the Early Stūpa: An Exegesis

I, 1 The Great Stūpa, Sāñcī, showing Marshall's restoration of the original axial *yaṣṭi* and *vedikā*-railing found in fragments around the summit. (Photo from a slide in author's possession.)

I, 2 Relief depicting *stūpa* with a monumental axial pillar protruding from the summit. From Amarāvatī, 1st-2nd century A.D., now in British Museum. (Photo by the author.)

I, 3 Relief depicting *stūpa* with monumental axial pillar sprouting foliage of a *pipul* tree. The relief is attributed to Jaggayapeta, about 1st century B.C., and now in Madras Museum. (Photo by the author.)

I, 4 Relief depicting *stūpa* with axial symbol in vegetative form, the terminals of which are suggestive of both lotus and parasol (*chattra*). Attributed to Amarāvatī, 1st-2nd century A.D., and now in Madras Museum. (Photo by the author.)

I, 5 A *pipul* tree growing out of the summit of a *stūpa*. Tukan Bahal, Kathmandu, Nepal, as seen to-day. (Drawing by Dr. Jan Pieper.)

I, 6 Kiri Vehara, Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka. An ancient foundation enlarged (with present superstructure added) in medieval period. (After S. Paranavitana, The Stupa in Ceylon. 1946, Plate VI.)

I, 7 Mahānāga Stūpa, Tissa, Sri Lanka. A sketch made in 1883, before completion of summital restoration, and showing axial pillar protruding. (After H. Parker, Ancient Ceylon. 1909, fig. 92.)

I, 8 Fragment of a stone axial pillar found among ruins of Mirisavātiya Stūpa, Sri Lanka. (After S. Paranavitana, The Stupa in Ceylon. 1946, Plate VI (b).

I, 9 The Heliodorus Pillar, Besnagar, 2nd century B.C. (Photo taken by Archaeological Survey of India in 1911, when pillar was under joint worship with tree.)

I, 10 The phallus in Christianized form as symbol of Resurrection, 12th century A.D., still to be seen in Romanesque church at Tømmerby in Jutland, Denmark. (Photo provided of courtesy of Mr. Erling Rump.)

I, 11 The *stūpa* as microcosmos. The origin of the 'mound' or 'dome' as symbol of the 'Primordial Mound' will be discussed in the next instalment.

Heinrich Gerhard Franz: Stūpa and Stūpa-Temple in the Gandhāran Regions and in Central Asia

II, 1 Guldarrah (Afghanistan). Great Stūpa.

II, 2 Relief. Bas-relief with terrace-*stūpa* ("classical" type) from Haḍḍa (Afghanistan). Paris, Musée Guimet.

II, 3 Subashi (Sin-kiang). South-west *stūpa*. Photo: German Turfan-expedition.

II, 4 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 11. Eastern wall.

II, 5 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 11. Eastern wall, niche 5^b, *stūpa* "mit Kultnische".

II, 6 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 11. Southern wall, eastern part. Terrace-*stūpa* with image niches.

II, 7 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 11. Eastern wall. Multi-storeyed niche pagoda (2.i).

II, 8 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 11. Southern wall, niche 39. "Nischenpagode".

II, 9 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 6. Central pillar, upper storey with image niches, at the four corners multistoreyed "Nischenpagoden".

II, 10 Yün-kang (Shansi, China), Cave No. 6. Southern wall, lower part, the central niche represents a temple with three images, accompanied by two "Nischenpagoden".

Gritli von Mitterwallner: Two Stūpa Basements of Mathurā of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

IV, 1 *Stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the GMM, first side.

IV, 2 *Stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the GMM, second side.

IV, 3 *Stūpa* basement No. 1605 inthe GMM, third side, second Buddha from the proper right side, in an early preaching *mūdra*.

IV, 4 *Stūpa* basement No. 1605 in the GMM, fourth side, first figure from the proper right, holding a petalled flower.

IV, 5 Preaching "Dīvaṅkara" Buddha No. B 47 in the SML.

IV, 6 Fragmentary square *stūpa* basement No. B 201 in the SML.

IV, 7 *Stūpa* basement No. 47.3266 in the GMM (Front-view).

IV, 8 *Stūpa* basement No. 47.3266 in the GMM (Corner-view).

IV, 9 One of the two capitals of the victory columns at Sondani, Mandasor.

IV, 10 Base of a pillar to the Southwest of the entrance to the Old Museum at Deogarh.

All photographs have been taken by the author, by courtesy of the Government Museum of Mathurā and the State Museum of Lucknow.

Klaus Fischer: Hidden Symbolism in Stūpa-Railing Reliefs: Coincidentia Oppositorum of Māra and Kāma

V, 1 Mathurā, Scenes from Saundarananda (Photo E. Böhm, Mainz).

Gouriswar Bhattacharya: Stūpa as Maitreya's Emblem

VI, 1 Maitreya from Ahicchatrā. National Museum, New Delhi. (From: Frédéric, L., Tempel und Skulpturen. Paris 1959, p. 94, fig. 71.)

VI, 2 Gandhāran Maitreya. 2nd/3rd century A.D. (From: Bussagli, M., Arte del Gandhara (Forme e Colore 20). Firenze 1965, p. 135., pl. 16.)

VI, 3 Maitreya from Takht-i-Bahai. 3rd century A.D. (From: Ingholt, H., Gandharan art in Pakistan. New York 1957, no. 289, p. 135.)

VI, 4 Bust of a Bodhisattva (Siddhārtha?). (From: Oriental Art, N.S. (1971), Vol. XVII, No. 2, p. 114.)

VI, 5 Seated Padmapāṇi. Gandhāra, 3rd century A.D. (From: Taddei, M., India. London 1970, fig. 68.)

VI, 6 Bodhisattva Maitreya. Ca. 577 A.D. Kanheri, Cave 3. (From: Snellgrove, D. (ed.), The Image of the Buddha. UNESCO 1978, pl. 69.)

VI, 7 Bodhisattva Maitreya. Kashmir, 6th century A.D. Height: 10.5 in (26.6 cm). The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. (From: Pal, P., Bronzes of Kashmir. Graz/New York 1975, No. 38, p. 122.)

VI, 8 Bodhisattva Maitreya. Kashmir, 9th century A.D. Height: 9 7/8 in. (25.1 cm). Nelson Fund. Nelson Gallery - Atkins Museum, Kansas City. (From: Pal, P., Bronzes of Kashmir. Graz/New York 1975, No. 41, p. 126.)

VI, 9 *Vajrāsana-sādhana* image. Bihār-Bengal, 11th/12th century A.D. Victoria and Albert Museum. (From: Irwin, J., Indian Art. (Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue). London 1969, pl. 22.)

VI, 10 Seated Maitreya from Bishṇupur (Bihār). 11th century A.D. (From: Gupta, P.L., Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities. Patna 1965, p. 54, pl. XI.)

VI, 11 Maitreya. Standing (silver inlaid with semi-precious). (From: Pal, P., The Sensuous Immortals. Cambridge, Mass./ London 1978, pl. 59.)

VI, 12 Maitreya from Nagapaṭṭinam. Late Coḷa period, 13th century A.D. Madras Museum. (From: Snellgrove, D., The Image of the Buddha. UNESCO 1978, pl. 91.)

VI, 13 Bodhisattva (Siddhārtha). Gandhāra, 3rd century A.D. Rietberg Museum, Zürich. (From: Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E., Catalogue Rietberg Museum. Zürich 1961, p. 38, pl. 6.)

VI, 14 Maitreya. Nepal, 9th century A.D. (From: Uhlig, H., Buddhistische Kunst aus dem Himalaya: Kashmir - Ladakh - Tibet - Nepal - Bhutan. Berlin-Tempelhof 1976, pp. 30/31.)

Elisabeth Rosen: Buddhist Architecture and Lay Patronage at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

VII, 1 Miniature model of Sarvadeva temple, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

VII, 2 Reconstruction of Great Stūpa of Site 1 on island of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

VII, 3 Miniature model of Site 4, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

VII, 4 Buddha image from Site 4, Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Niels Gutschow: The Urban Context of the Stūpa in Bhaktapur/Nepal

IX, 1-9 *Cibhā* in Bhaktapur.

Mary Shepherd Slusser: Nepalese Caityas as Mirrors of Mediaeval Architecture

XI, 1 Column from a Licchavi Period *śivaliṅga* shrine and a *caitya* pedestal used in constructing a modern ghat, Tukucha River, Lazimpat, Kathmandu.

XI, 2 Once a part of some Licchavi edifice, this elegant pilaster now serves as a common building blick, Bhaktapur.

XI, 3 A *śivaliṅga* shrine (*āvaraṇa*), ca. 7th century A.D., Sarasvati Kund, Lele village.

XI, 4 This *caitya*, constructed of separate pieces and the finial modernized, stands in a monastery courtyard, Uku-bahil, Patan.

XI, 5 Its pedestal a miniature temple with pilastered porticoes, this *caitya* with renovated finial is the only one to bear an inscribed date, corresponding to A.D. 758, Su-bahal fountain, Patan.

XI, 6 A rarity, this *caitya* has conserved its original finial, Carumati-*vihāra*, Deopatan.

XI, 7 The finial of a figurative *caitya*, garnished with banderoles and an umbrella, detail of a Licchavi *caitya* vis-à-vis the Mahākāla temple, Kathmandu, Tundikhel.

XI, 8 Detail of a *caitya* pedestal in the form of a miniature temple, Tah-bahal, Patan.

XI, 9 The bracketed pilasters of a portico support a massive cornice surmounted by crenelations, detail of a *caitya*, Misahiti, Patan.

XI, 10 Malla Period wooden column and bracket capital of a monastery quadrangle, Guita-dhathu-bahil, Patan

Ulrich Wiesner: Nepalese Votive Stūpas of the Licchavi Period: The Empty Niche

XII, 1 Votive *stūpa* at Teku.

XII, 2 Votive *stūpa* at Teku, detail.

XII, 3 Votive *stūpa* at Chabahil.

XII, 4 Votive *stūpa* at Chabahil, detail.

XII, 5 Votive *stūpa* in the Uku bāhā, Patan.

XII, 6 Fragments of two votive *stūpas* at Deopatan.

XII, 7 Votive *stūpa* in the Naka-bāhā at Patan, made up of two fragments with added substructure and finial.

XII, 8 Fragment (of a votive *stūpa* ?) used in a new setting.

XII, 9 Votive *stūpa* opposite the Mahākāla temple in Kathmandu, made up of two fragments.

XII, 10 Votive *stūpa* opposite the Mahākāla temple in Kathmandu, detail.

XII, 11 Votive *stūpa* at Patan with added niche content, substructure and finial.

XII, 12 Votive *stūpa* with original niche content.

XII, 13 Votive *stūpa* with original niche content.

XII, 14 Votive *stūpa* with base at Patan.

Philip Denwood: Stūpas of the Tibetan Bonpos

XIII, 1 Shenrap (*gShen-rab*), promulgator of the Bonpo religion, in three of his manifestations. Hand-coloured print from a drawing by Tenzin Namdak.

XIII, 2 *Stūpa* built in England by Bonpo monks, 1960. It differs from a Buddhist *stūpa* in the absence of a throne and in its five instead of four steps (the top step represents a lotus-base). The finial is missing.

XIII, 3 Bonpo *stūpa* at Samling, Dolpo, Nepal. Note the rectangular forms and the roofed dome. A smaller *stūpa* is in the foreground. (From: Snellgrove, op. cit.)

XIII, 4 Buddhist *stūpas* at Paro, Bhutan, showing a rectangular form probably derived, like similar Bonpo forms, from the shape of pre-Buddhist Tibetan shrines.

XIII, 5 Bonpo *stūpa* of the 'many-doored' type (*bKra-shis sgo-mang*). Hand-coloured print from a drawing by Tenzin Namdak.

XIII, 6 The 'Nine-stage Swastika-Mountain' and the central portion of its surrounding landscape. East is at the bottom. (From: Snellgrove, op. cit.). Drawn by Tenzin Namdak.

Gustav Roth: Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa

XIV, 1 (§ 5). From Butkara I (Swāt), ca. 2nd century A.D., 0.68 x 0.175 x 0.075, Inv. No. 1190. Published with the kind permission of the "Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Roma". (From: Faccenna, D., Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I, Part 3. Roma 1964, pl. DXII.)

XIV, 2 (§5). From Butkara I (Swāt), ca. 1st century A.D., 0.355 x 0.325 x 0.07, Inv. No. 1184. Published with the kind permission of the "Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Roma". (From: Faccenna, D., Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I, Part 3. Roma 1964, p. 45 ff., fig. 7.)

XIV, 3 (§ 14). Bronze *stūpa*, ca. 10th century A.D., height: 6 3/4 in. (From: Bronze Images in Patna Museum. Patna 1961. 39 - Arch. 9804. Published here with kind permission of Patna Museum.)

XIV, 4 (§ 14). Miniature clay model, called in Tibetan *tsha-tsha*, depicting a lotus emerging from a lotus, crowned by 13 superimposed discs, sun and moon, and 2 bells! See § 10. 17, 18, 20, 21. Inscribed by Indian characters of the 9th/ 10th century A.D. (From: Tucci, G., "MC'OD RTEN" e "TS'A TS'A" nel Tibet Indiano ed Occidentale. In: Indo-Tibetica I. Roma 1932 - XI, pl. X, p. 75.)

XIV, 5 (§ 16). Śri Svayambhū Mahācaitya. (From: Hemarāja Śākya, Śri Svayambhū Mahācaitya. Svayambhū, Ne. saṃ. 1098 (1978). Written in Nepāla bhāṣā. Book cover.)

Julian Sherrier: Iconography of the Mahāparinirvāṇa

XV, 1 *Mahāparinirvāṇa* - Gandhāra. 3rd century A.D. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin-Dahlem.

XV, 2 Lamenting monks from *parinirvāṇa* in Five Pagoda Temple, Hôryûji, 8th century A.D.

XV, 3 *Mahāparinirvāṇa* - Gandhāra. 3rd century A.D. Los Angeles County Museum.

XV, 4 *Mahāparinirvāṇa* - Gandhāra. 2nd century A.D. Freer Gallery, Washington.

XV, 5 *Mahāparinirvāṇa* - Cave 295, Tun-Huang. 6th century A.D.

XV, 6 *Mahāparinirvāṇa* - Kongobuji, Koyasan. Late Heian. 1086 A.D.

XV, 7 Cremation of the Buddha - Gandhāra. 2nd century A.D. Sherrier Collection.

XV, 8 Burning of the Body - Qyzil, Central Asia. 8th century A.D.

XV, 9 *Mahāparinirvāṇa* - Gandhāra. 2nd century A.D. Calcutta Museum.

XV, 10 Division of the Relics - Gandhāra. 3rd century A.D. Peshawar Museum.

XV, 11 Adoration of the *stūpa* - Gandhāra. 2nd century A.D. British Museum.

XV, 12 Composite Relief depicting scenes of *mahāparinirvāṇa* - Gandhāra. Peshawar Museum.

Jorinde Ebert: Parinirvāṇa and Stūpa

XVI, 1 *Parinirvāṇa* from the *stūpa*-railing of Bhārhut Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

XVI, 2 Panel with the 'Four main events' from Amarāvatī. Museum Madras.

XVI, 3 Stele from Amarāvatī. Museum Madras.

XVI, 4 Stele from Amarāvatī. Museum Madras.

XVI, 5 Seal from the Mahāparinirvāṇa Monastery in Kaśia.

XVI, 6 *Parinirvāṇa* and Cremation from Gandhāra. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

XVI, 7 Klinen monument from the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

XVI, 8 Relief in Pāla-style. Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

XVI, 9 "Höhle oberhalb der Kassettenhöhle" from Qyzil. Mahākaśyapa touching the feet of the deceased Buddha.

XVI, 10 "Höhle oberhalb der Kassettenhöhle" from Qyzil. Mahākaśyapa touching the feet of the Buddha and rows of *stūpas* on the side-walls of the entrance.

Lothar Ledderose: Chinese Prototypes of the Pagoda

XVIII, 1 Pagoda of Hokkiji temple near Nara, Japan. 685-706 A.D.

XVIII, 2 Pagoda of Hokkiji temple. Cross-section.

XVIII, 3 Granary. Wall painting in tomb at Holingol. 145-220 A.D.

XVIII, 4 Tower. Ceramic model. From Lin-ho-ts'un. 1st/2nd century A.D.

XVIII, 5 Tower. Ceramic model. From Liu-chia-chü. (73:1). Ca. 135 A.D.

XVIII, 6 Tower. Ceramic model. From Liu-chia-chü. (3:1). Cross-sections.

XVIII, 7 Ming-t'ang. Reconstruction. 1st century A.D.

XVIII, 8 Five-fold tower. Ceramic model. From Wu-Wei. 1st/2nd century A.D.

XVIII, 9 TLV-mirror. Bronze.

XVIII, 10 Miniature pagoda held by Tamonten. Hôryûji, Nara. Early 7th century A.D.

XVIII, 11 Figures playing liu-po game. In tower (73:1) shown on plate XVIII, 5.

XVIII, 12 Immortals playing liu-po game. Detail of bronze mirror. 1st/2nd century A.D.

XVIII, 13 Funerary stone from Liang-ch'eng-shan, Shantung. Han dynasty. Detail.

XVIII, 14 Tomb compound of empress Wu. Near Sian. Early 8th century A.D.

XVIII, 15 Daianji temple, Nara. Restauration. First half 8th century A.D.

XVIII, 16 Pagoda of Yakushiji temple. Near Nara. Screen on top of spire. After 680 A.D.

Dietrich Seckel: Stūpa Elements surviving in East Asian Pagodas

XIX, 1 Mahābodhi Temple. Bodhgayā. (From: Rowland, B., The Art and Architecture of India, 2nd ed. repr. 1959, pl. 52A.)

XIX, 2 North Pagoda (Pei-t'a) at Su-chou-fu, Kiangsu; 902-922 and 1080-1160, present structure of 1582-90, restored 1903. (From: Boerschmann, op. cit., pl. 262.)

XIX, 3 Pagoda in Relief, Yünkang, Grotto No. 6; late 5th century A.D. (From: Mizuno, S., and Nagahiro, T., Yünkang Vol. 3, Plates Part 2, pl. 23.)

XIX, 4 Bronze spire of Yakushiji Pagoda, Nara; early 8th century A.D. (From: Nara Rokudaiji Taikan 6 = Yakushiji, Tokyo 1970, pl. 10.)

XIX, 5 Shākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna, Tunhuang, Grotto 303; Sui Dynasty, ca. 600 A.D. (From: Tunhuang Pi-hua, Peking 1959, pl. 81.)

XIX, 6 *Jātaka* Illustration (detail), Tunhuang, Grotto 428; North Wei Dynasty, ca. 520-530 A.D. (From: Tunhuang Pi-hua, pl. 21.)

XIX, 7 *Stūpa* of Tahôtô type as *sūtra* container; ca. middle 12 century A.D. Narahara Jinja, Ehime Province, Japan (Base restored.) Height: 71.5 cm. (From: Kokuhô 3 = Heian jidai 2, Tokyo etc. 1965, pl. 177.)

XIX, 8 Tahôtô of Ishiyama-dera near Kyôto; ca. 1200 A.D., height: 15.5 m. (From: Kokuhô 4, Tokyo etc. 1966, pl. 162.)

XIX, 9 Five Buddhas in the Tahôtô of Kongô-sammai-in, Kôya-san, Japan; 1223 A.D. (From: Hihô 4 = Kôya-san, Tokyo 1968, pl. 184.)

XIX, 10 *Stūpa* of Tahôtô type representing Vairocana in the *maṇḍala* of the Diamond World; ink drawing from "Kongôkai Samaya Mandara", Japan ca. 12th century A.D. Ishiyama-dera near Kyôto. (From: Taishô etc., op. cit., p. 1029.)

XIX, 11 Tomb Monument in Tahôtô Form; Raigôji near Nara (Tsugeno-mura); height: 1.65 m; 1310 A.D. (From: Amanuma Shun'ichi, Nihon Kenchiku-shi Zuroku 3, Kyôto 1935, pl. 1299.)

XIX, 12 Reliquary in Gorintô Form, gilt bronze and rock crystal; height: 10.1 cm; Osaka, Shitennô-ji; ca. 13th century A.D. (From: Hihô 3 = Shitennô-ji, Tokyo 1968, pl. 236.)

XIX, 13 Pagoda of the Sung-yüeh-sse, Sung-shan, China; 523 A.D. (From: Sirén, O., Sculpture Chinoise, Paris/Bruxelles 1925/26, vol. 2, pl. 187.)

XIX, 14 Western Stone Pagoda of Tong-hwa-sa, Taegu, Korea; 9th century A.D.; height: 5.23 m. (From: Hanguk Misul Chonjip 6, Seoul 1947, pl. 60.)

XIX, 15 *stūpa* on Initiation Platform, Kumsan-sa, Cholla-pukdo, Korea; Korya Dynasty, ca. early 12th century A.D.; height: 2.27 m. (From: Hanguk Misul Chonjip 7, Seoul 1973, pl. 92.)

Adalbert Gail: Cosmical Symbolism in the Spire of the Ceylon Dagoba

XX, 1 Relief slab from Amarāvatī: depiction of a *stūpa*. (From: Franz, H.G., Buddhistische Kunst Indiens. Leipzig 1965, Abb. 231.)

XX, 2 Upper part of a *yūpa* pillar at Mirisavāti Dagoba, Anurādhapura. (From: Paranavitana, S., The Stūpa in Ceylon. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Vol. V, 1947. Colombo 1946, Pl. VIb.)

XX, 3 Rankot Vehera, Polonnaruva. (From: Paranavitana, S., Art and Architecture of Ceylon. Polonnaruva Period. Colombo 1954, pl. 23.)

XX, 4 Superstructure of the Abhayagiri Vehera, Anurādhapura, 1911. (From: Bell, H.C.P., ASCAR for 1911, 12, pl. LVI.)

XX, 5 Varuṇa-Yama-Agni in *yantragala* from Topavāva *stūpa*, Polonnaruva. (From: Bell, H.C.P., ASCAR for 1909, pl. LXIX.)

Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw: The Stūpa in Indonesia

XXII, 1 Barabuḍur. (From: Fontein, J., Soekmono, R. and Suleiman, S., Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and Eastern Javanese Periods. New York: The Asia Society, 1971.)

XXII, 2 *Stūpas* on the three circular terraces of Barabuḍur. (From: Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2).)

XXII, 3 Reconstructed *stūpa* in the outer courtyard of Caṇḍi Plaosan. (From: Bernet Kempers, A.J., Herstel in eigen Waarde (see footnote 28a).)

XXII, 4 The *liṅga-stūpa* from Cupuwatu. (From: Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2).)

XXII, 5 *Stūpa* in the National Museum, Jakarta. (From: Krom, N.J. and van Erp, T., Beschrijving van Barabudur (see footnote 2).)

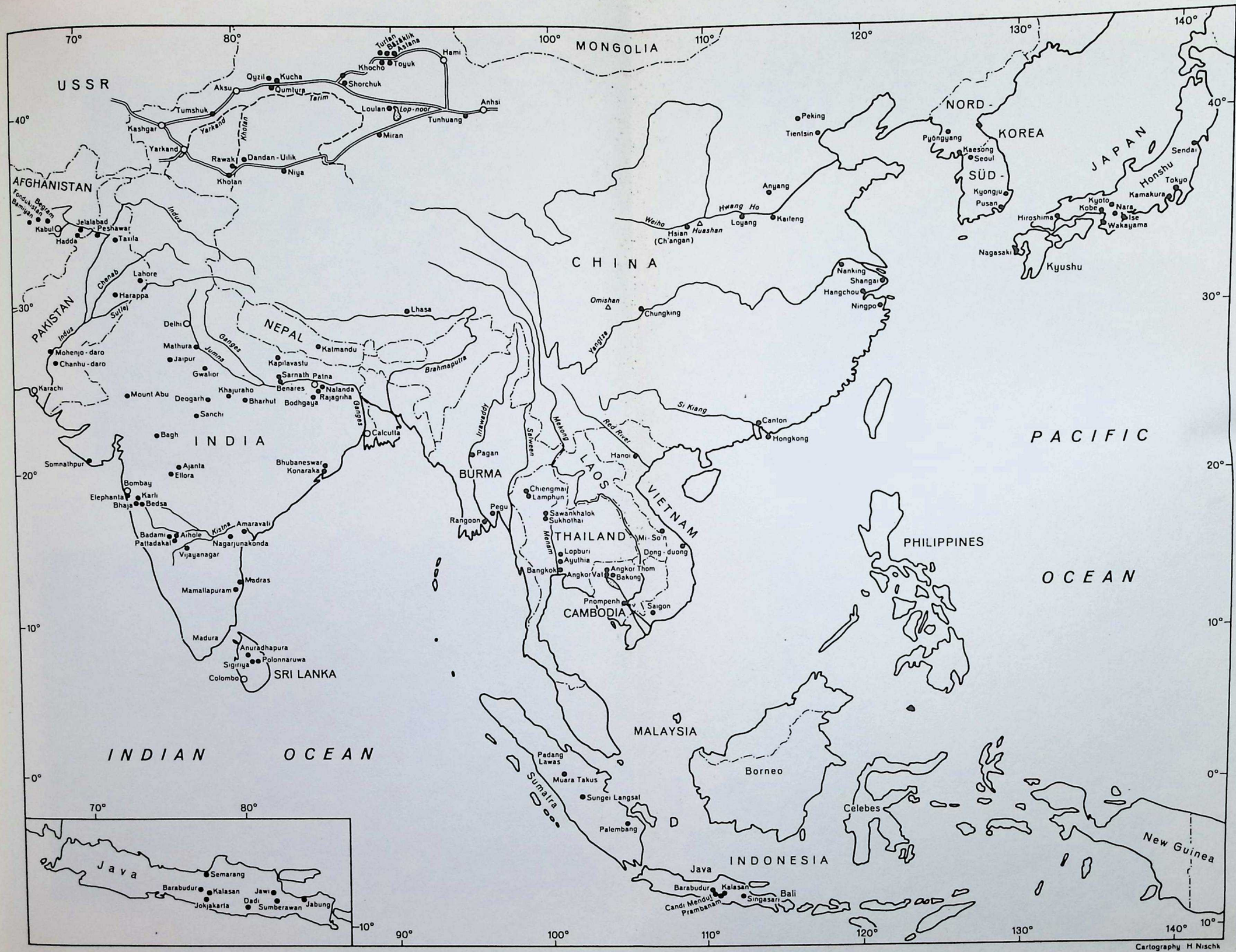
XXII, 6 The Maligai *stūpa* at Muara Takus. (From: Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art (see footnote 45).)

XXII, 7 The *liṅga-stūpa* from Si Joreng Bělanga, Padang Lawas. (From: Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51).)

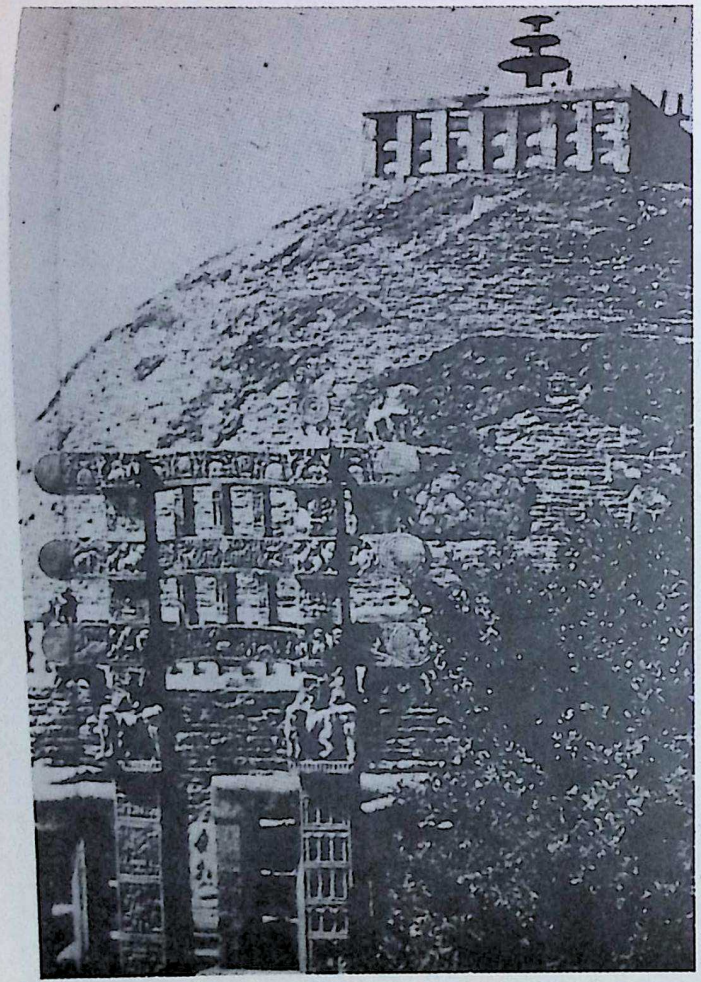
XXII, 8 The *liṅga-stūpa* from Si Soldop, Padang Lawas. (From: Schnitger, F.M., The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra (see footnote 51).)

XXII, 9 One of the chapels of Caṇḍi Sèwu. (From:Bernet Kempers, A.J., Ancient Indonesian Art (see footnote 45).)

XXII, 10 Caṇḍi Jabung. (Photograph Archaeological Survey of Indonesia, No. 6775.)



Cartography H Nischk

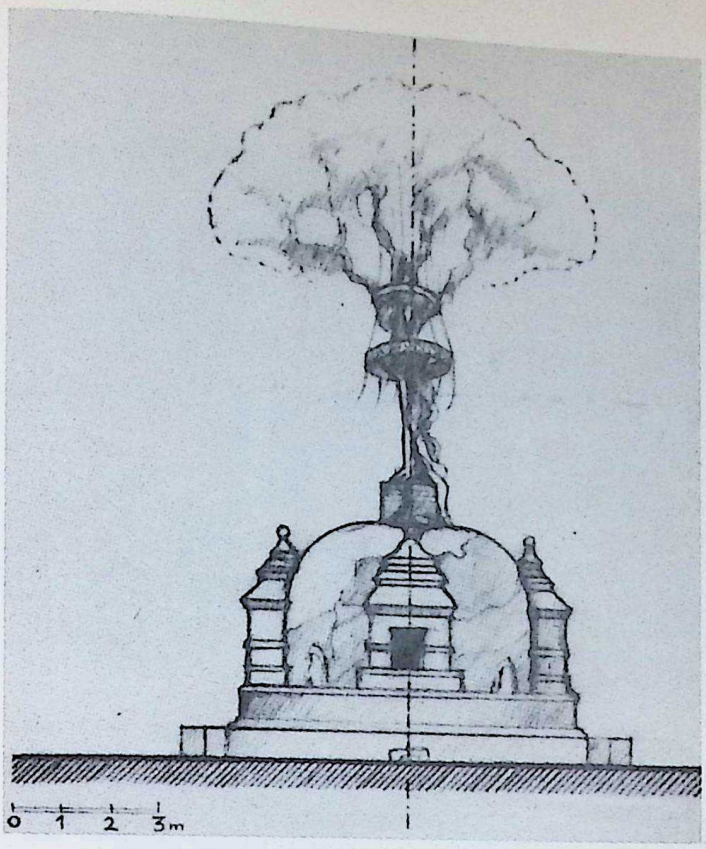


I/1

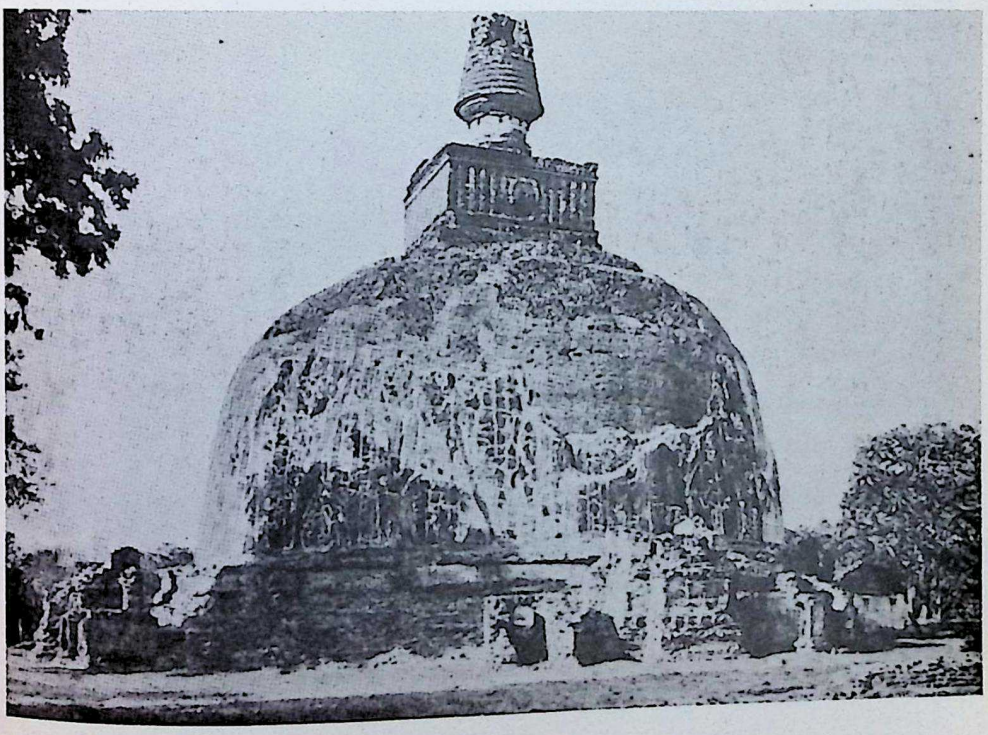
I/2

I/3

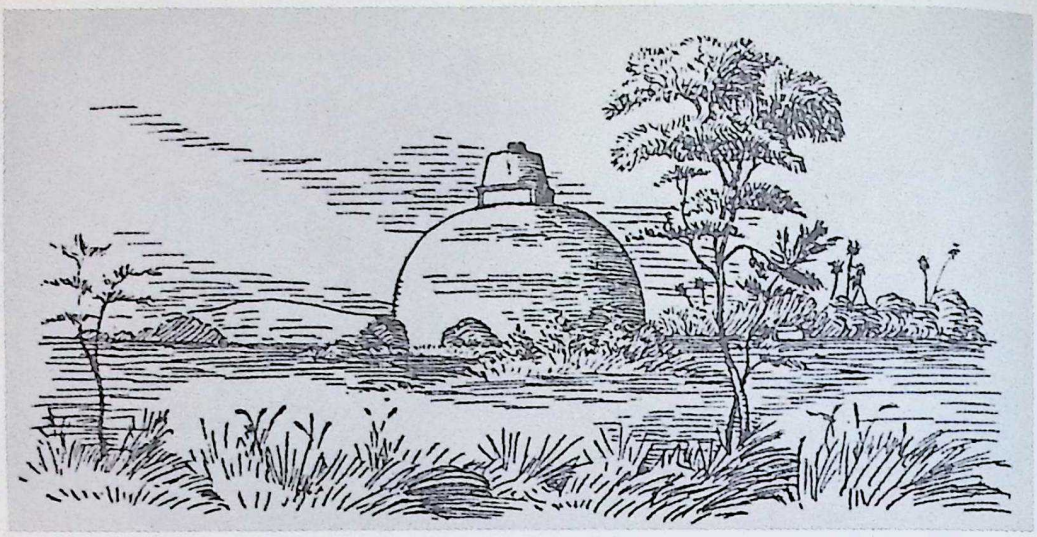
I/4



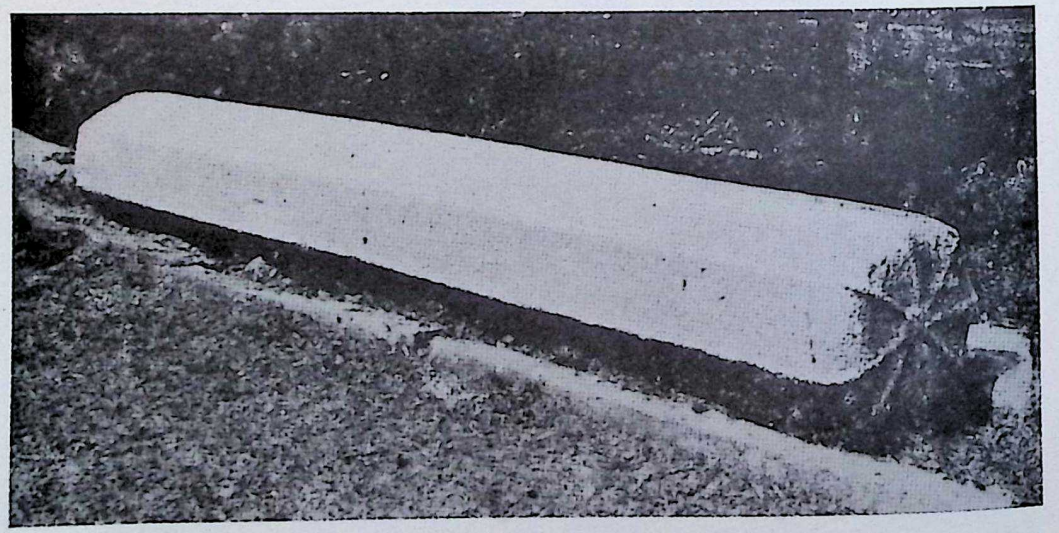
I/5



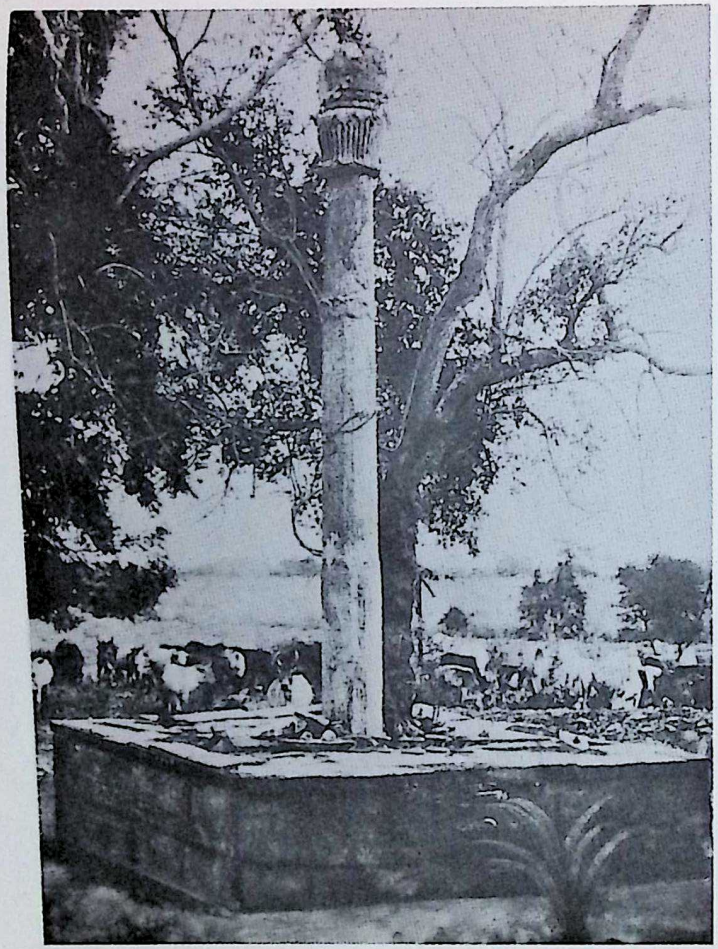
I/6



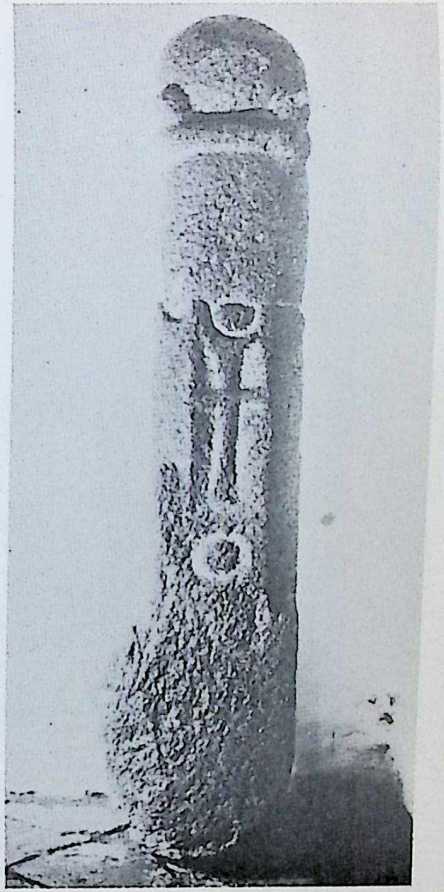
I/7



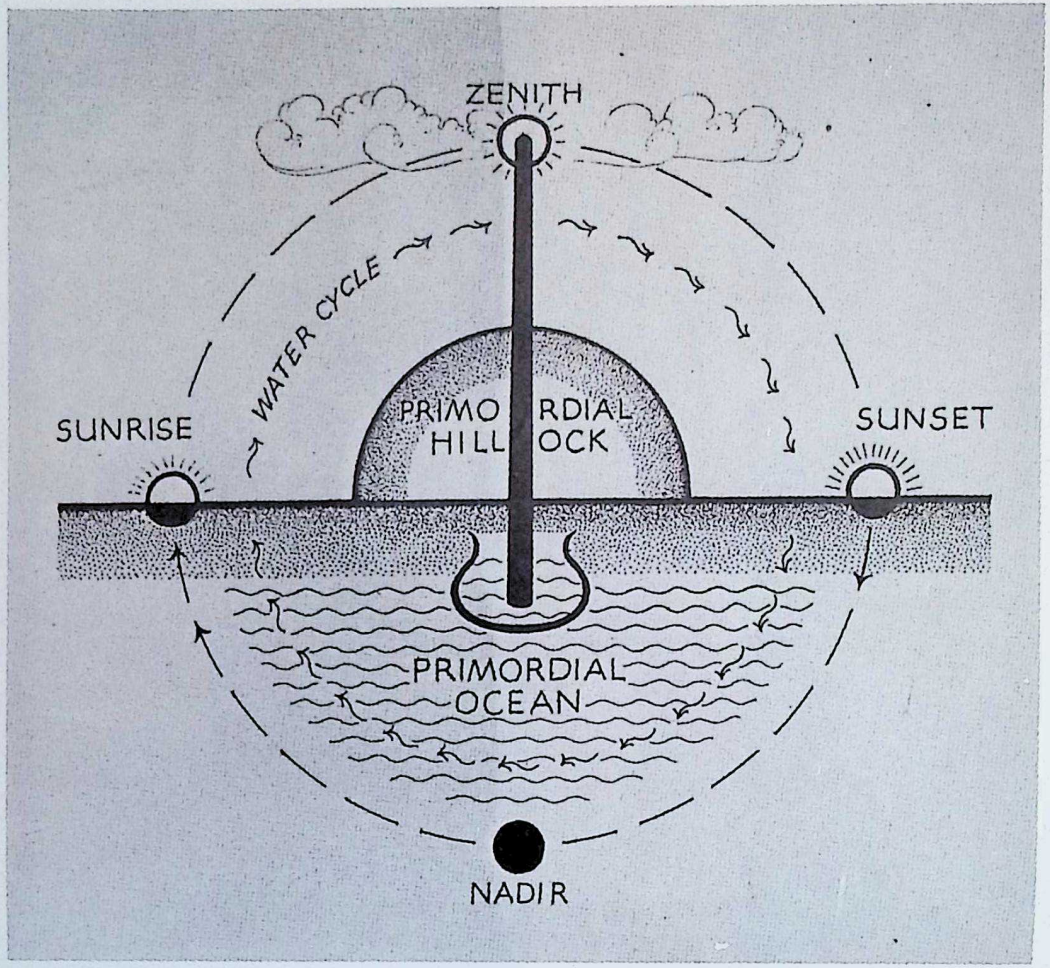
I/8



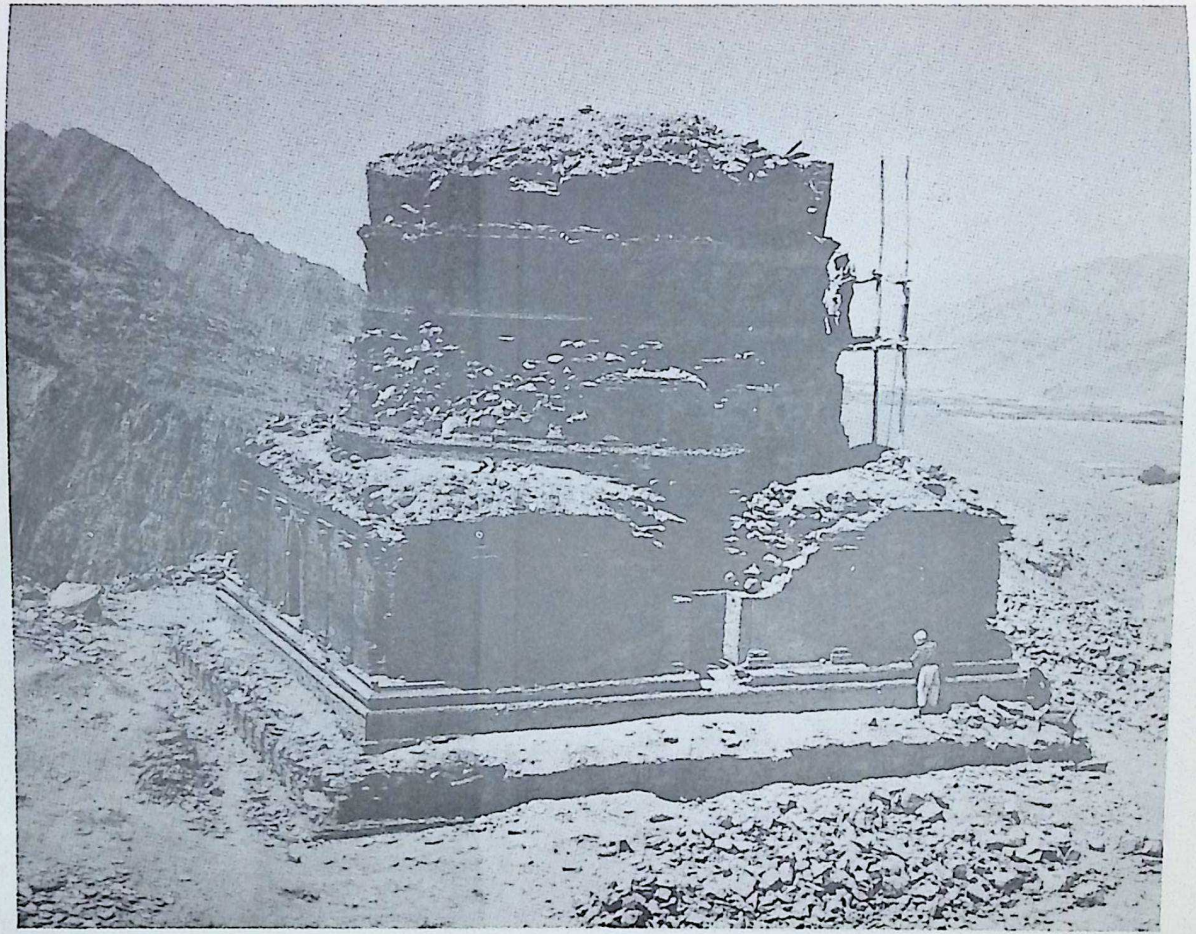
I/9



I/10

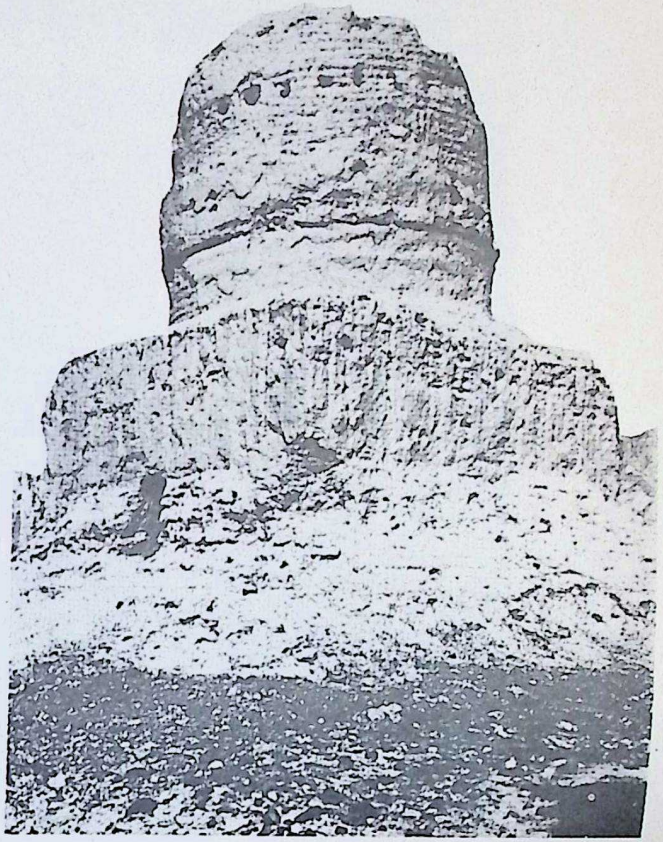

ZENITH
WATER CYCLE
SUNRISE
PRIMORDIAL HILLOCK
SUNSET
PRIMORDIAL OCEAN
NADIR

I/11

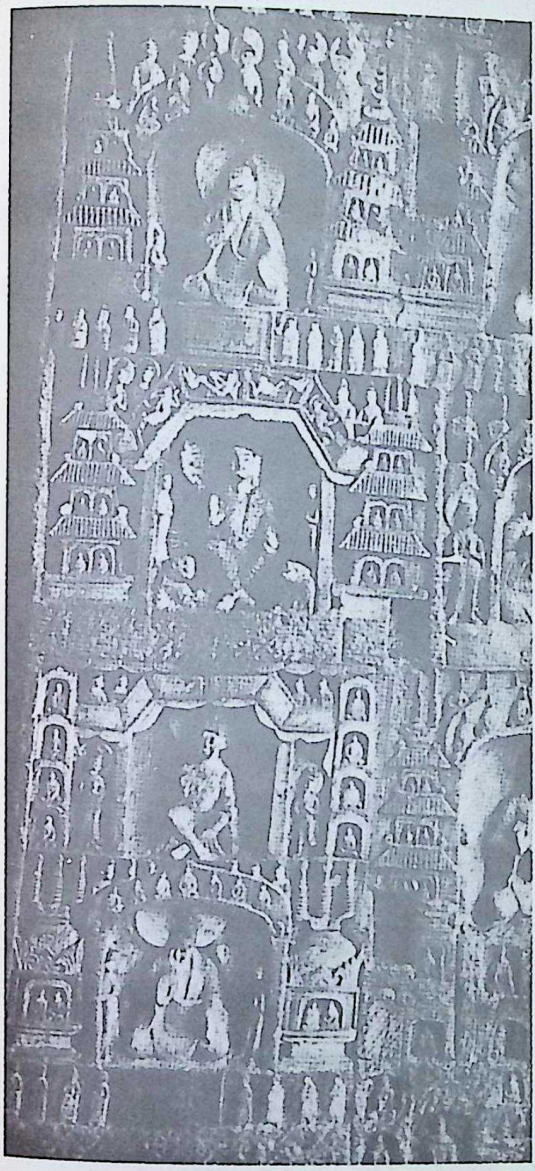


II/1

II/2

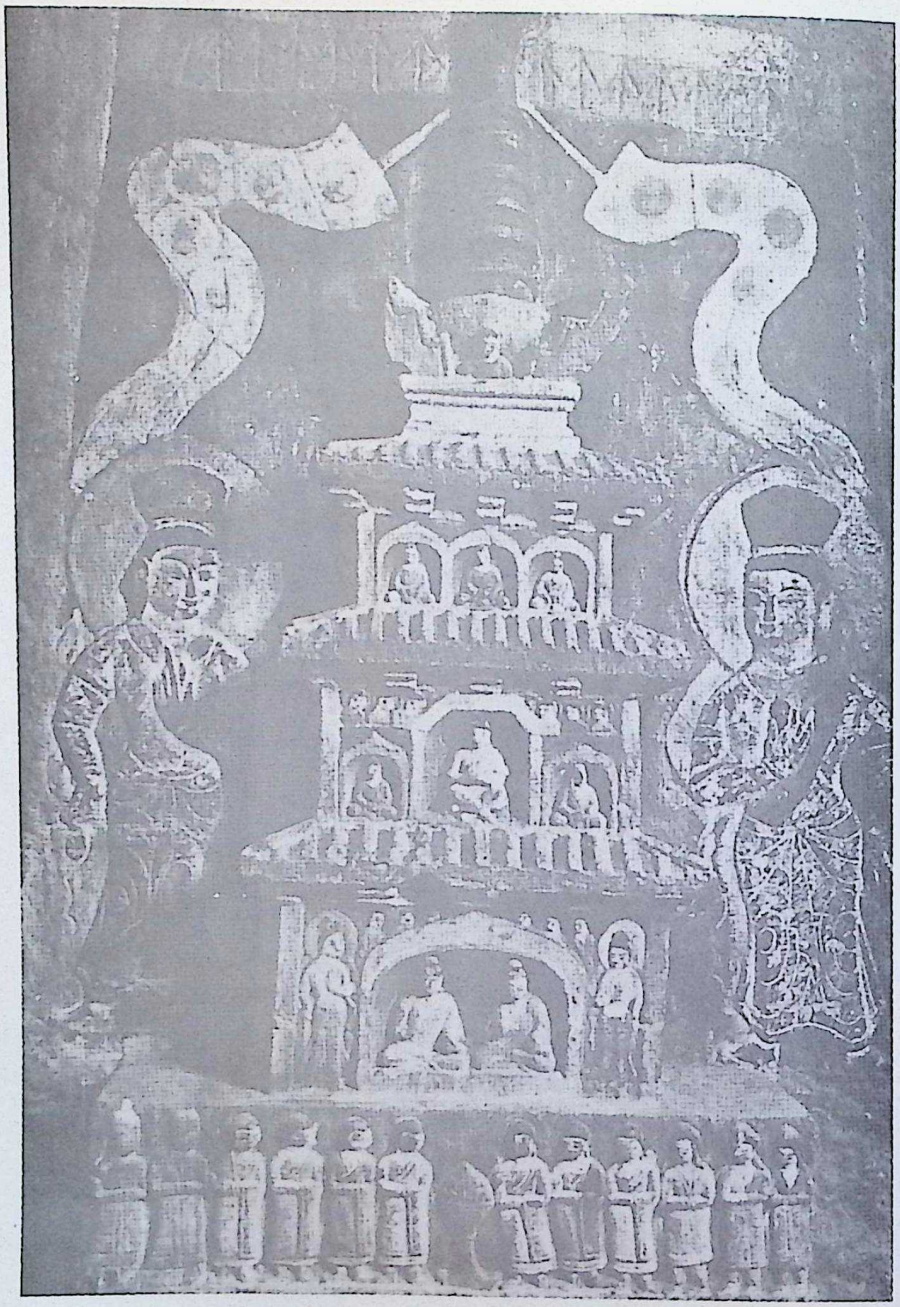


II/3

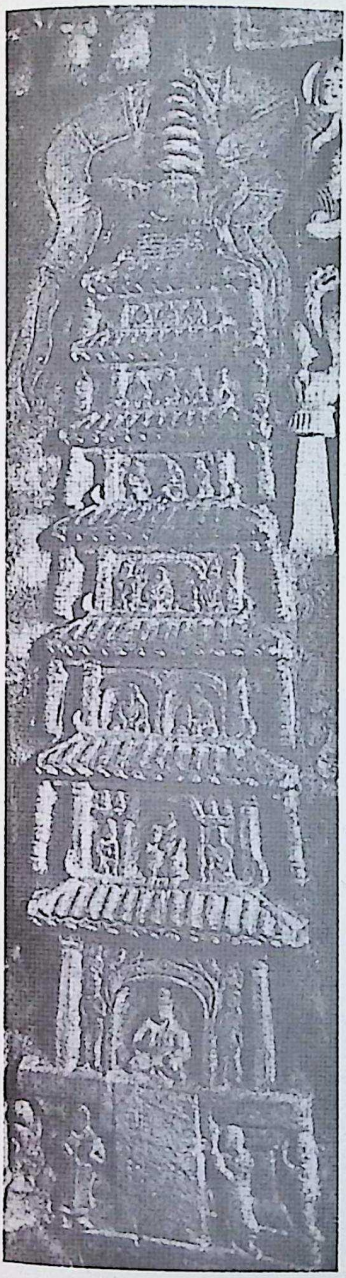


II/4

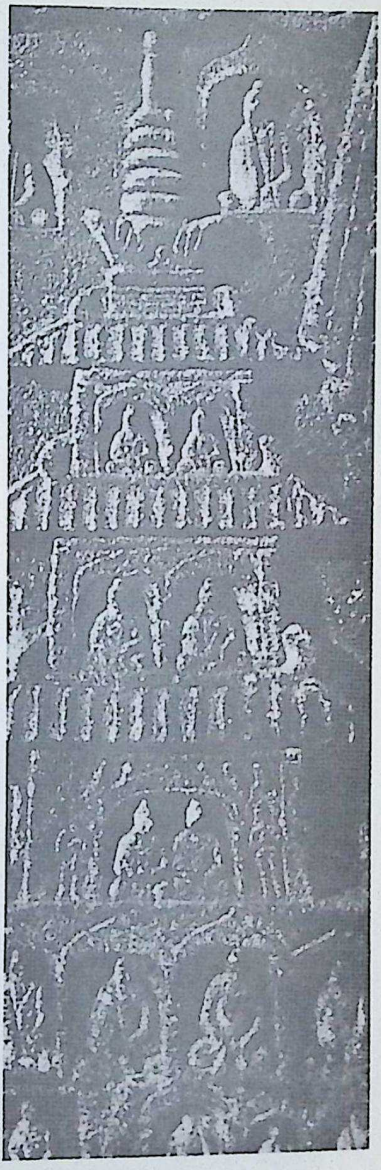
II/5



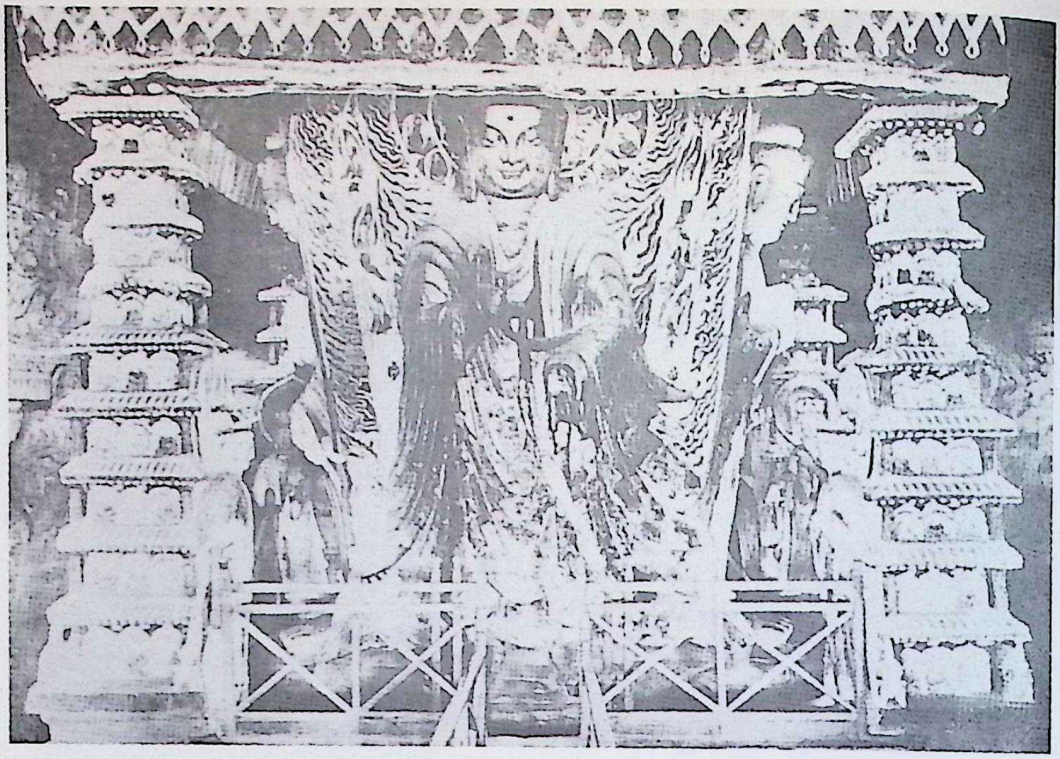
II/6



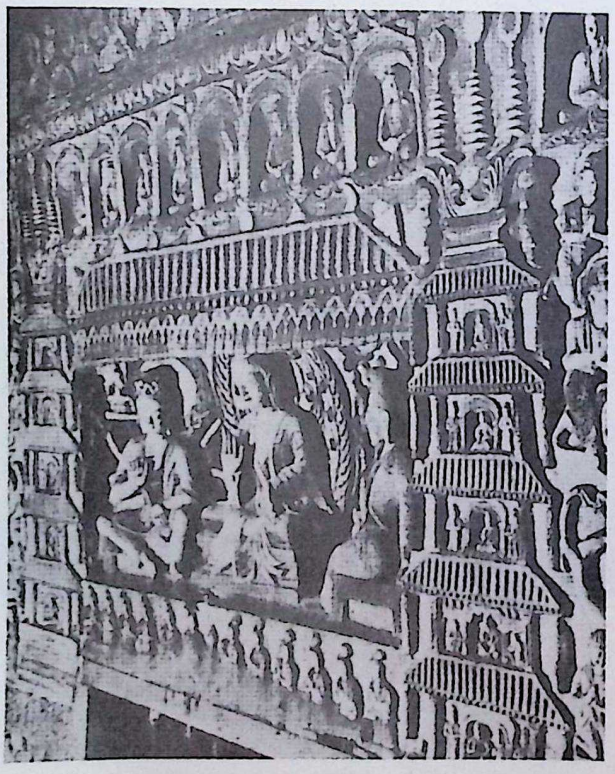
II/7



II/8



II/9



II/10

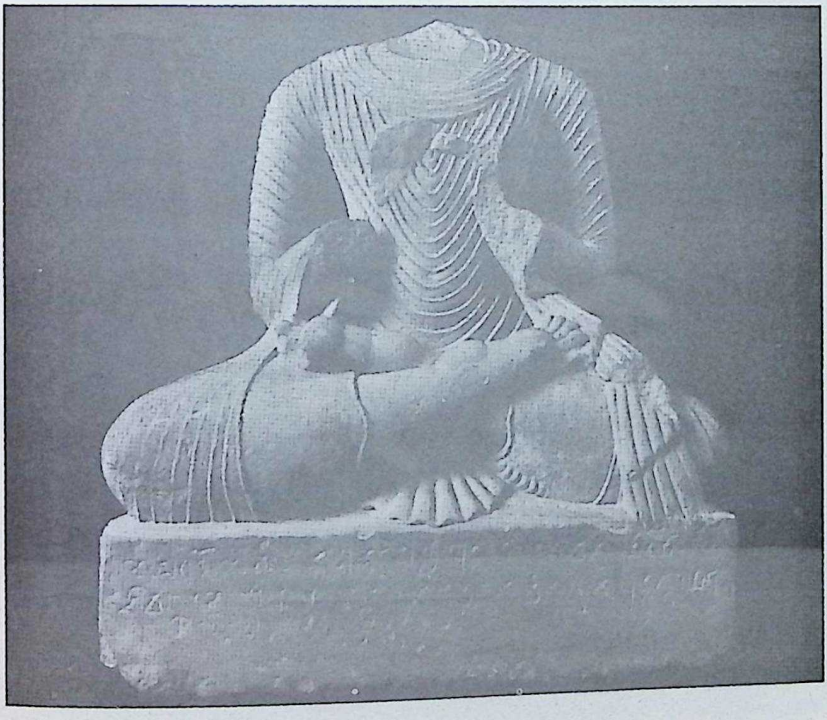
IV/1

IV/2

IV/3a

IV/3b

IV/4



IV/5

B.201
बुद्धकीआकृतियोंसेअंकित स्तूपका
कोण भाग
ल. दूसरी शती ई.
FRAGMENT FROM A STUPA
SHOWING BUDDHA FIGURES
C. 2nd Cent. A.D.

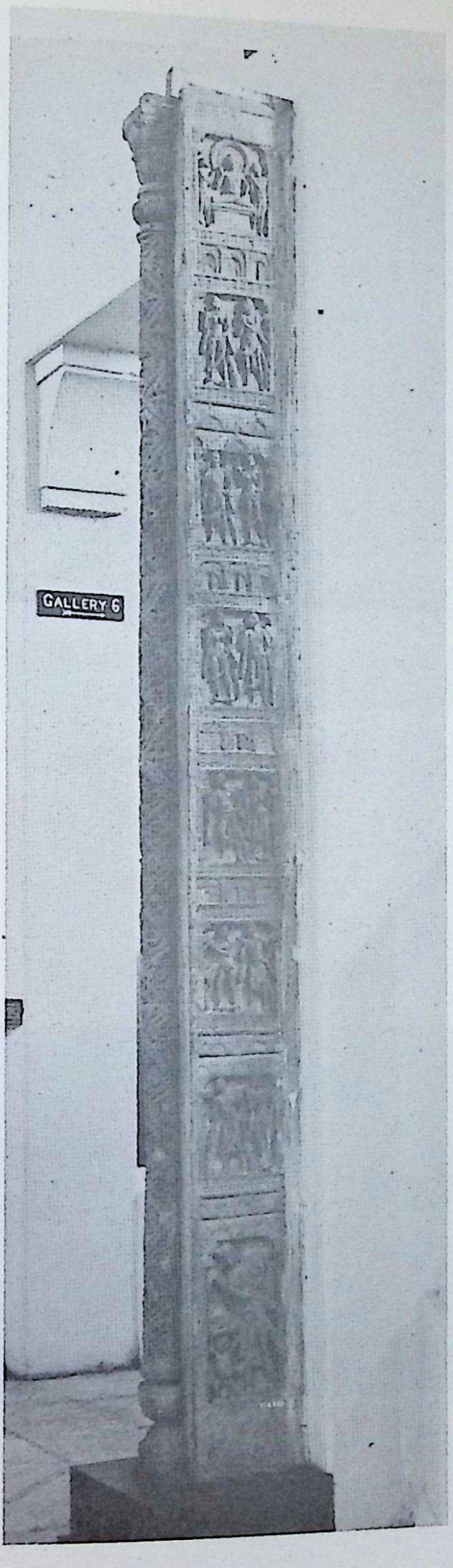
IV/6

IV/7

IV/8

IV/9

IV/10



V/1

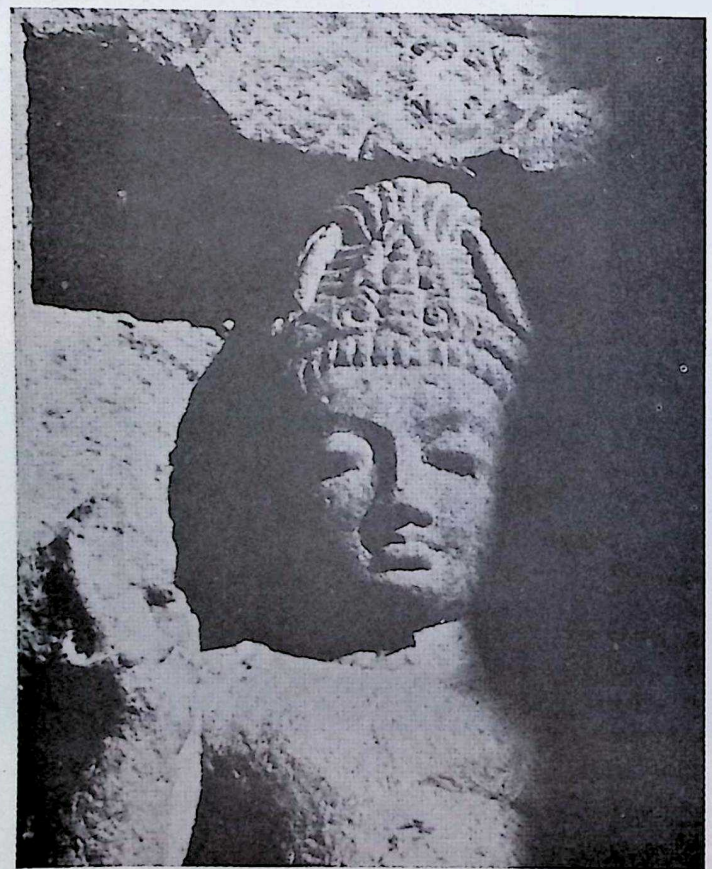
VI/1

VI/2

VI/3

VI/4

VI/5



VI/6

VI/7

VI/8

VI/9

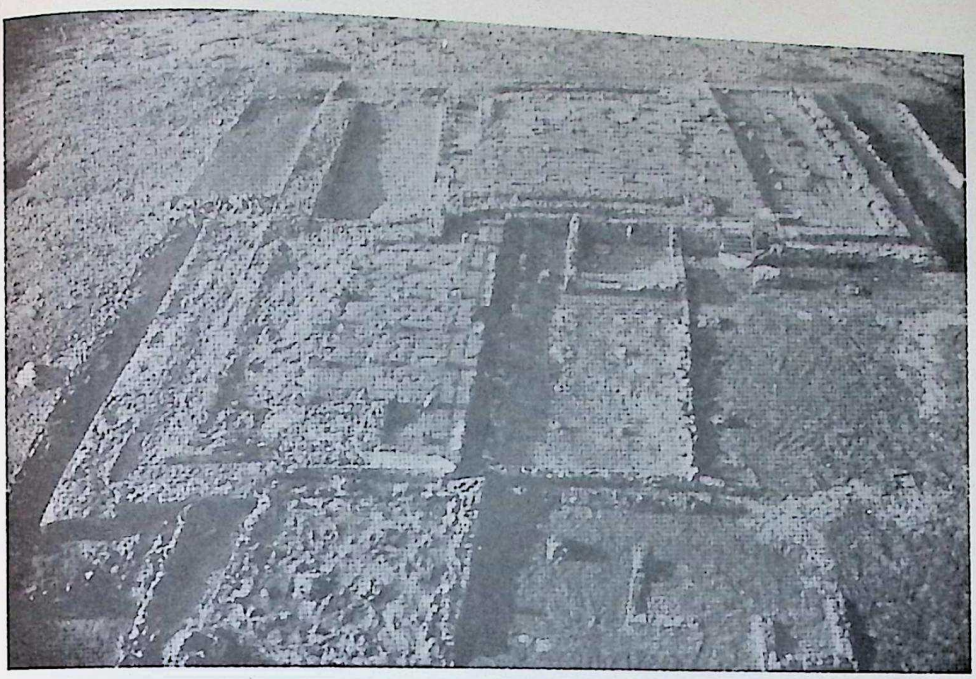
VI/10

VI/11

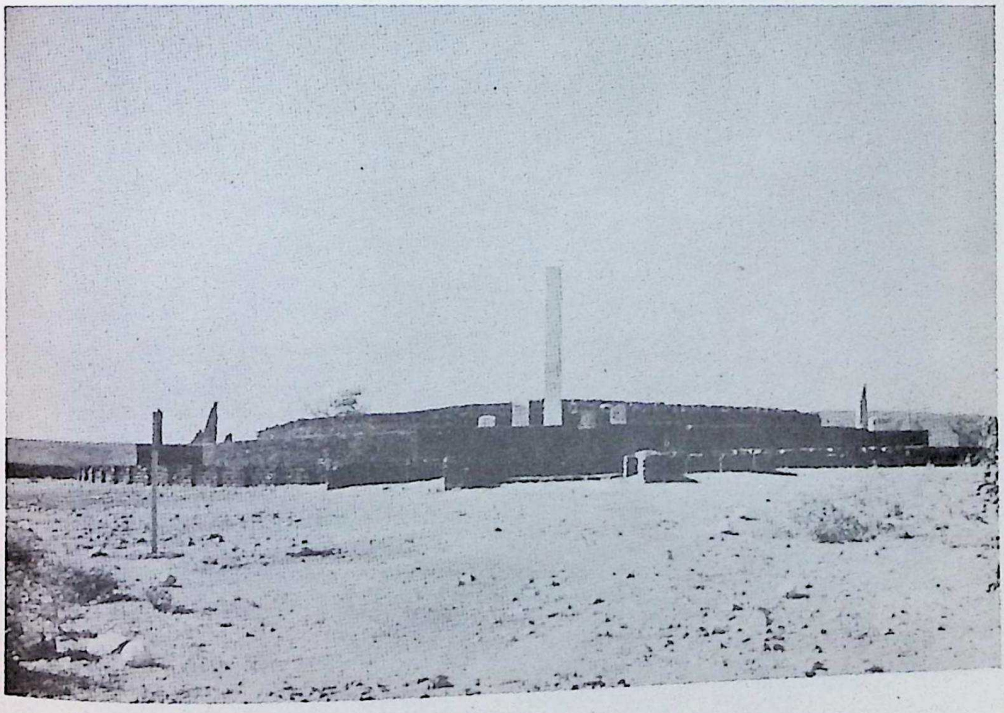
VI/12

VI/13

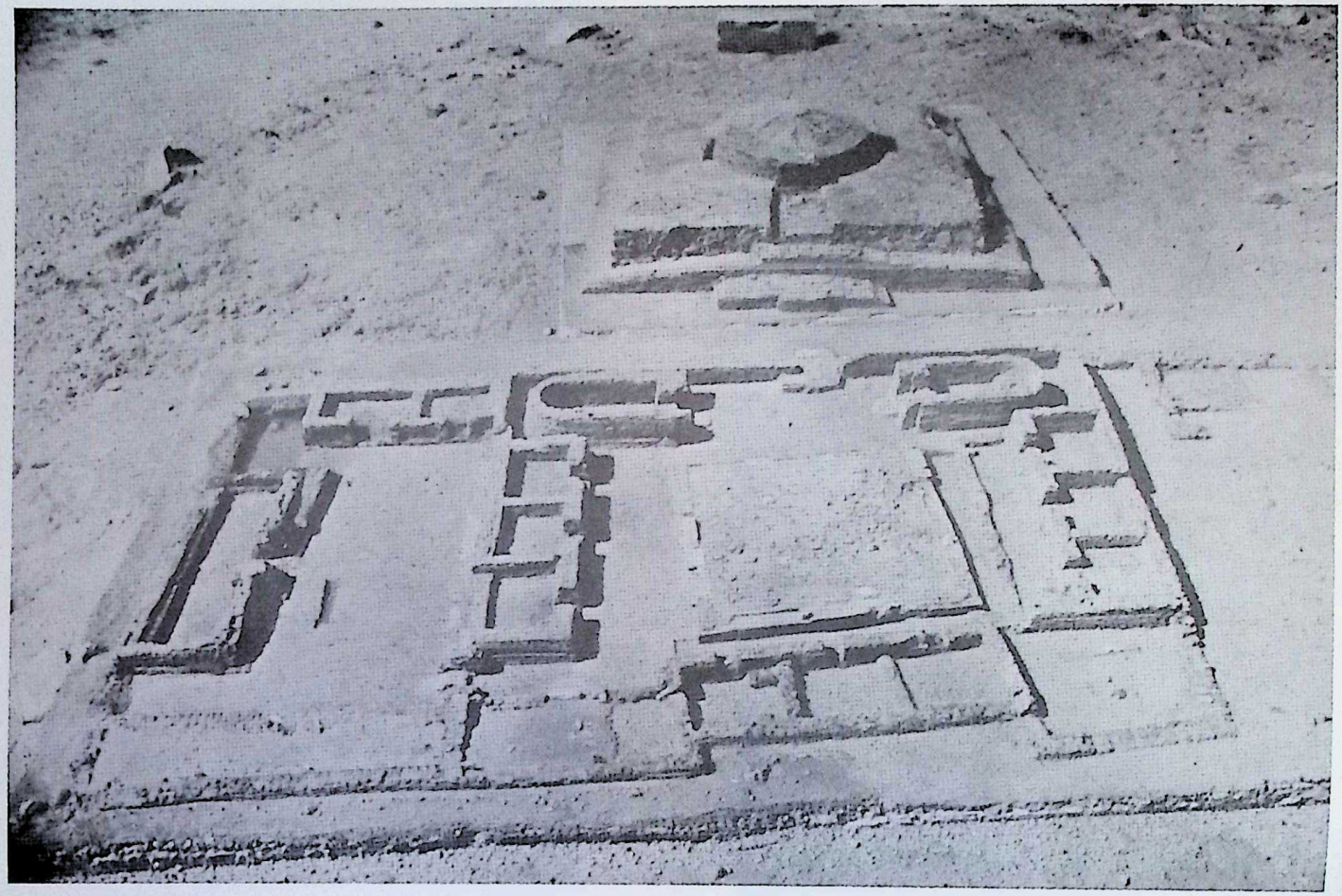
VI/14



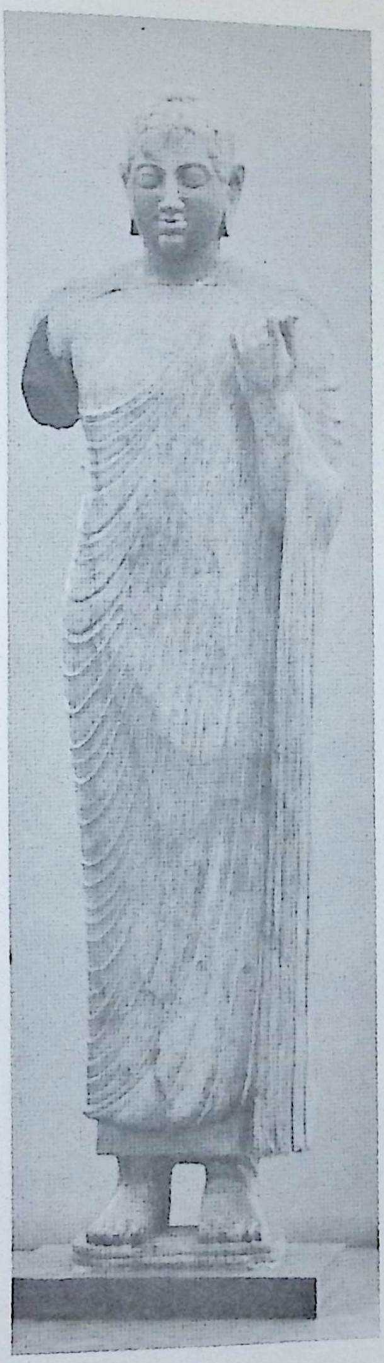
VII/1



VII/2

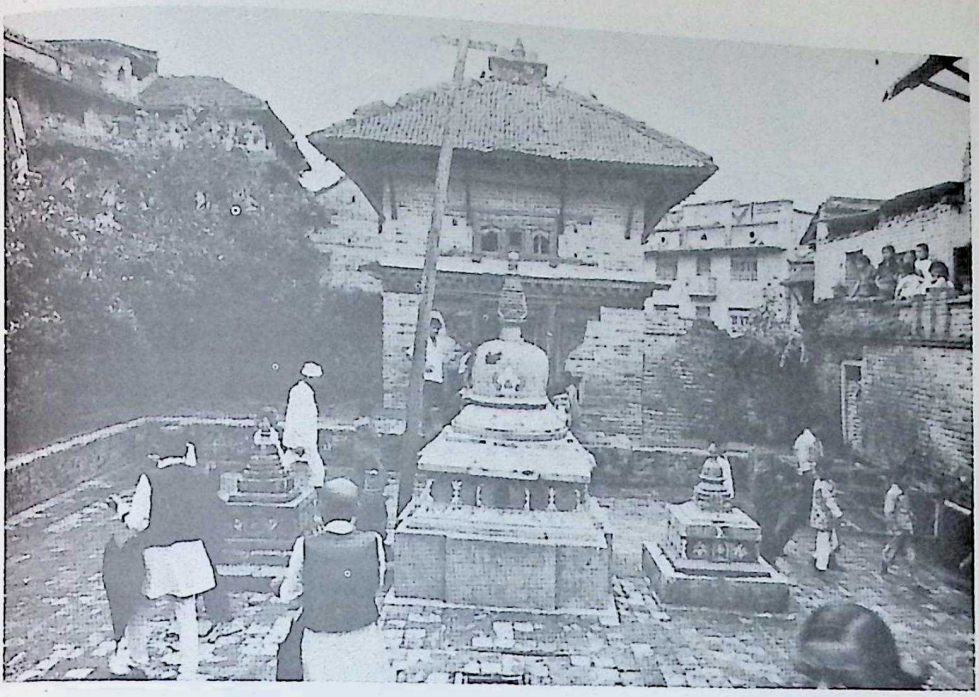


VII/3



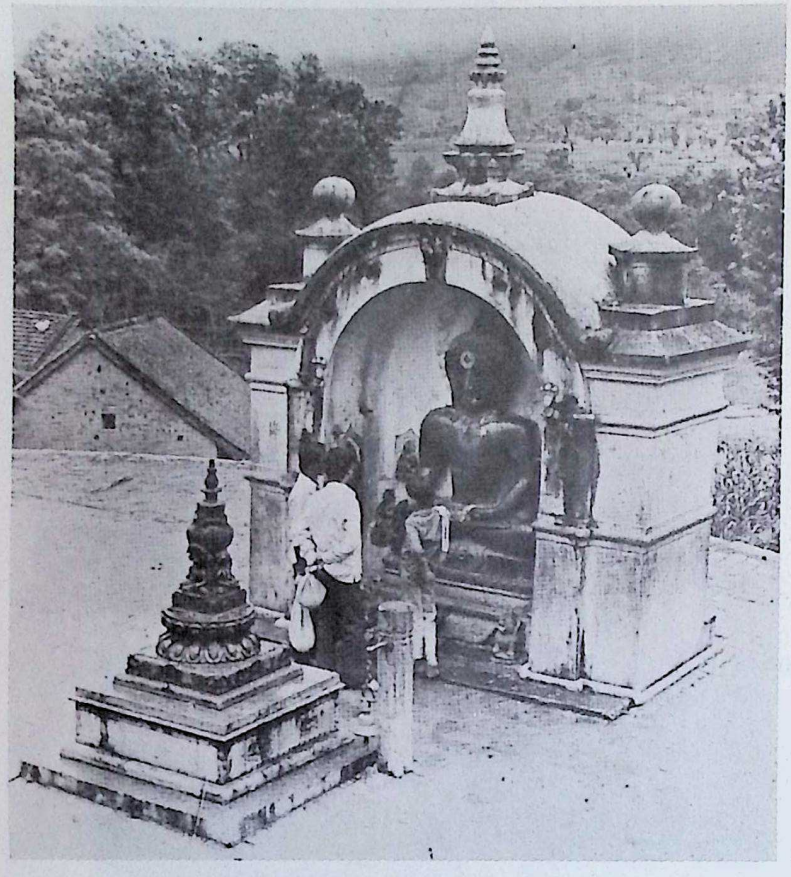
VII/4

IX/1

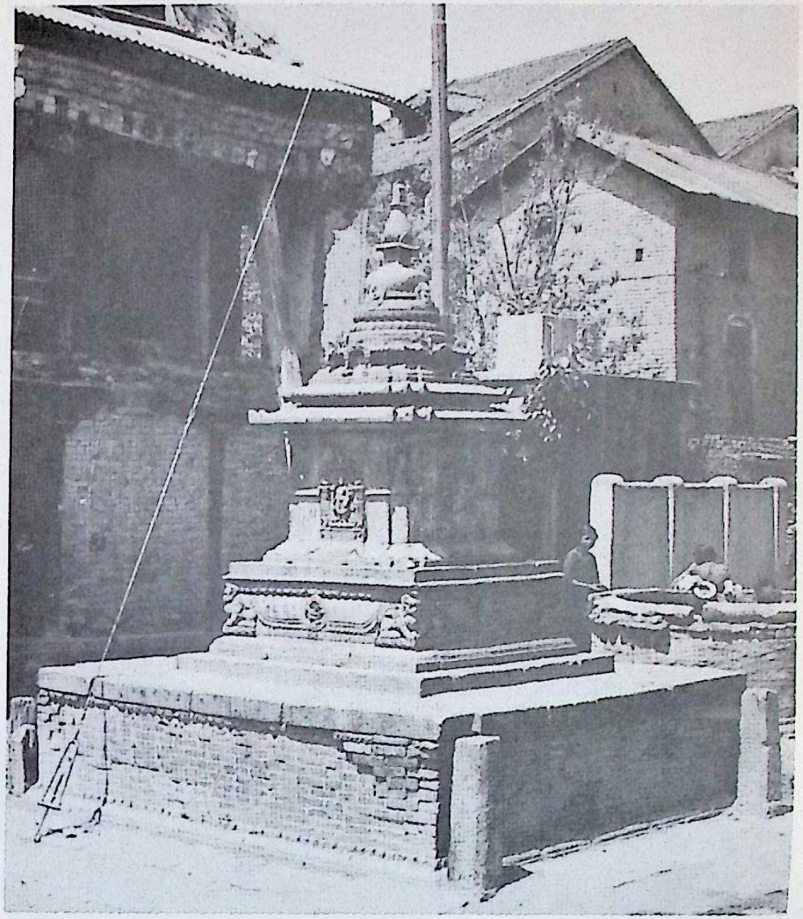


IX/2

IX/3



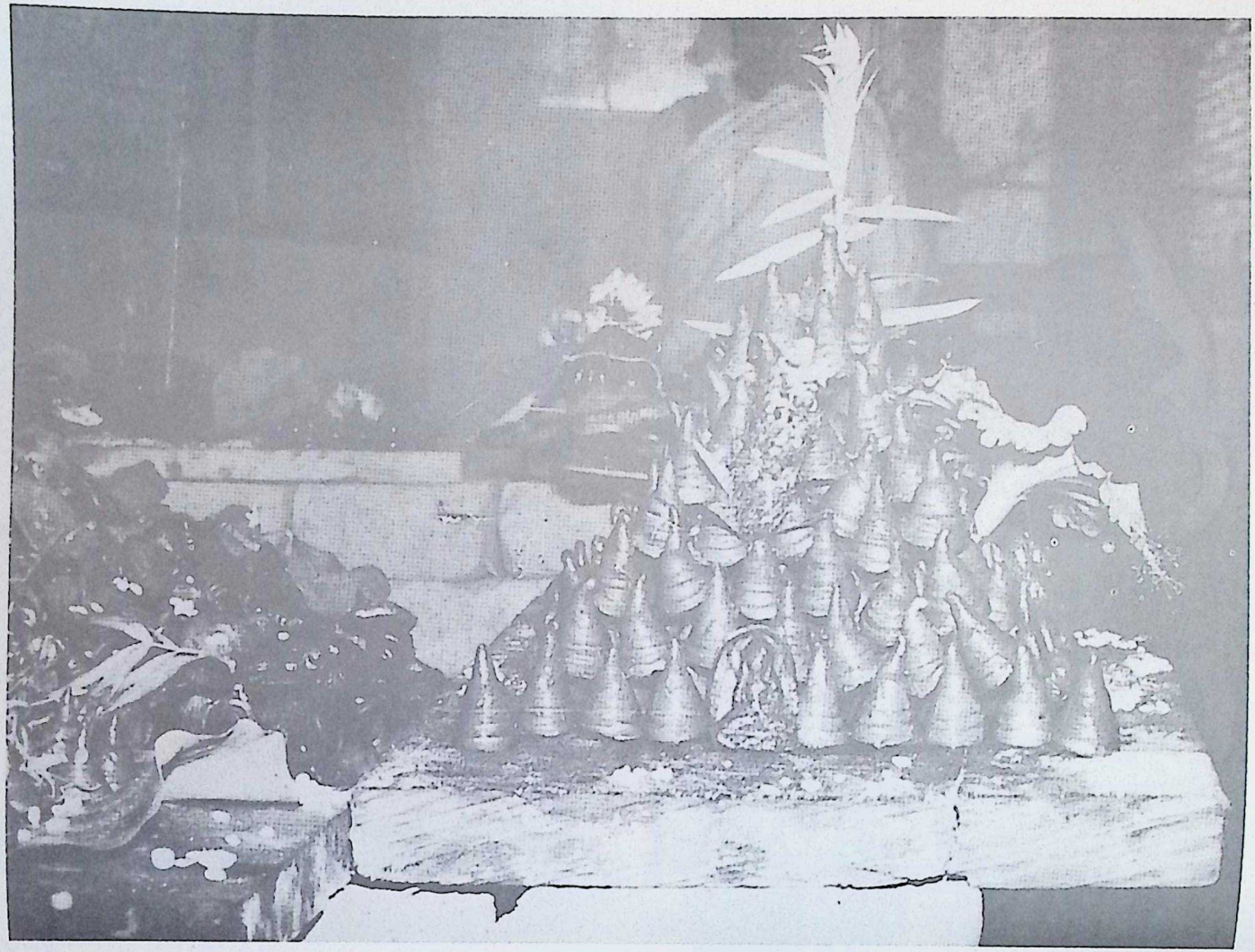
IX/4



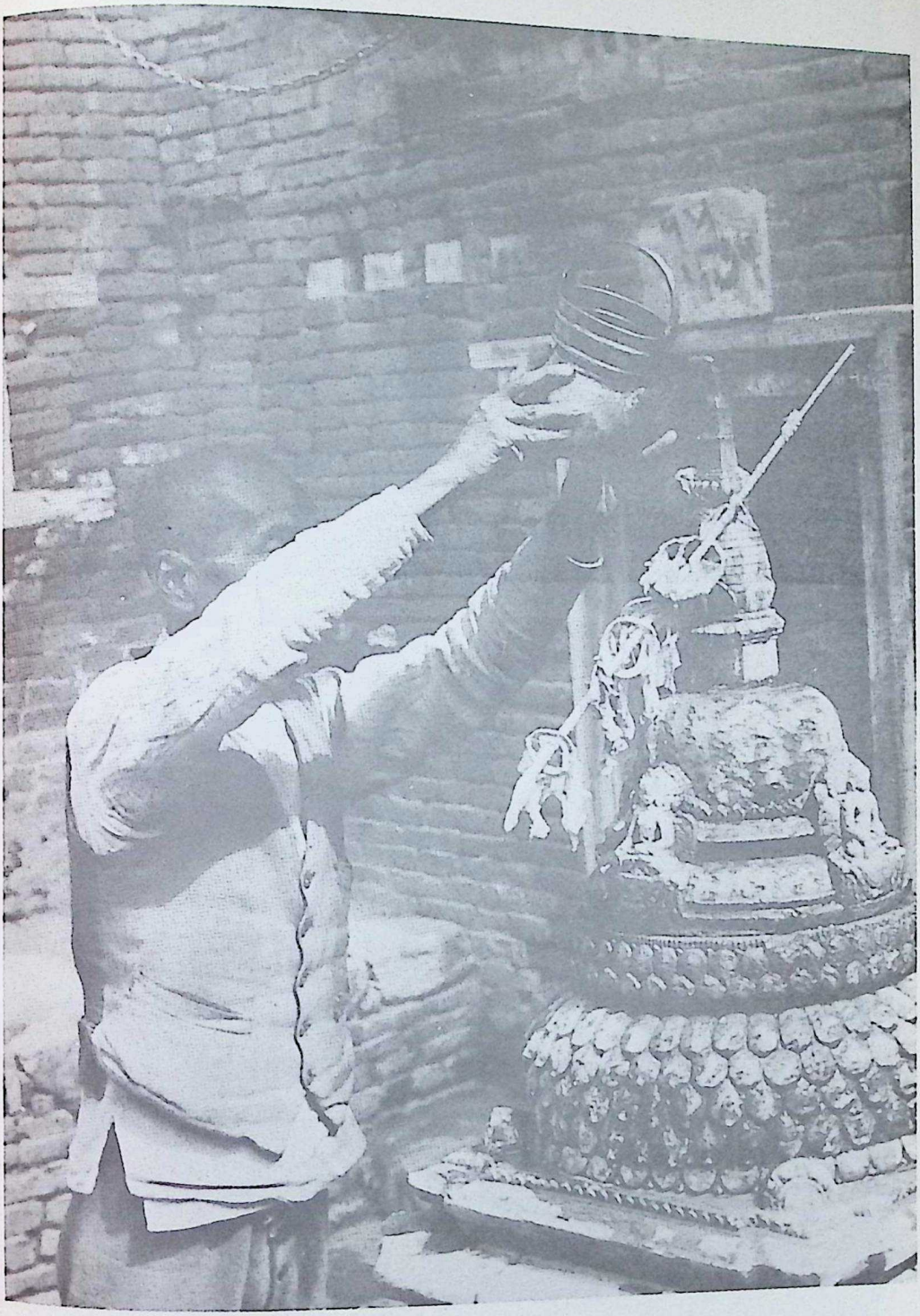
IX/5

IX/6

IX/7

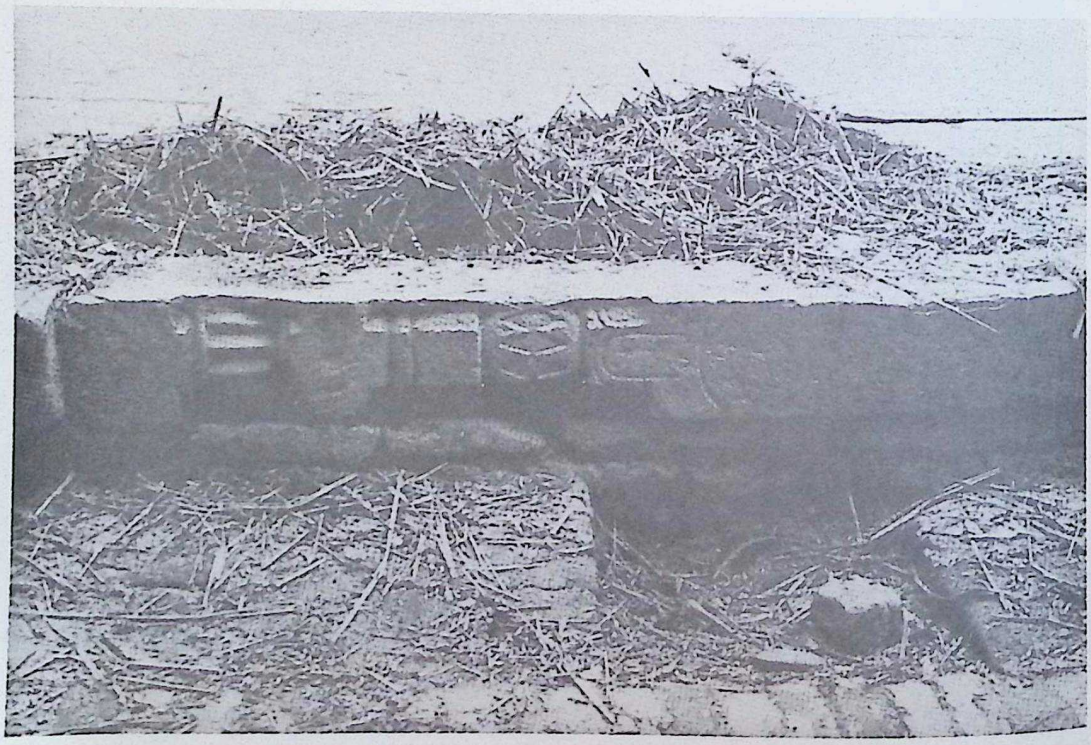


IX/8



IX/9

XI/1

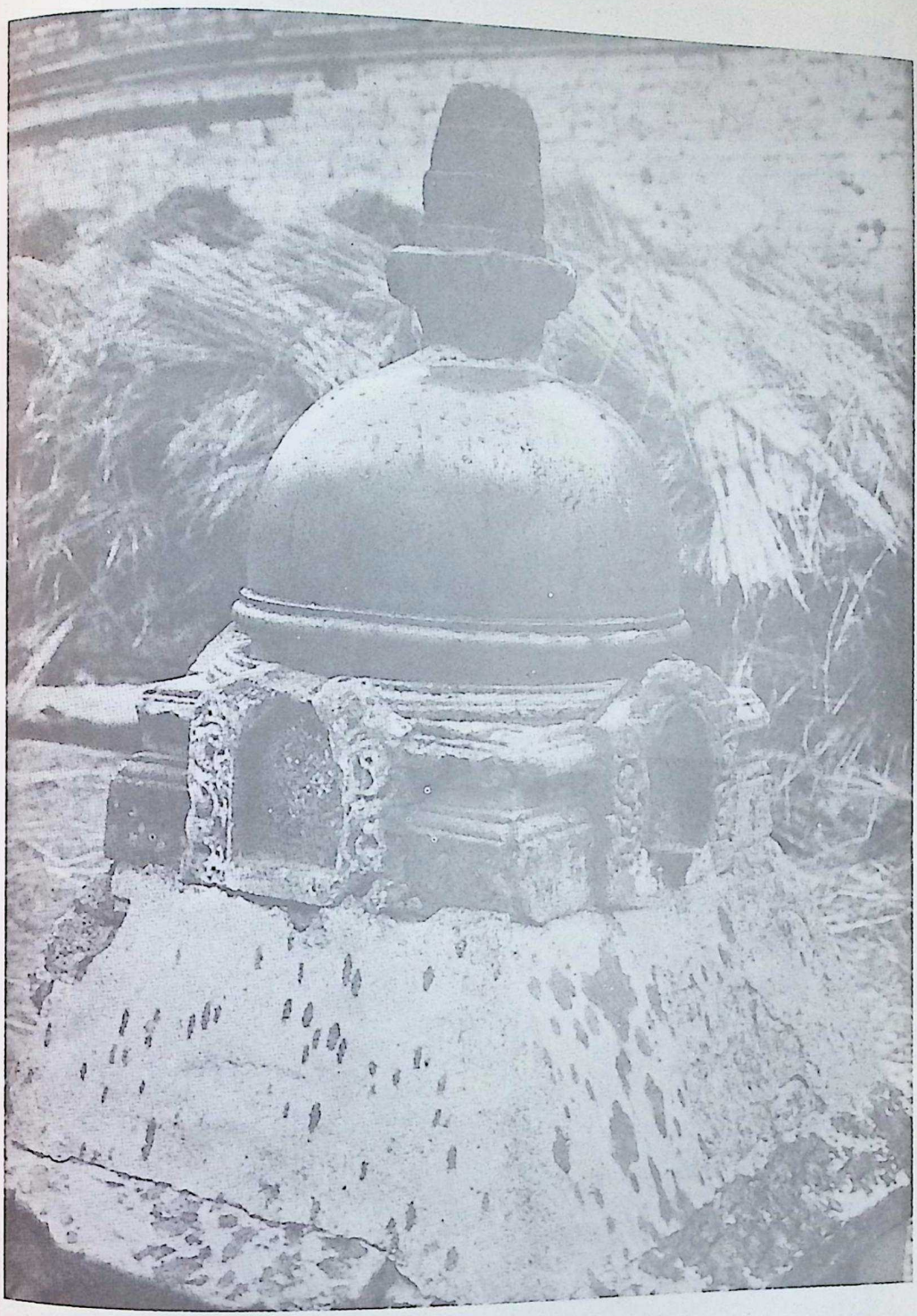


XI/2

XI/3

XI/4

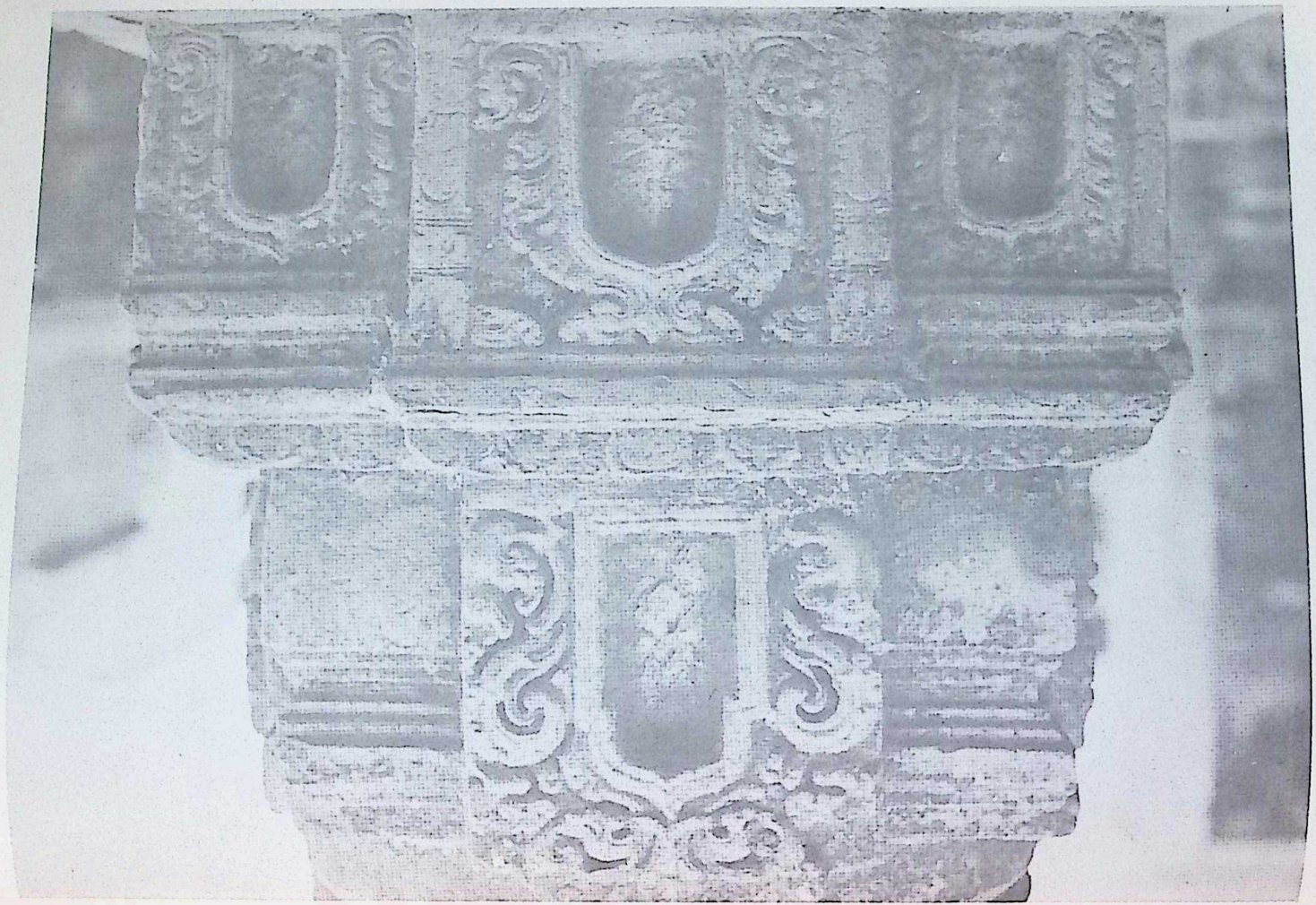
XI/5

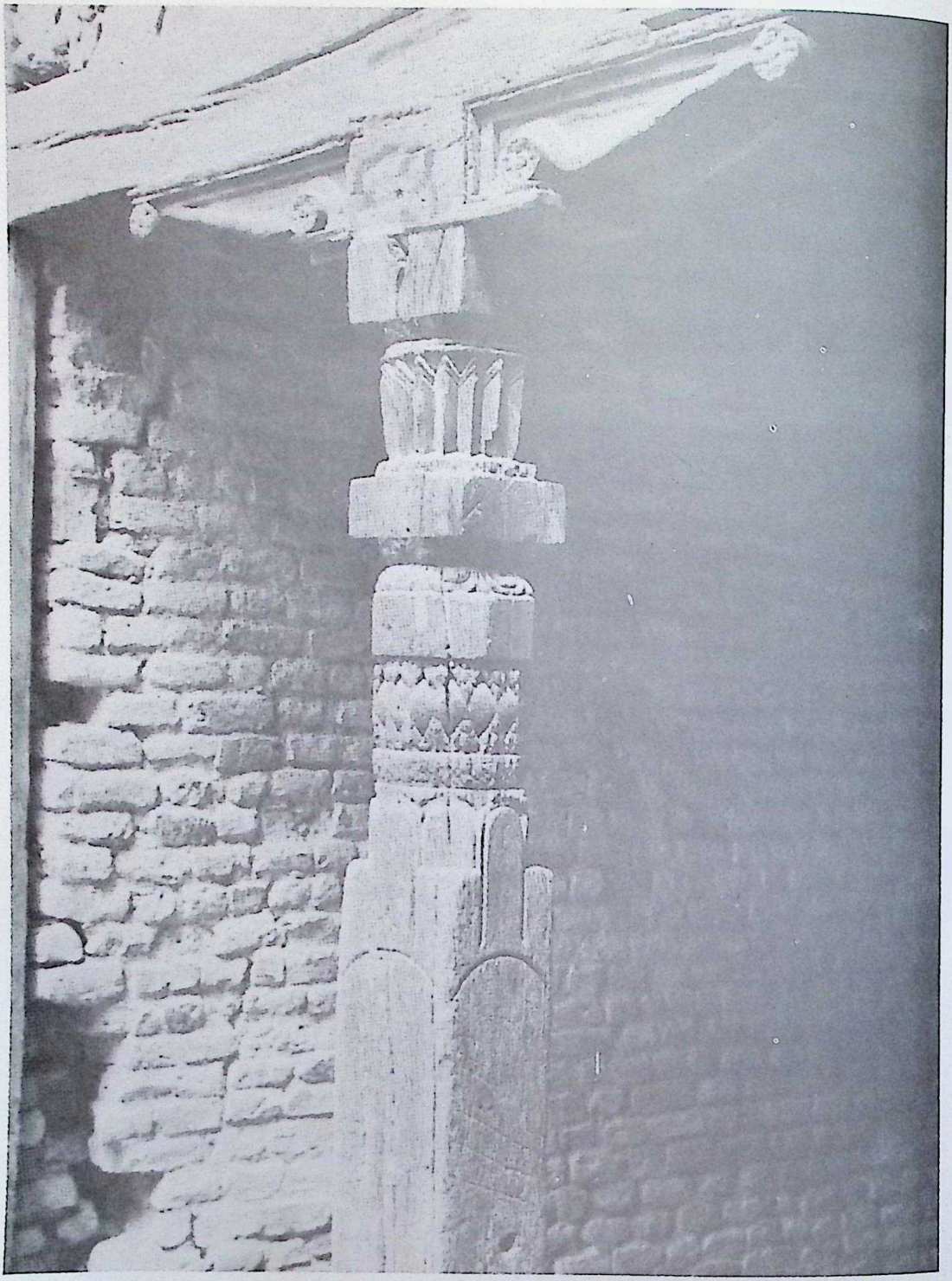


XI/6

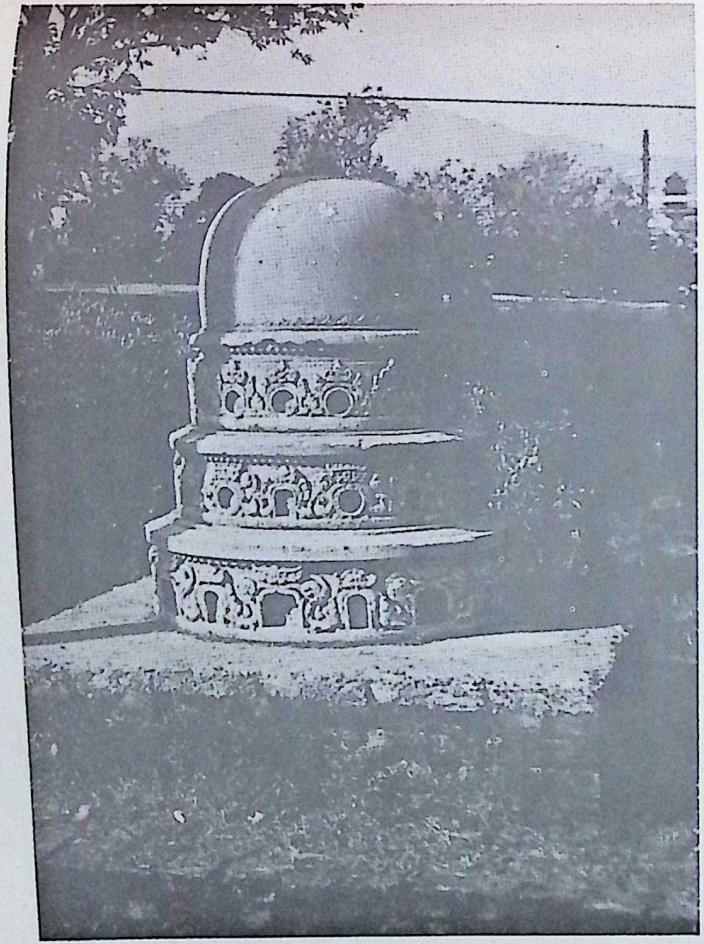
XI/7

XI/8

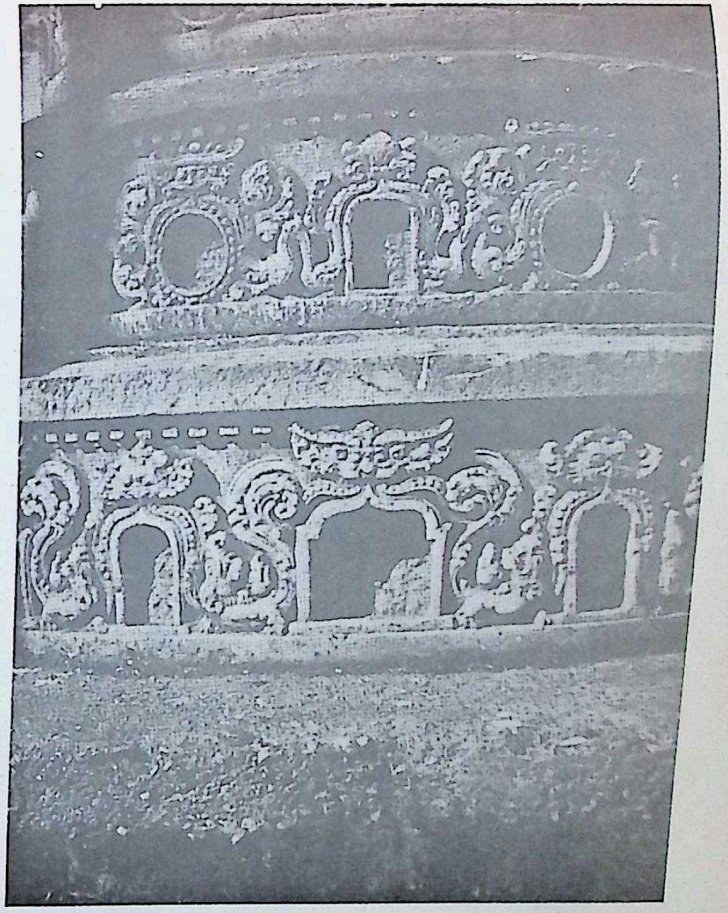




XI/10

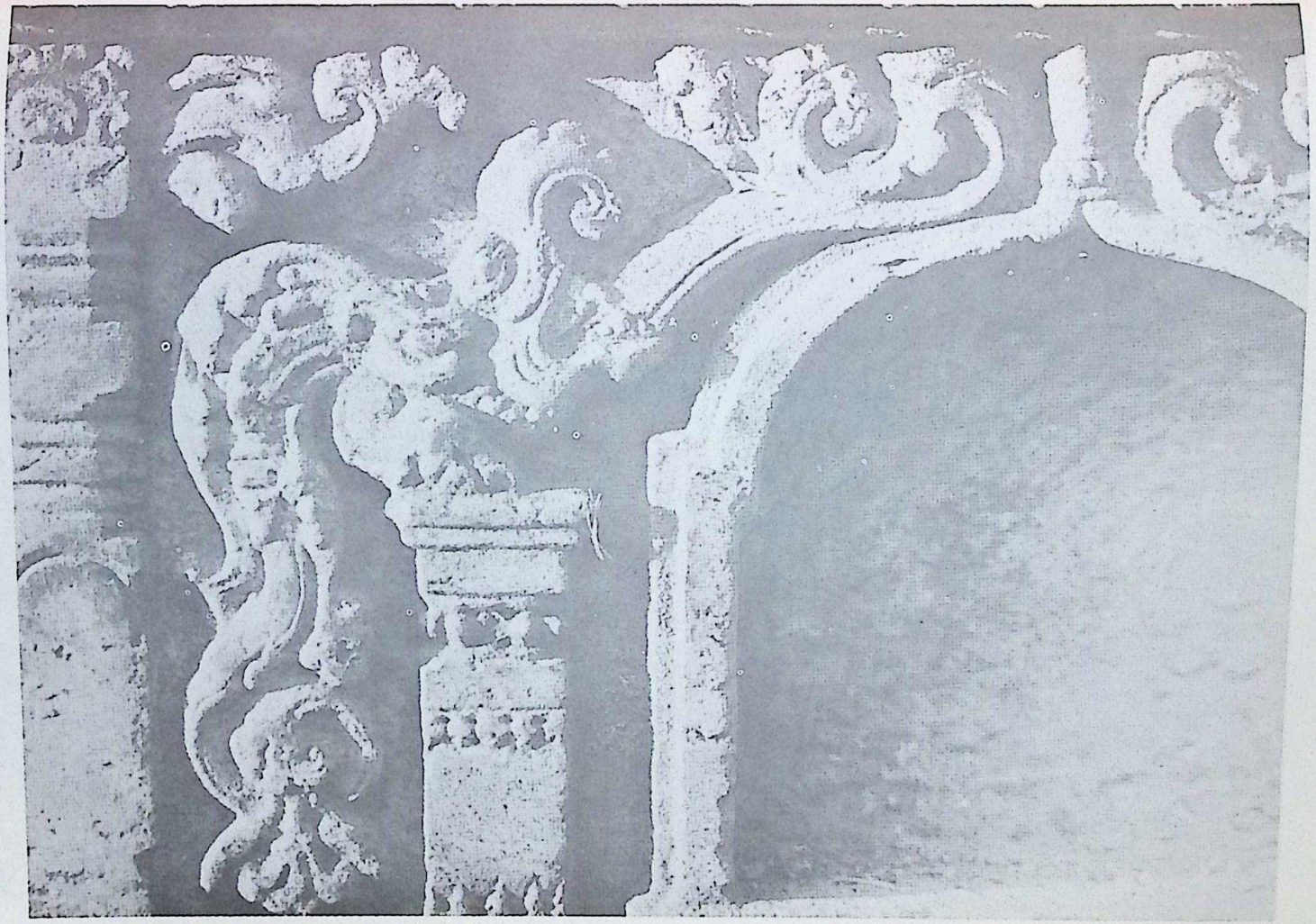


XII/1

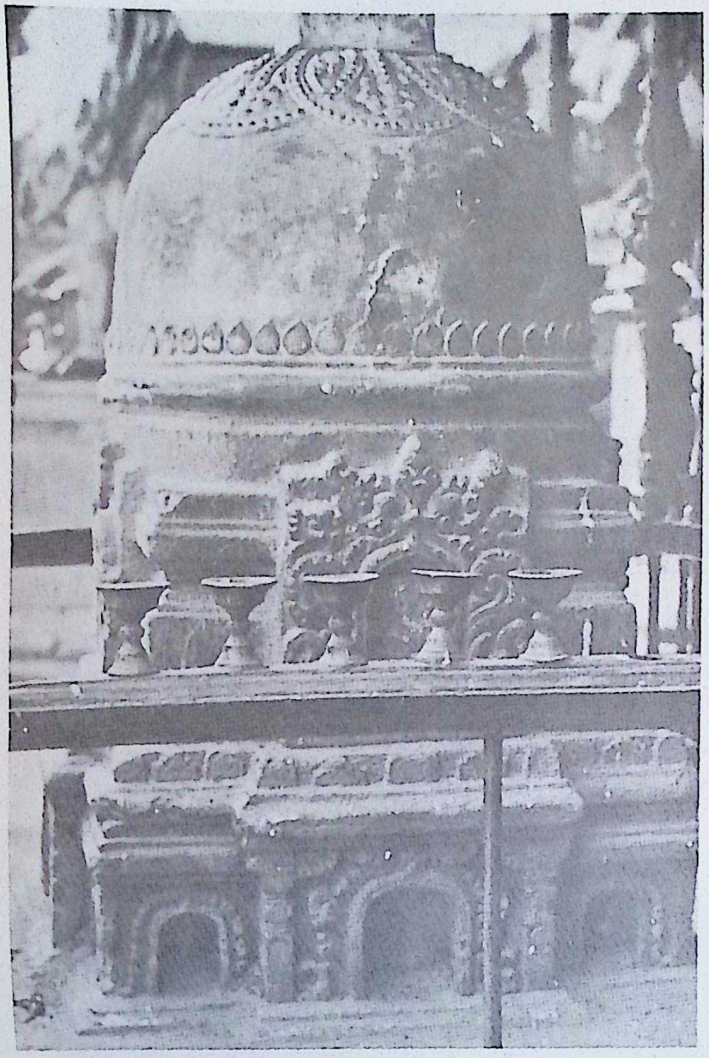


XII/2

XII/3

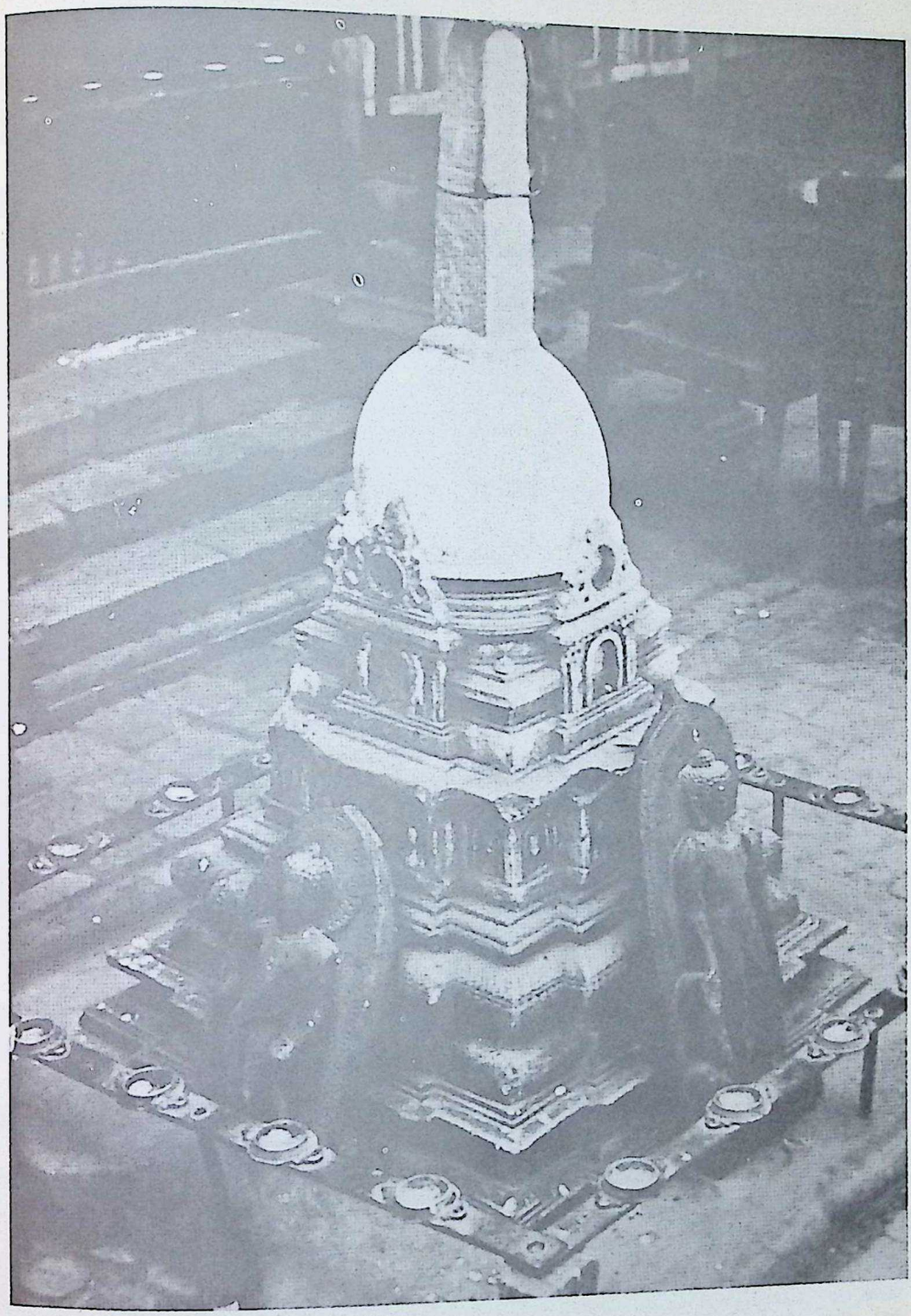


XII/4



XII/5

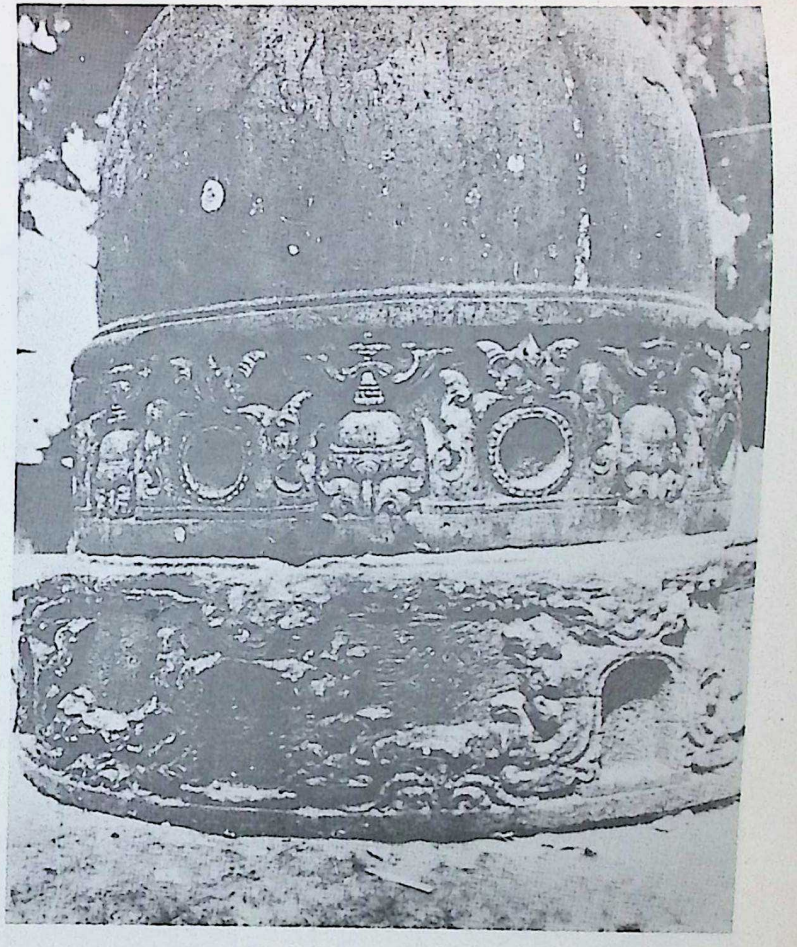
XII/6



XII/7

XII/8

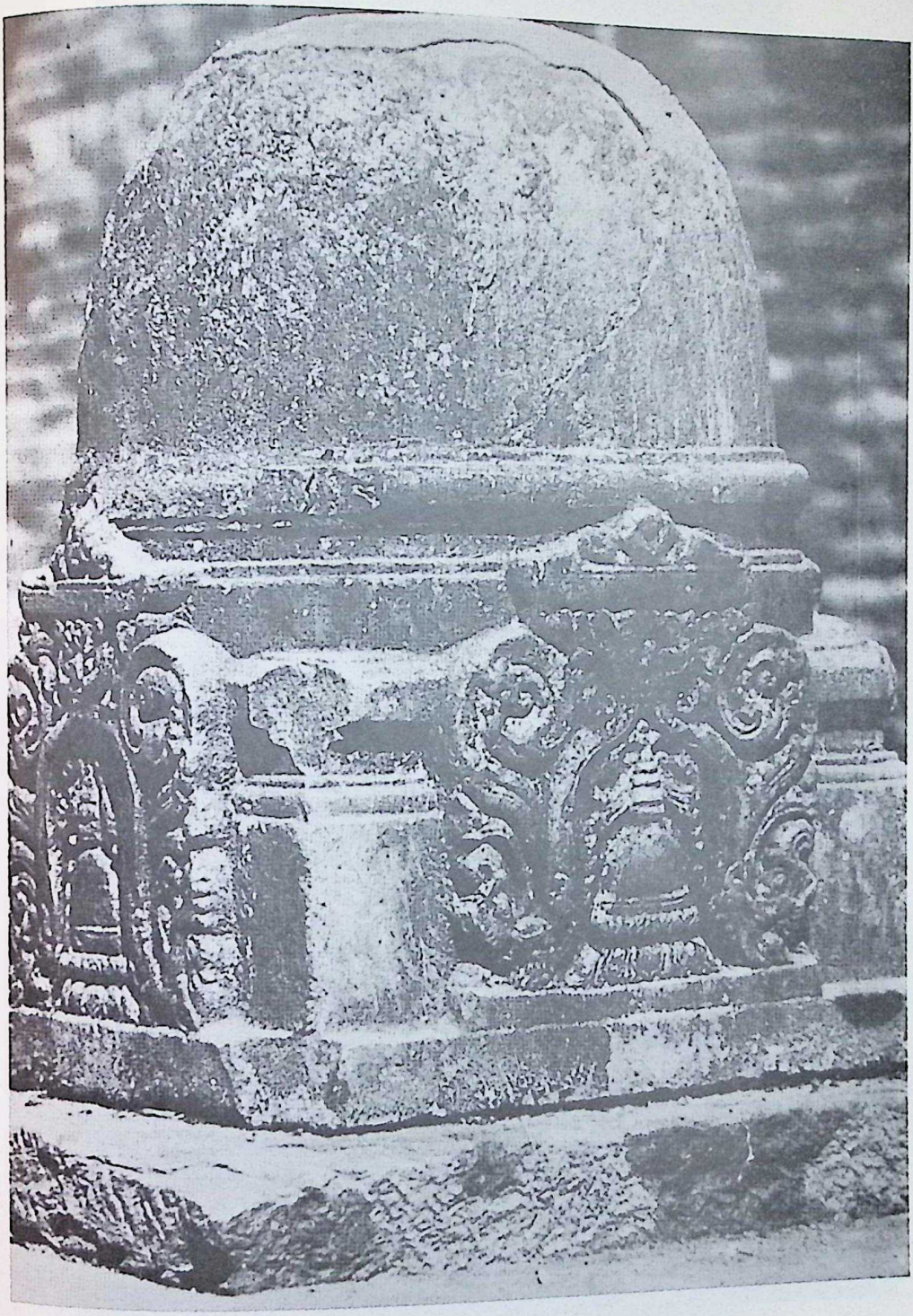
XII/9



XII/10

XII/11

XII/12

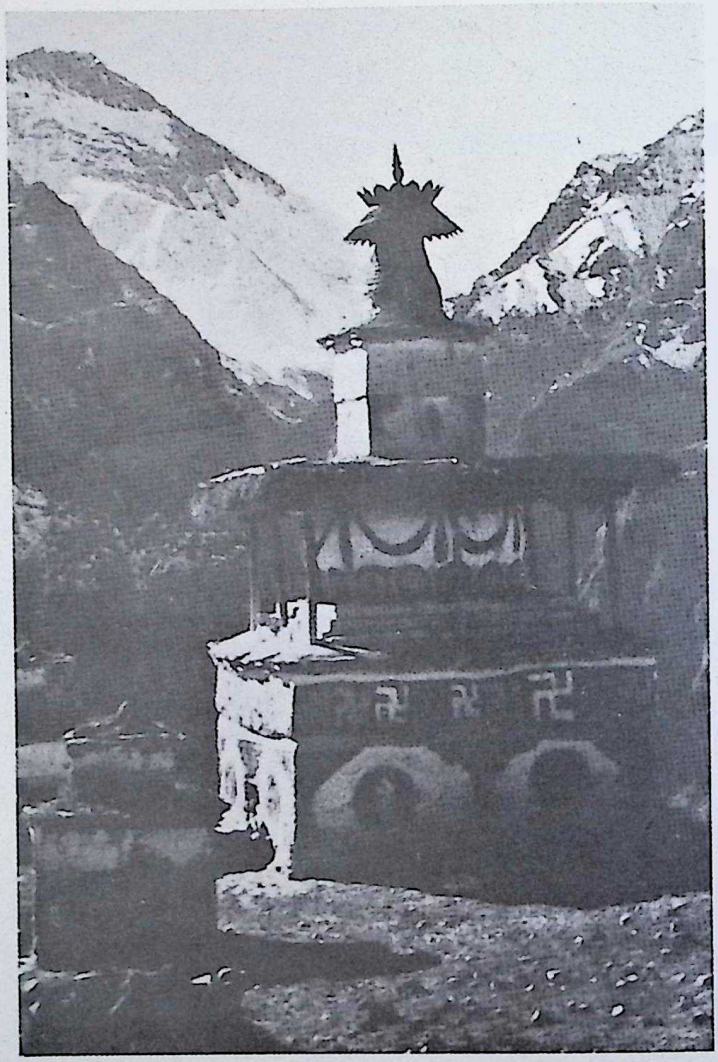


XII/13

XII/14

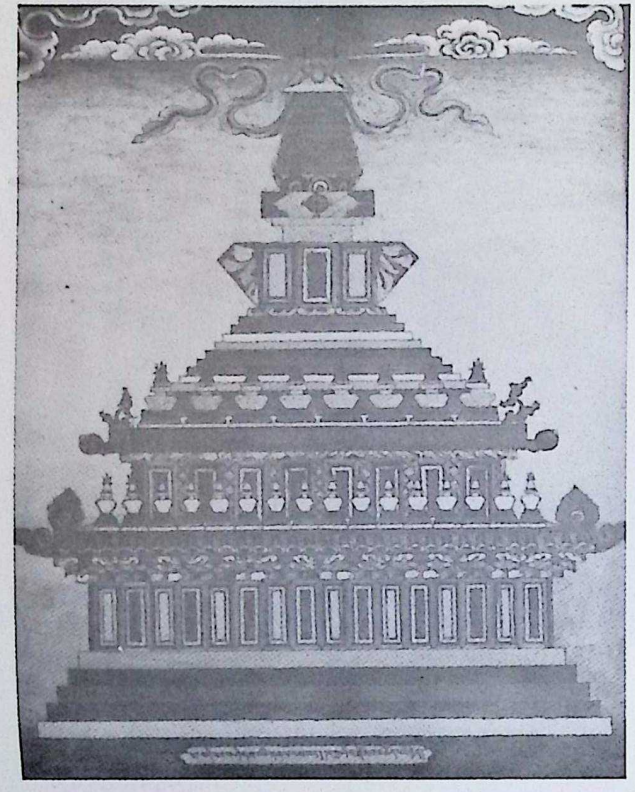
XIII/1

XIII/2

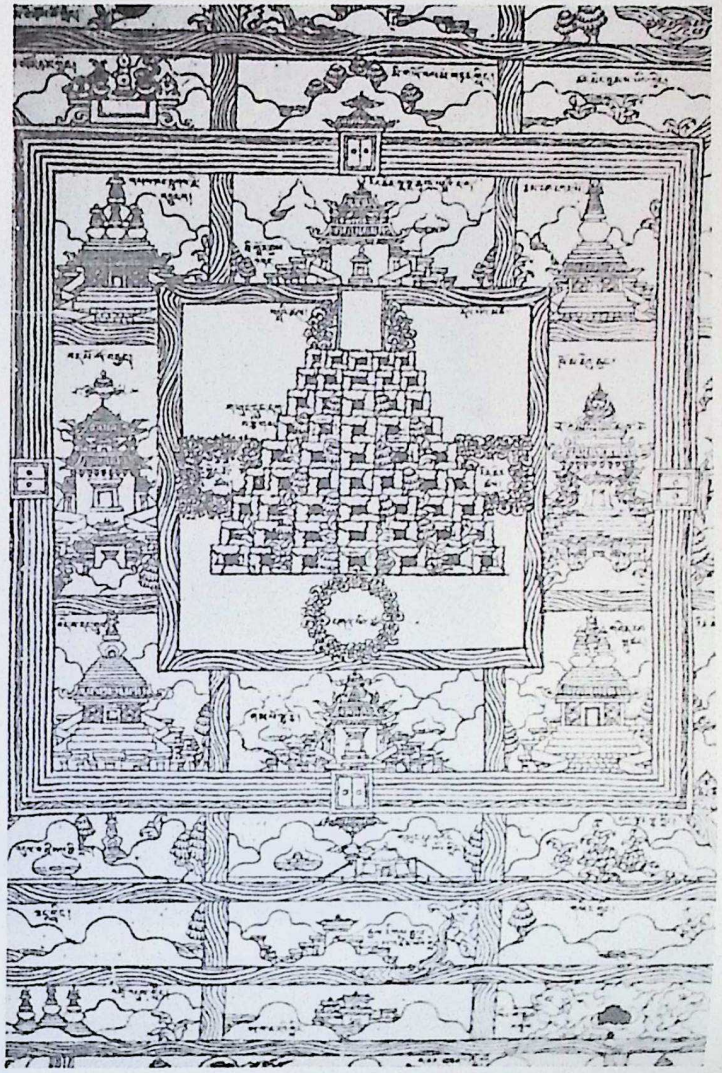


XIII/3

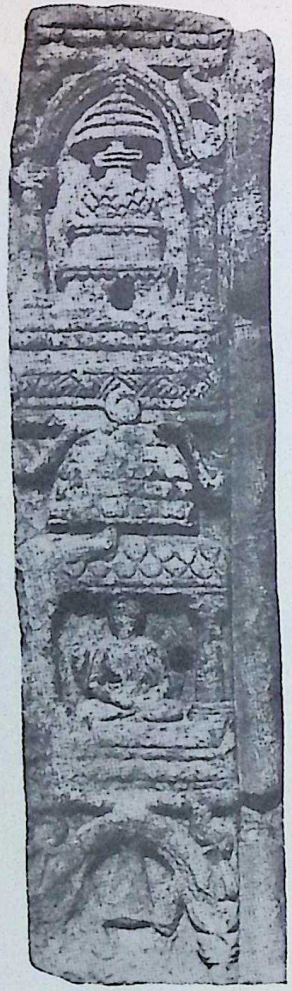
XIII/4



XIII/5

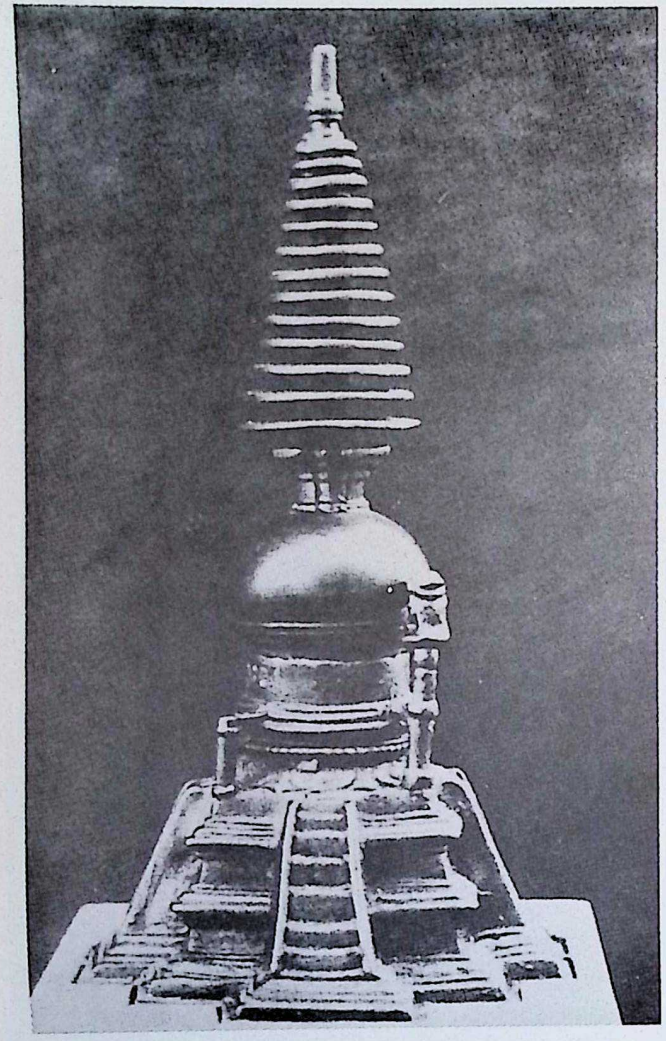


XIII/6



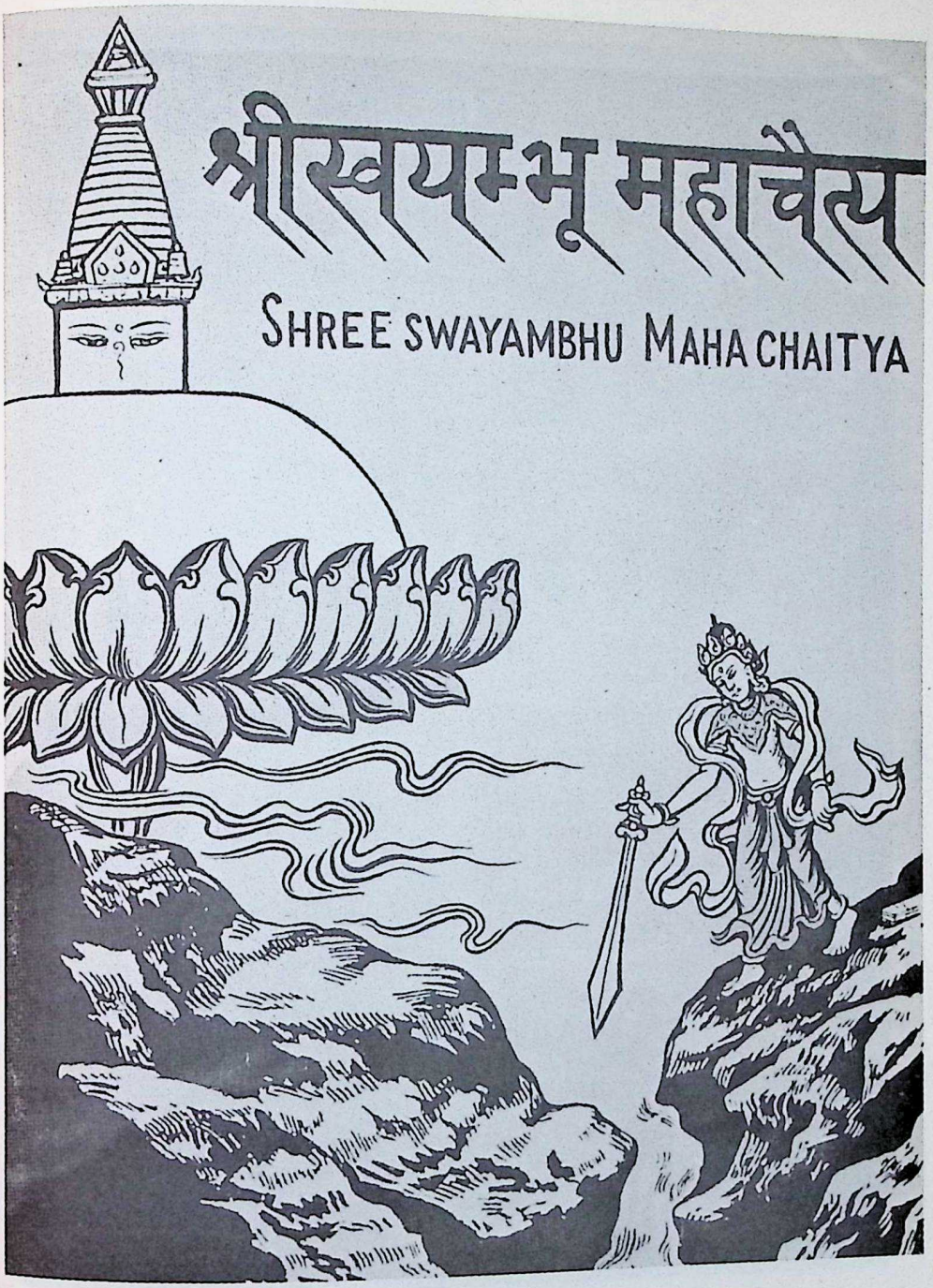
XIV/1

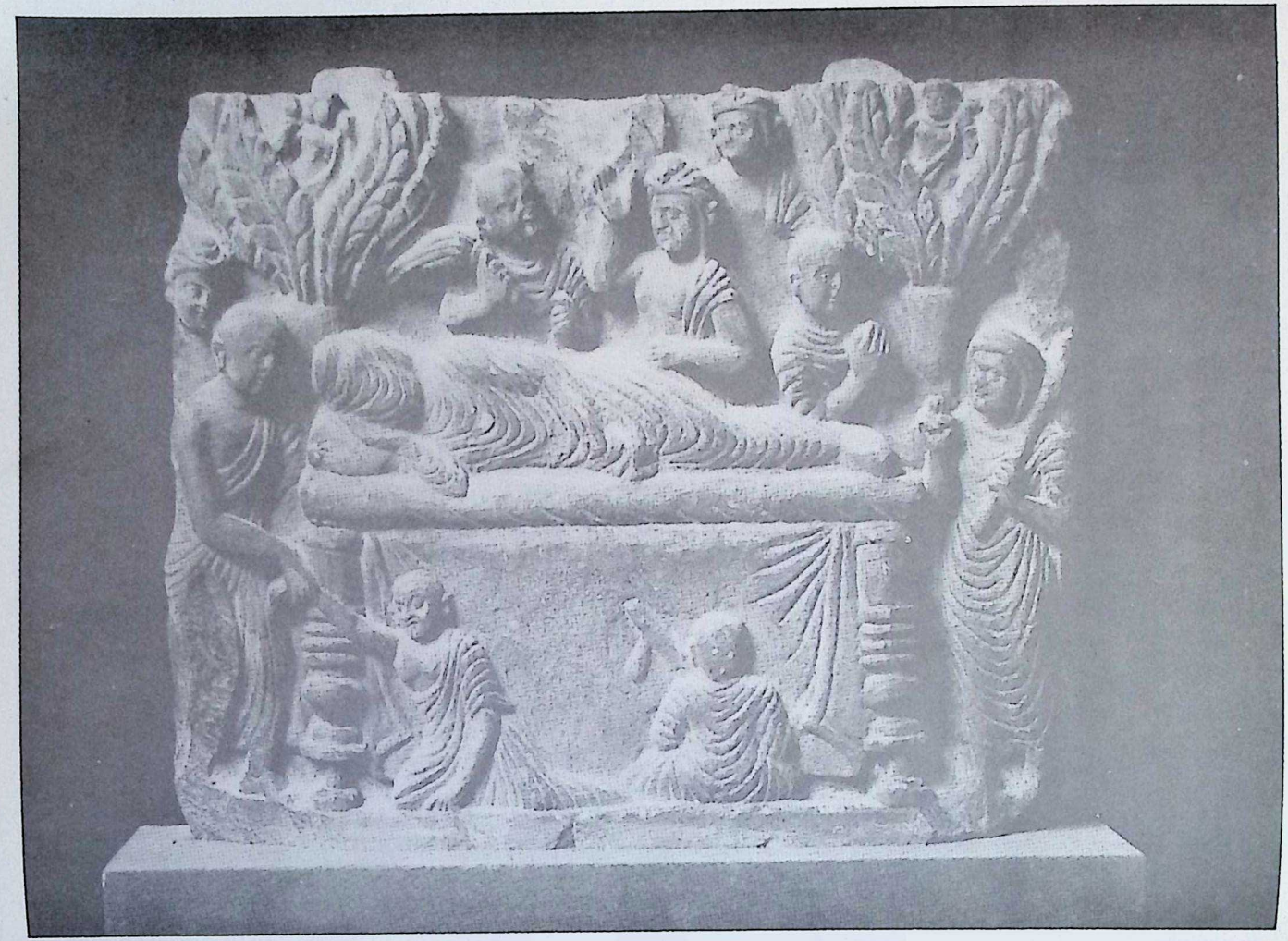
XIV/2



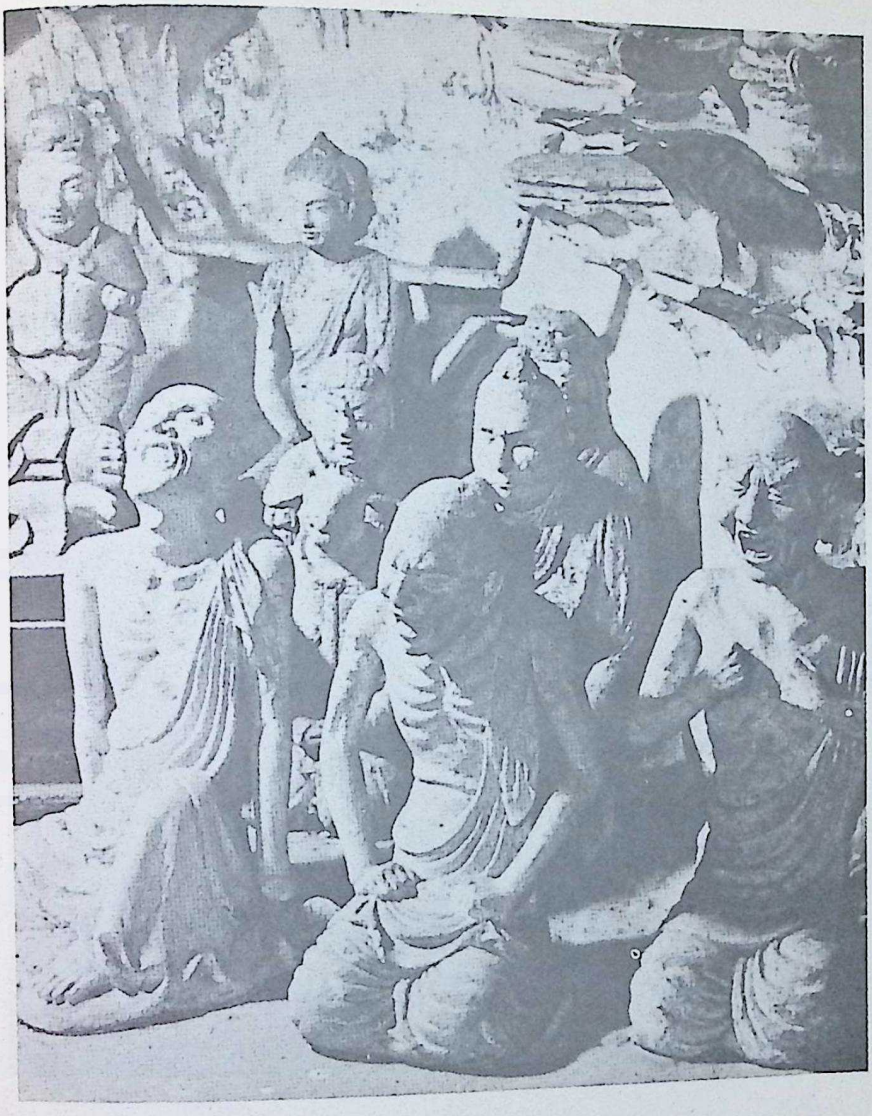
XIV/3

XIV/4


श्रीस्वयम्भू महाचैत्य
SHREE SWAYAMBHU MAHA CHAITYA

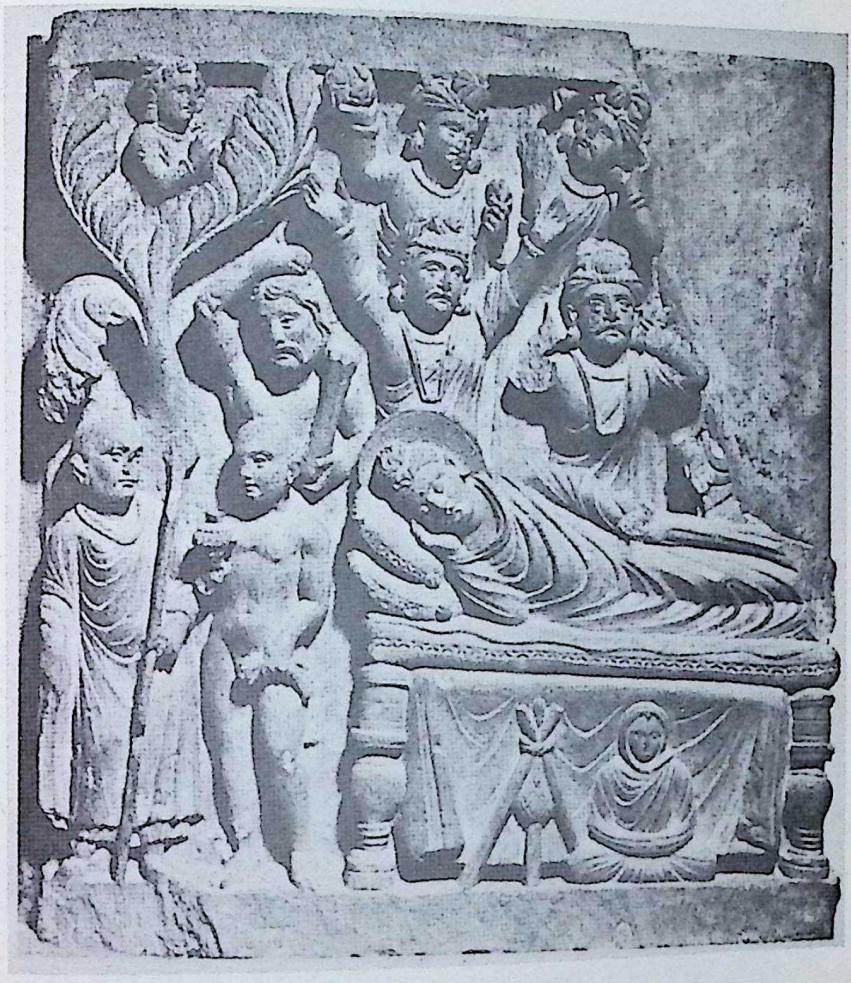


XV/1

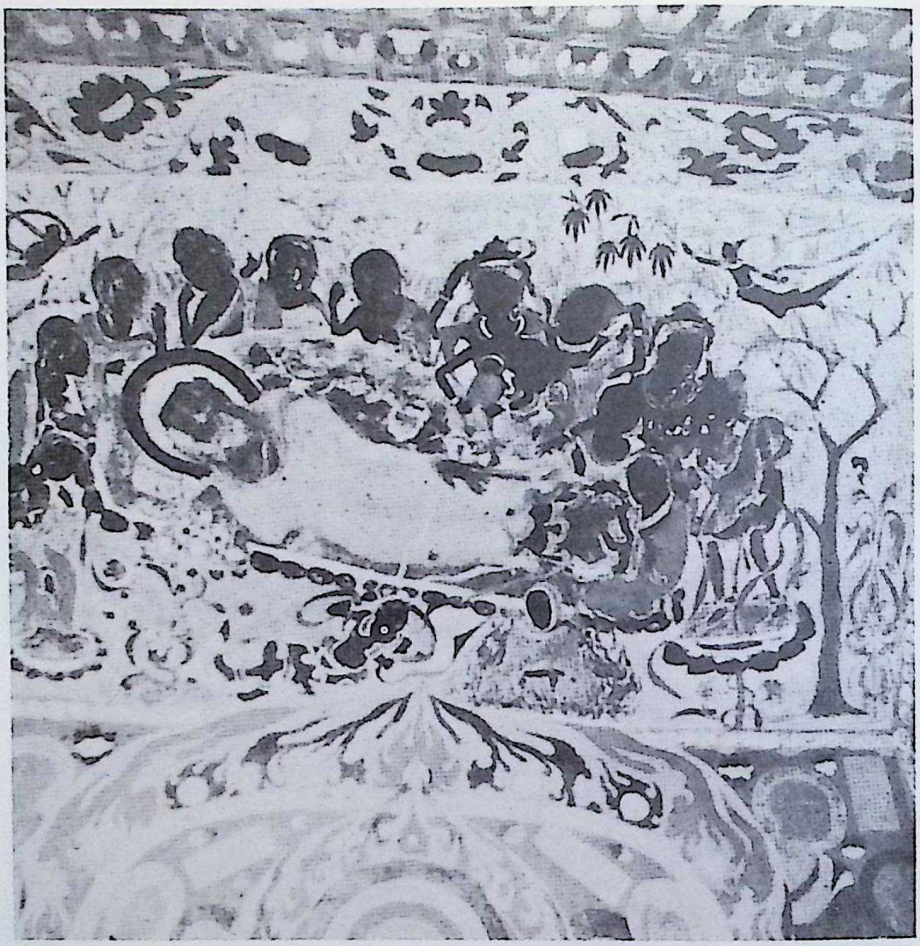


XV/2

XV/3

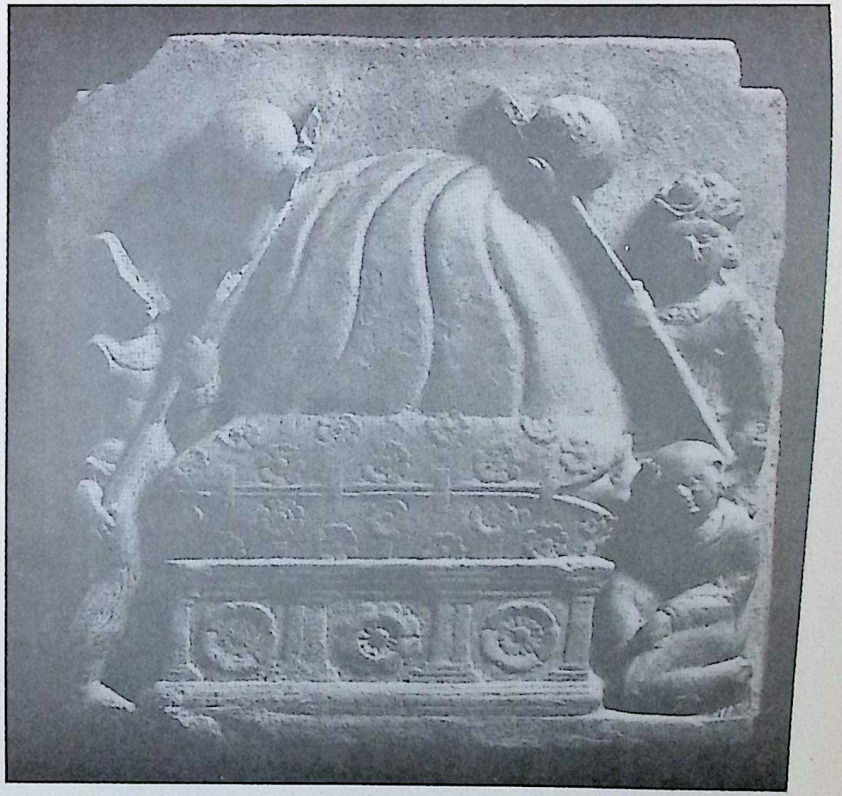


XV/4



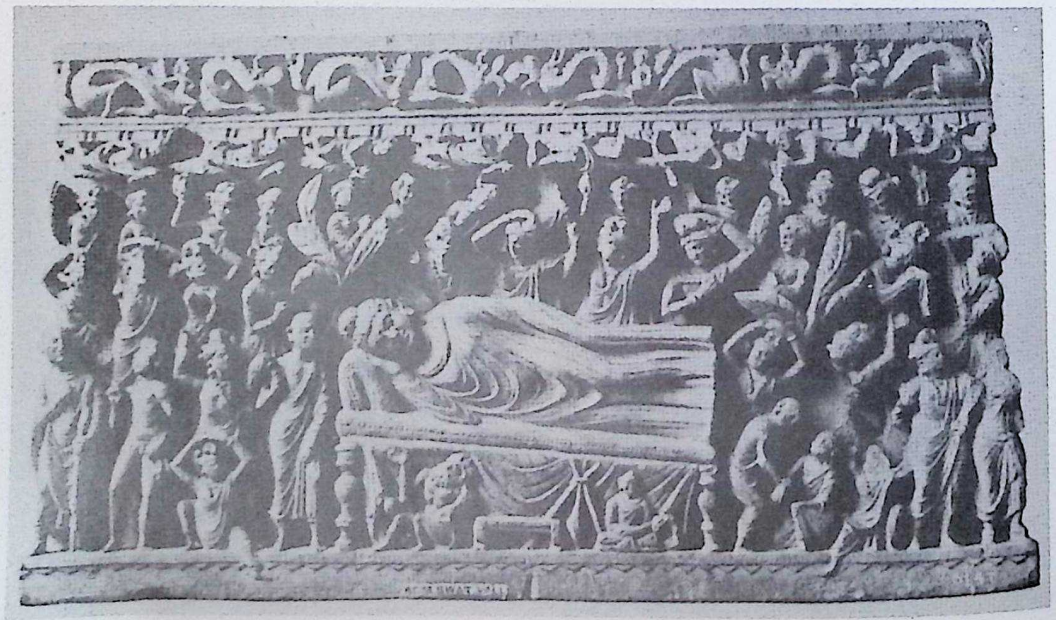
XV/5

XV/6

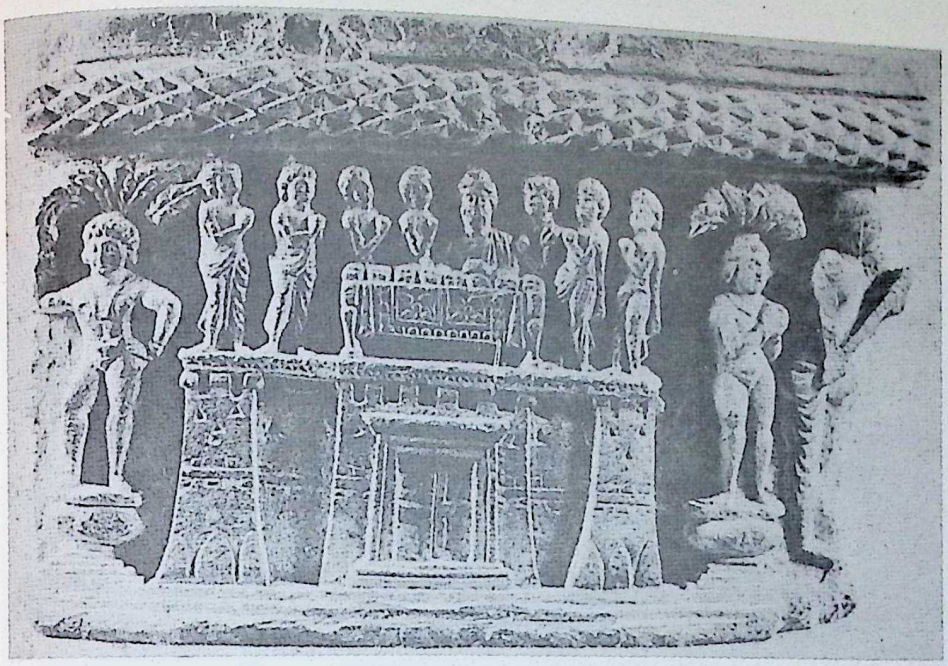


XV/7

XV/8

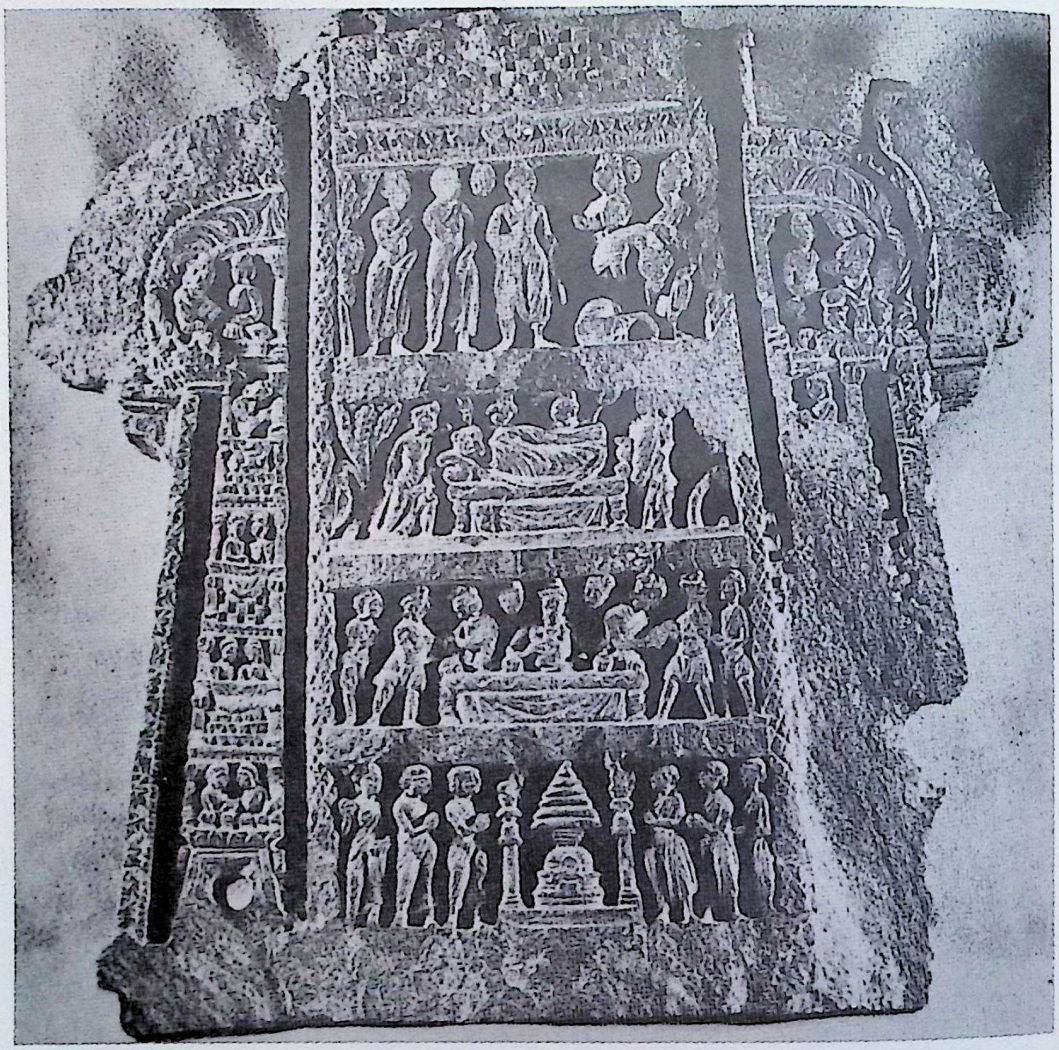


XV/9

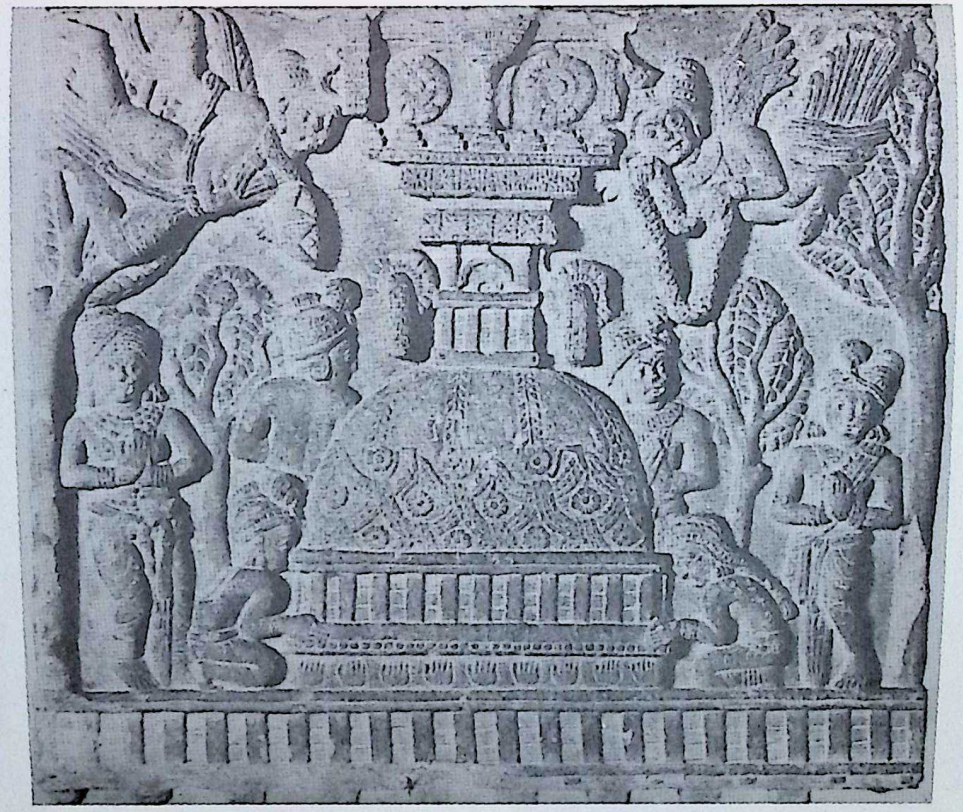


XV/10

XV/11

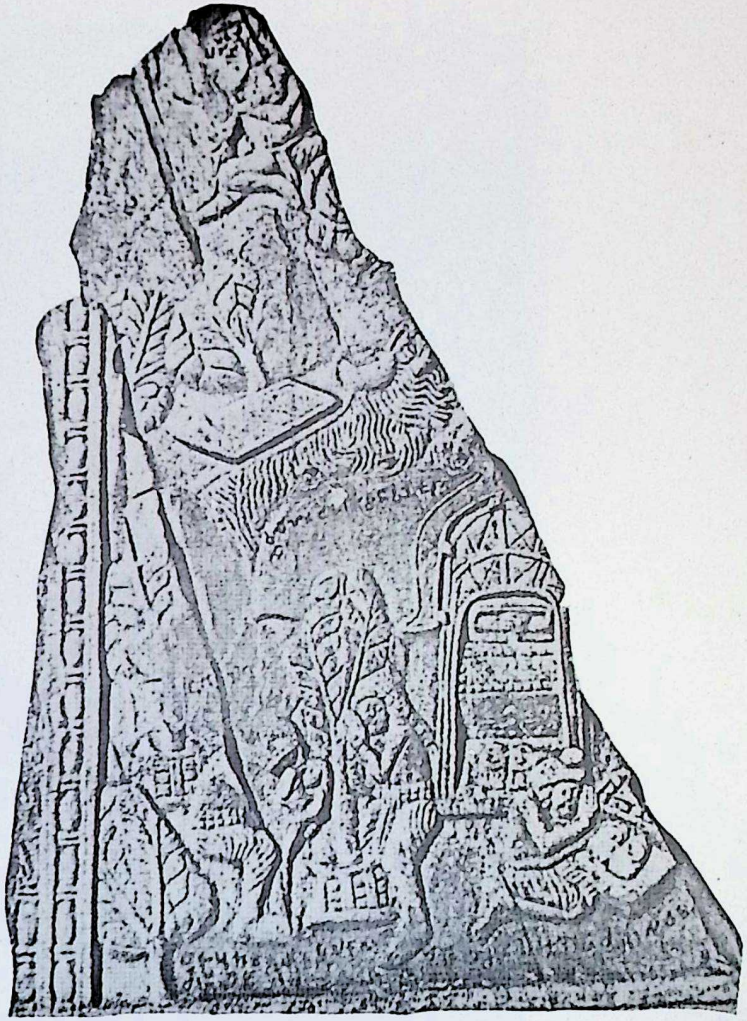


XV/12

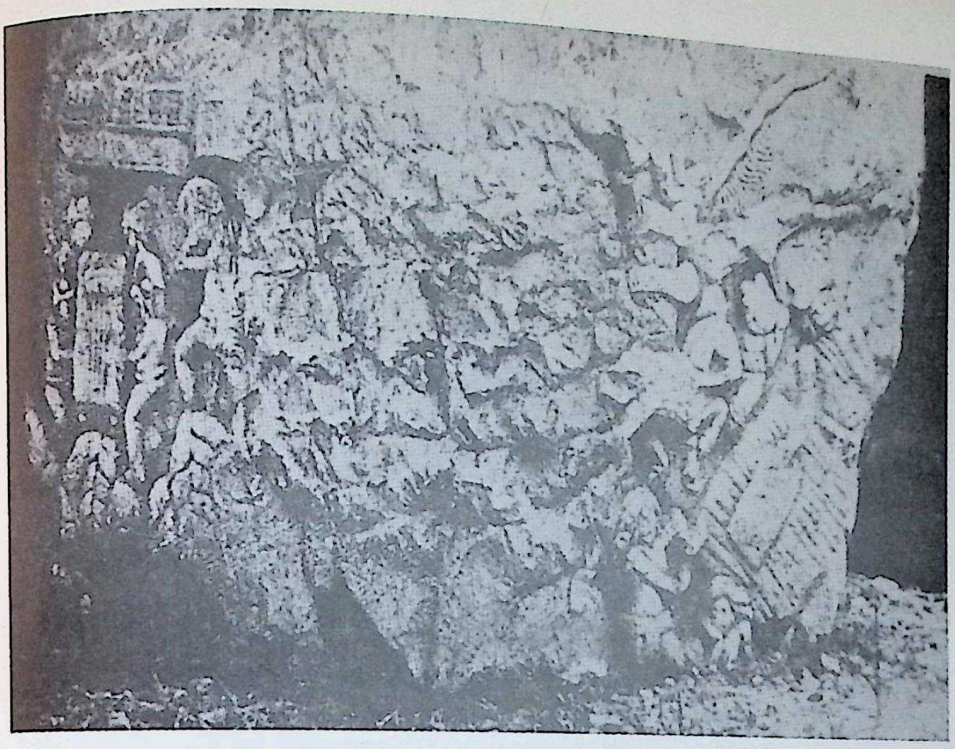


XVI/1

XVI/2

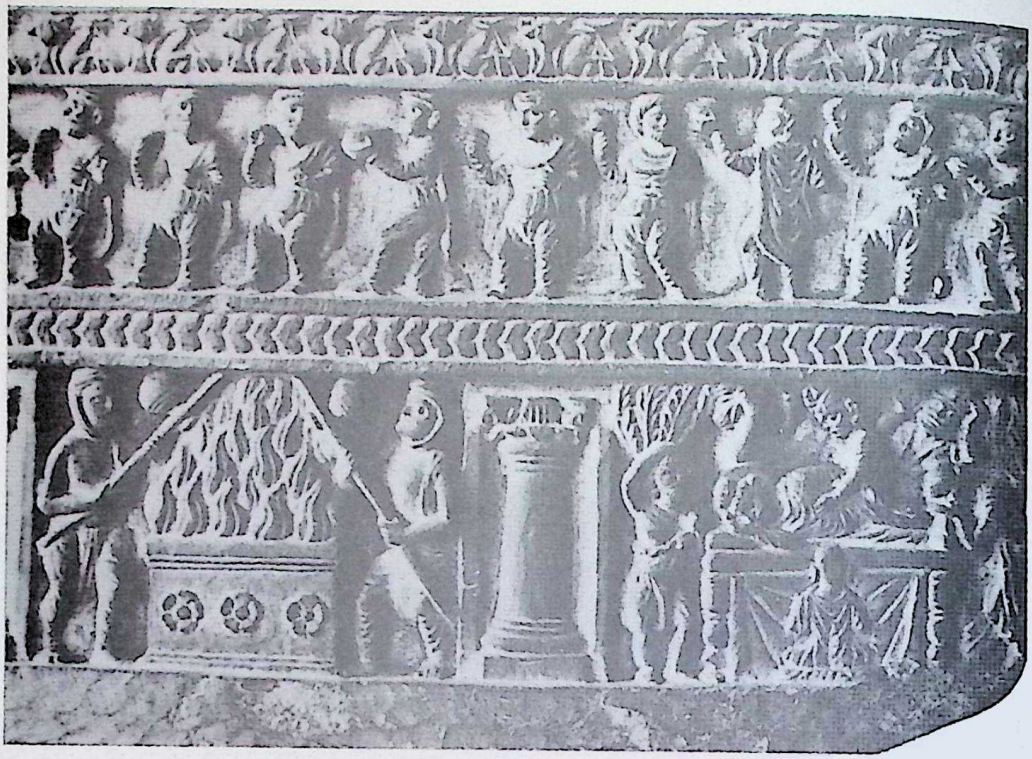


XVI/3



XVI/4

XVI/5



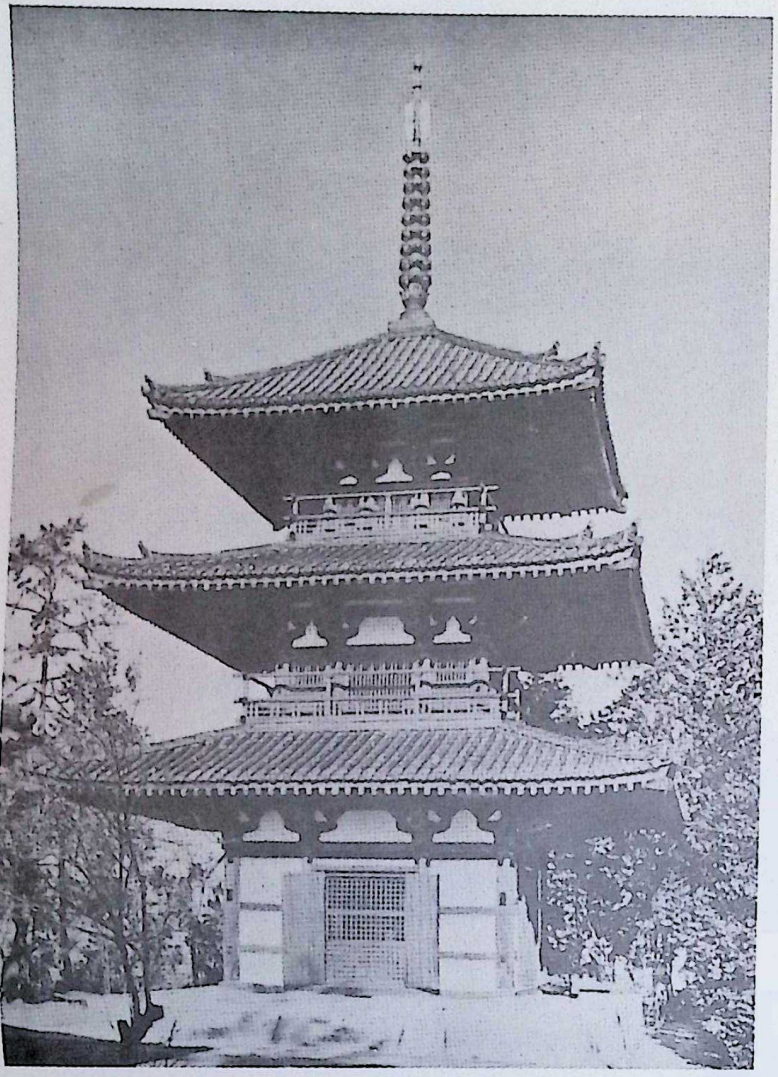
XVI/6

XVI/7

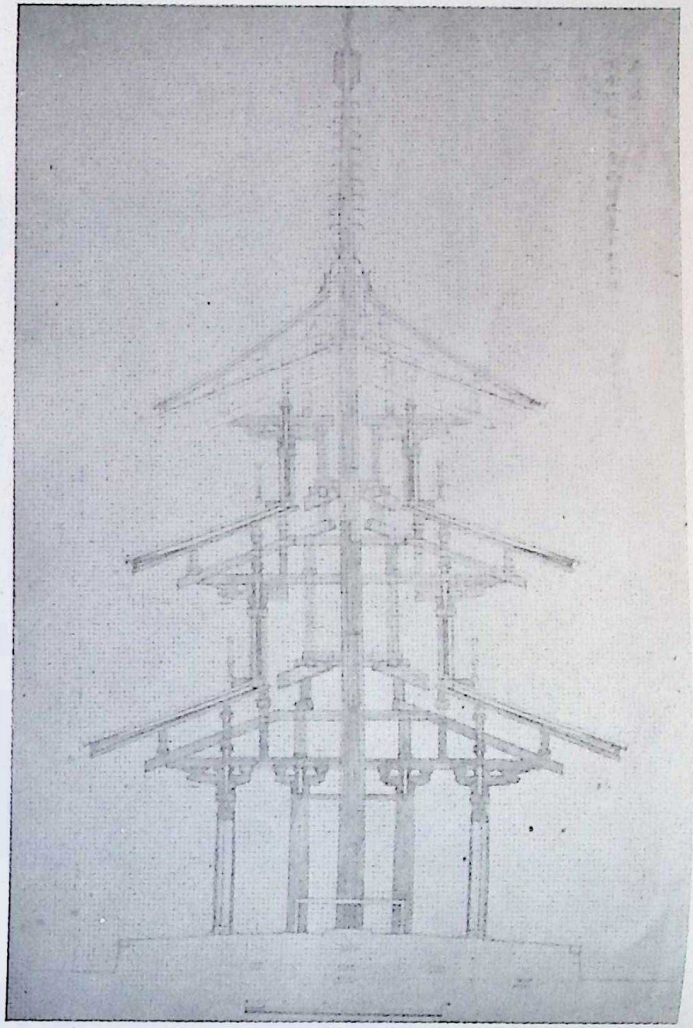
XVI/8

XVI/9

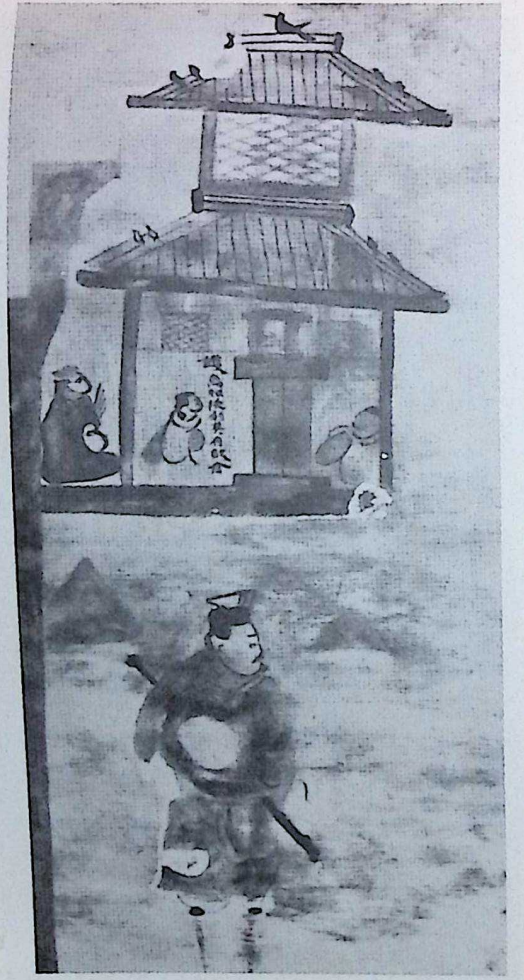
XVI/10



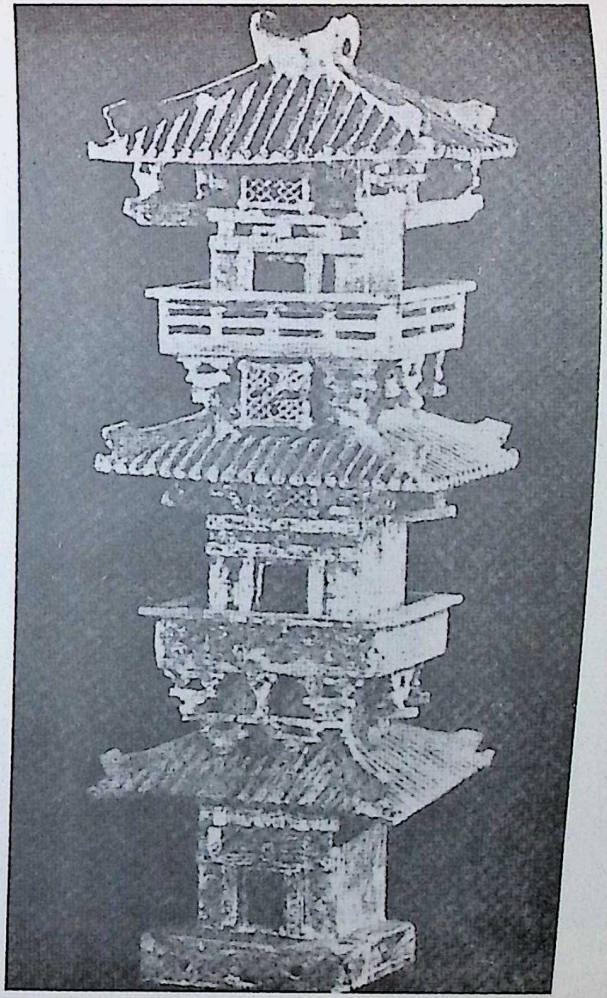
XVIII/1



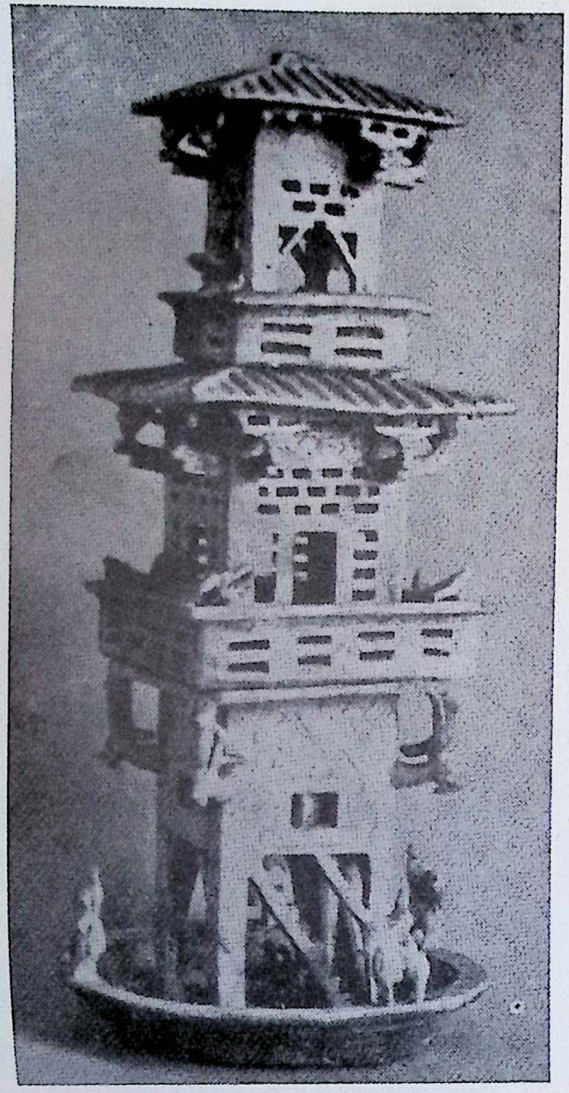
XVIII/2



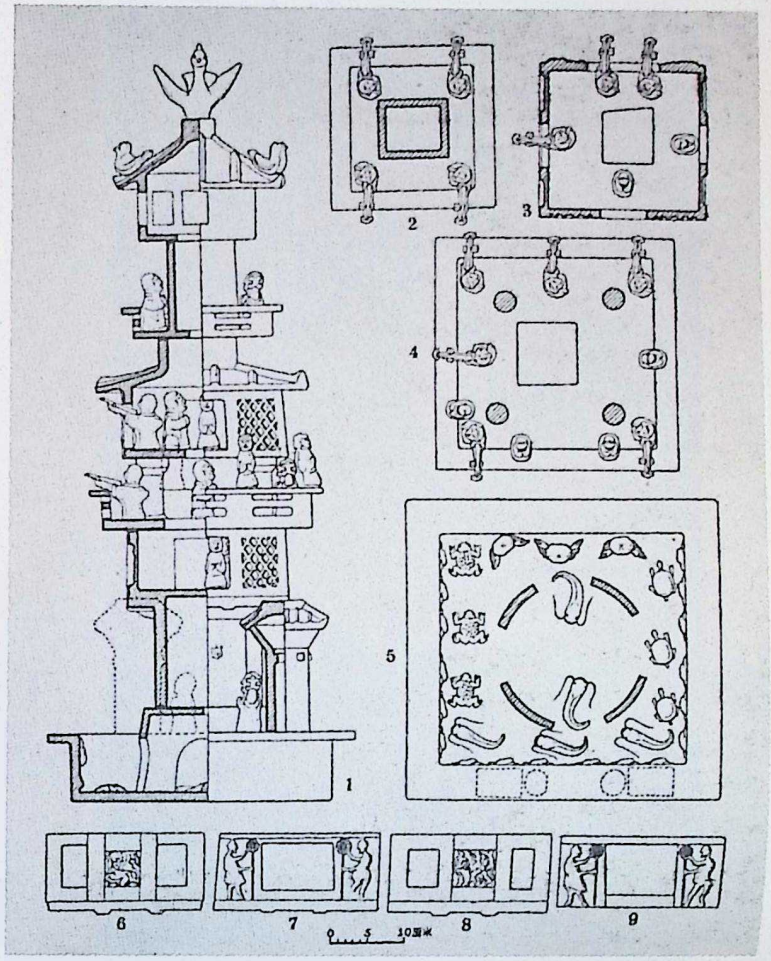
XVIII/3



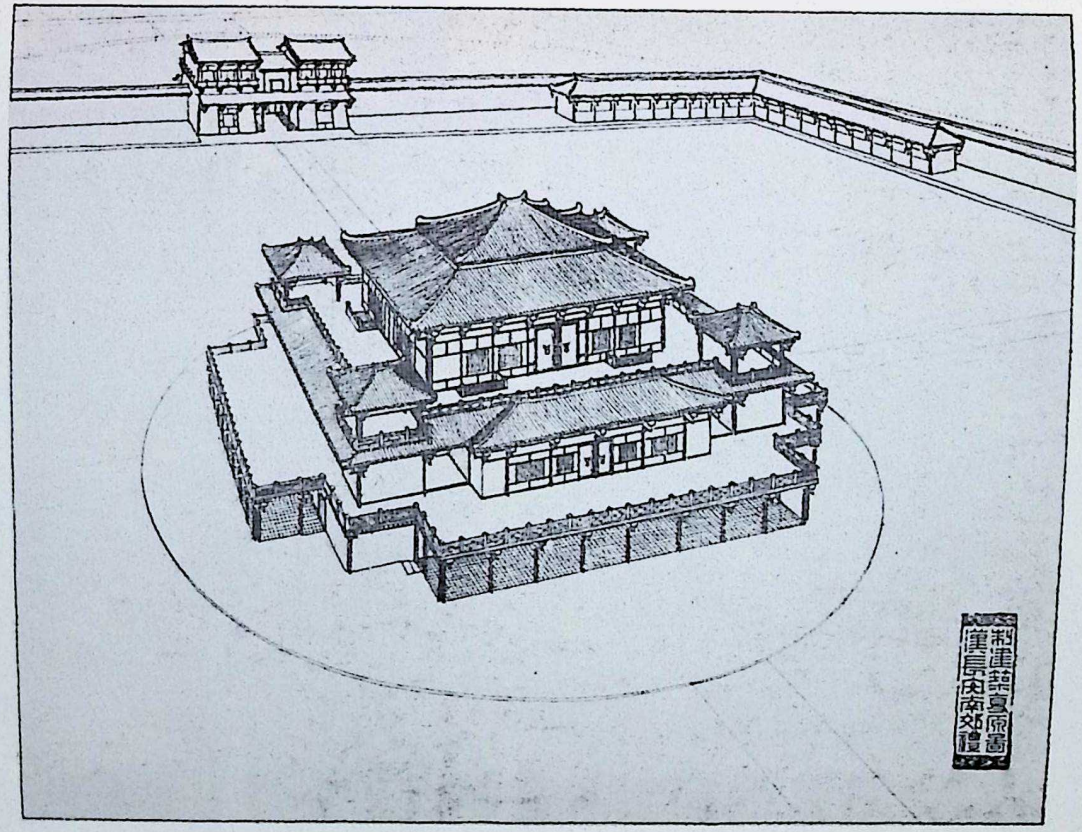
XVIII/4



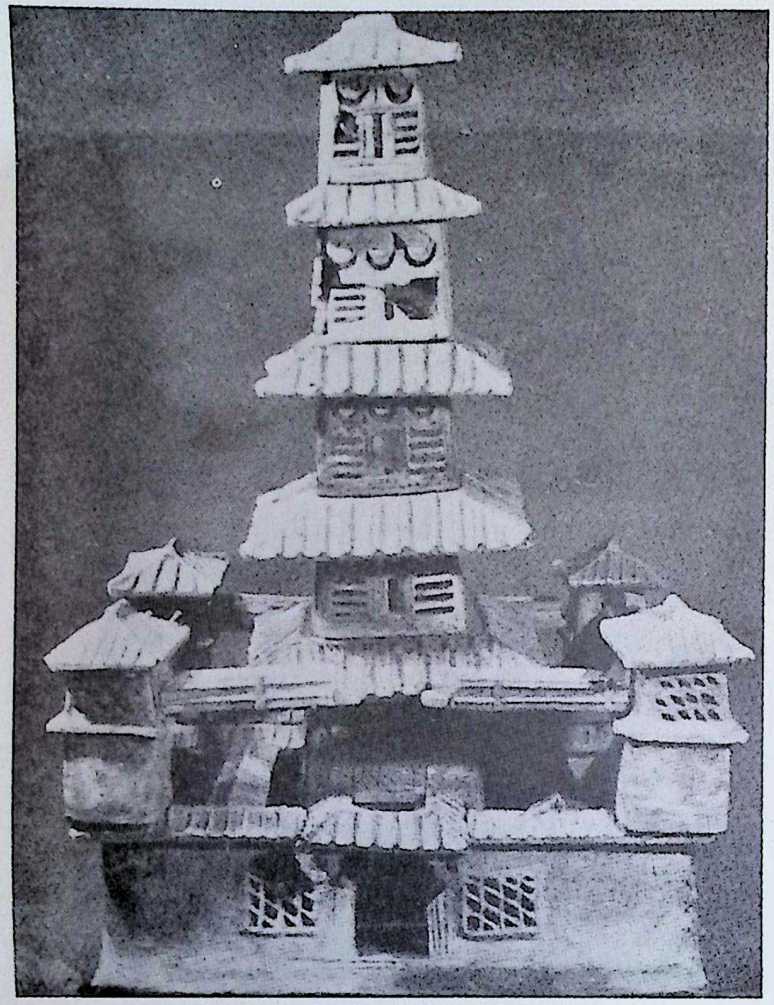
XVIII/5



XVIII/6



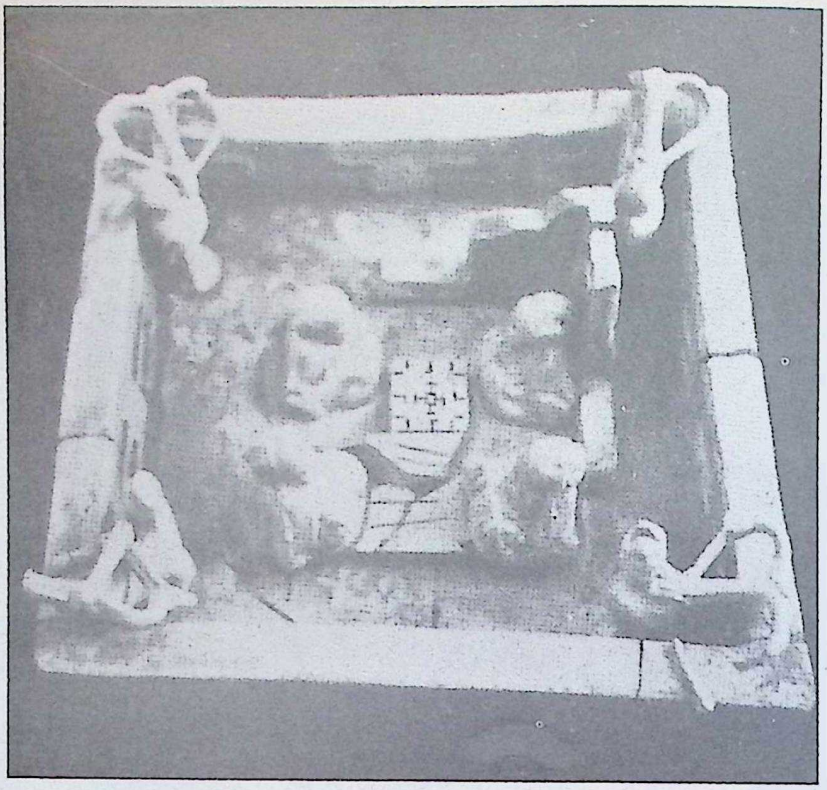
XVIII/7



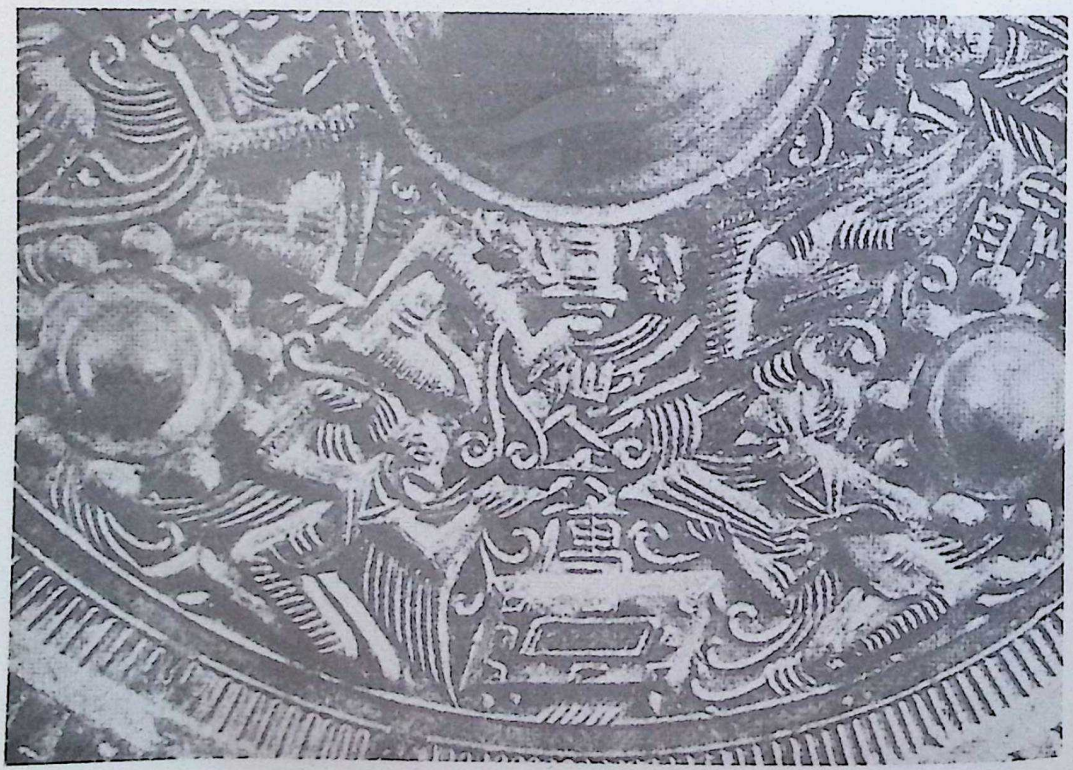
XVIII/8

XVIII/9

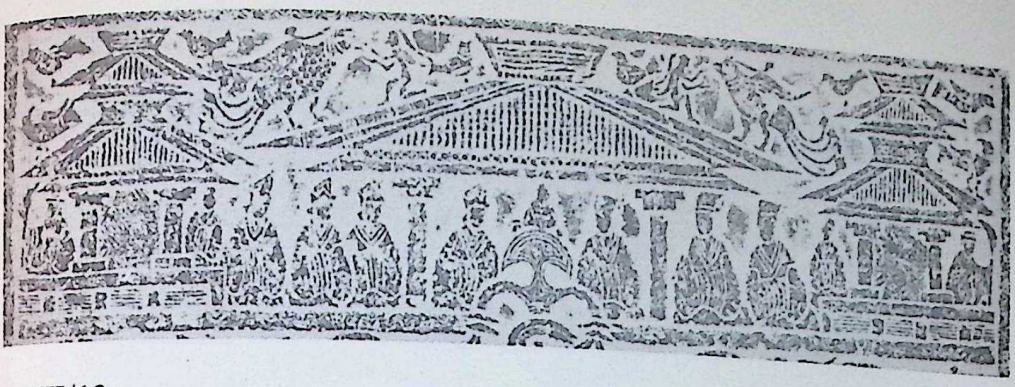
XVIII/10



XVIII/11

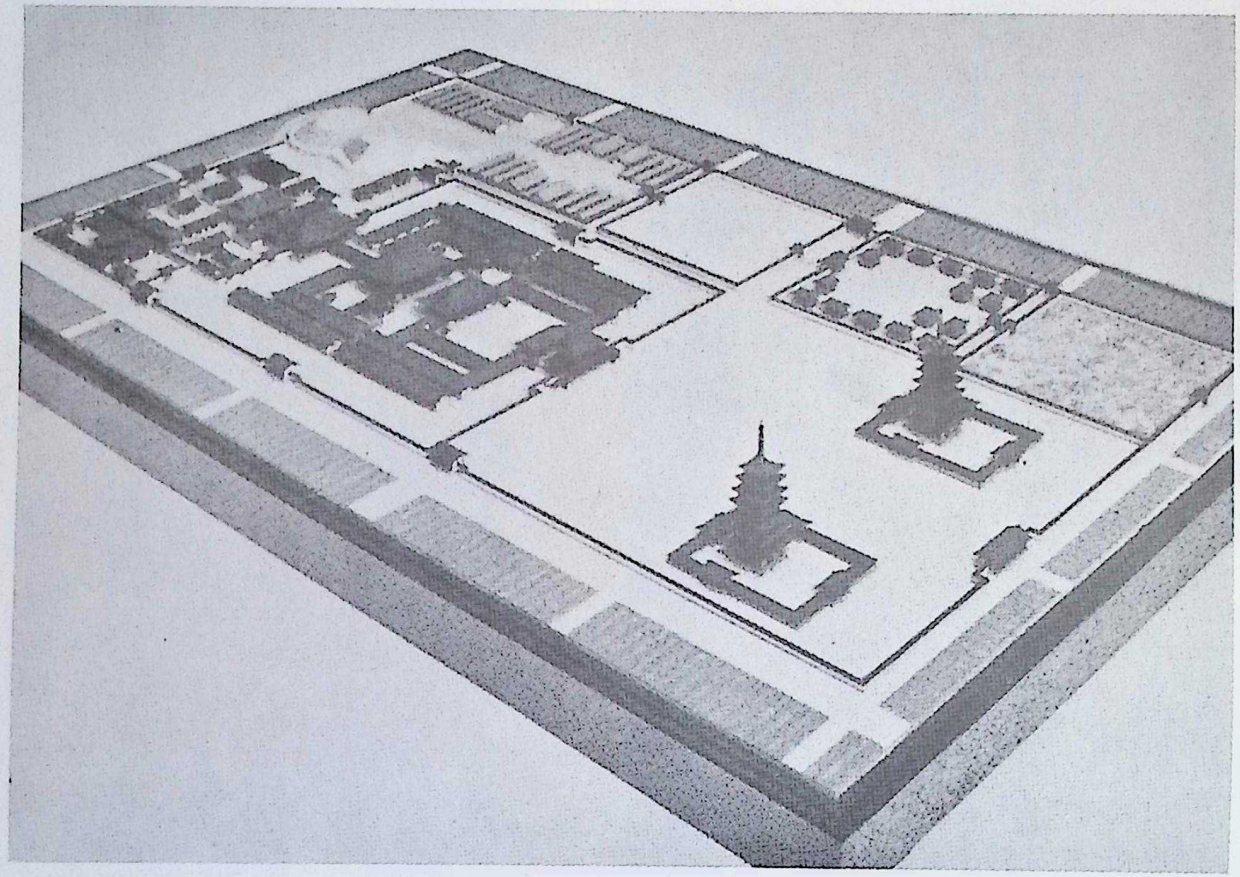


XVIII/12

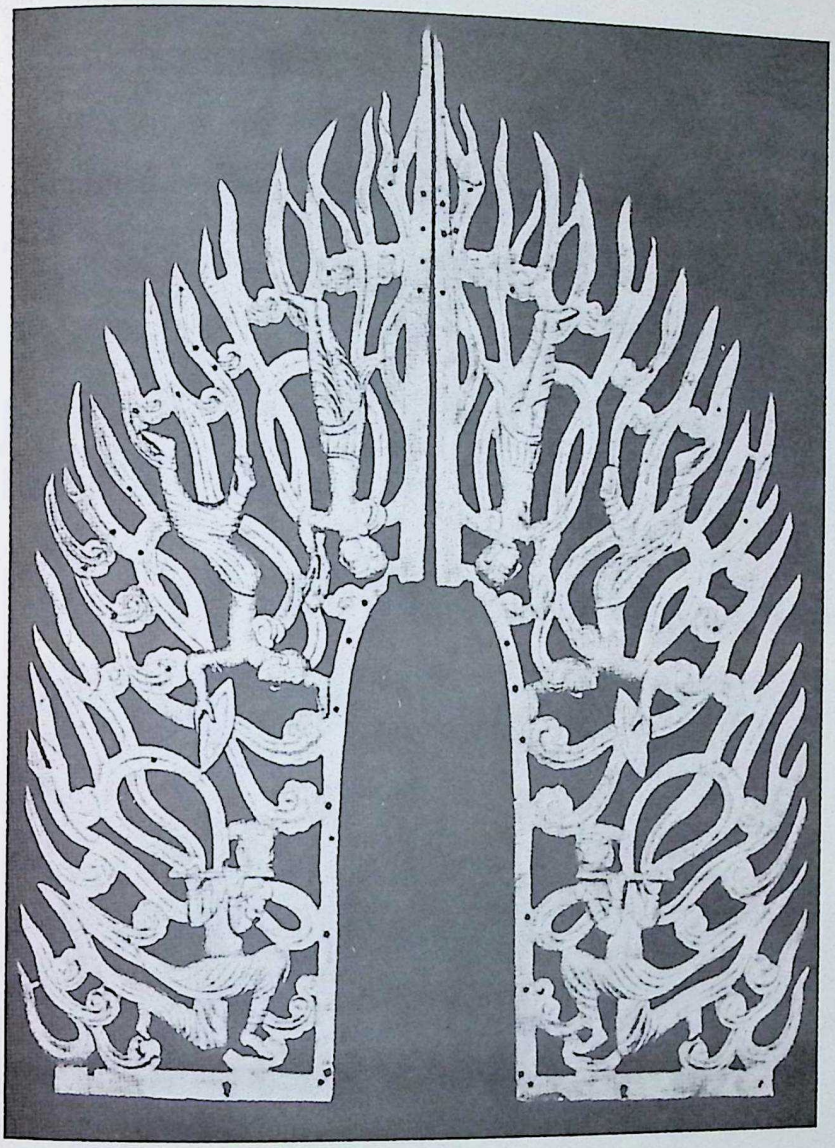


XVIII/13

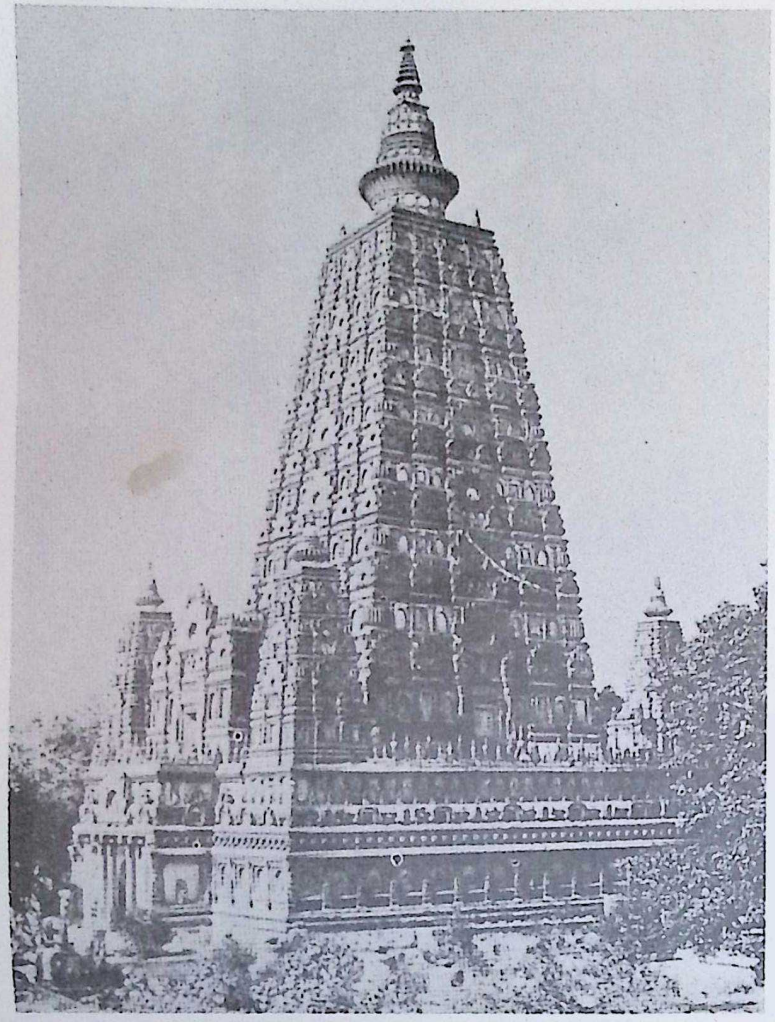
XVIII/14



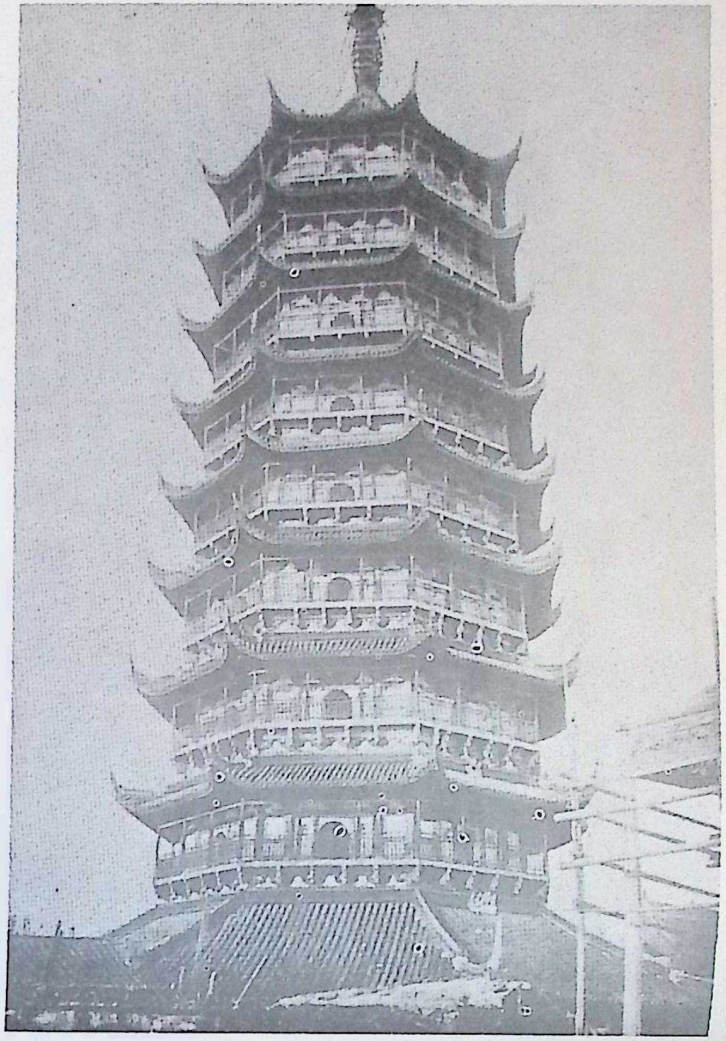
XVIII/15



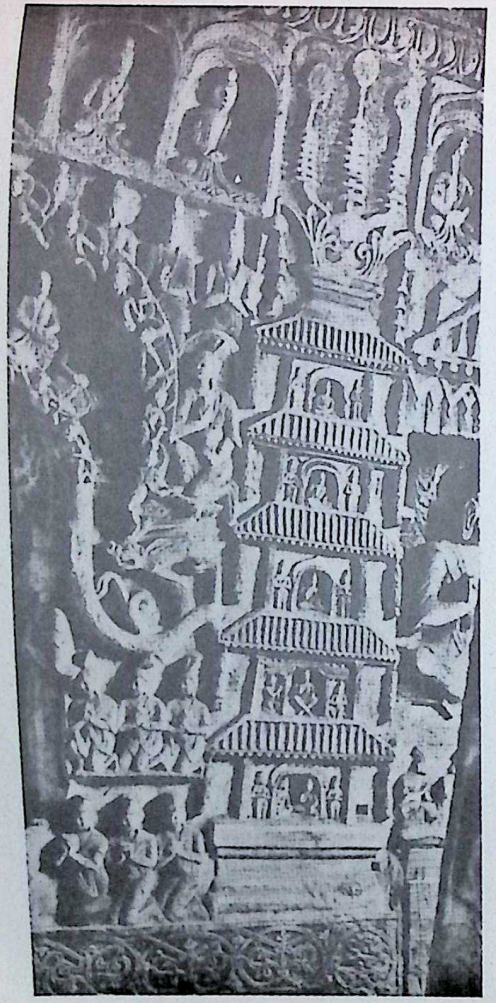
XVIII/16



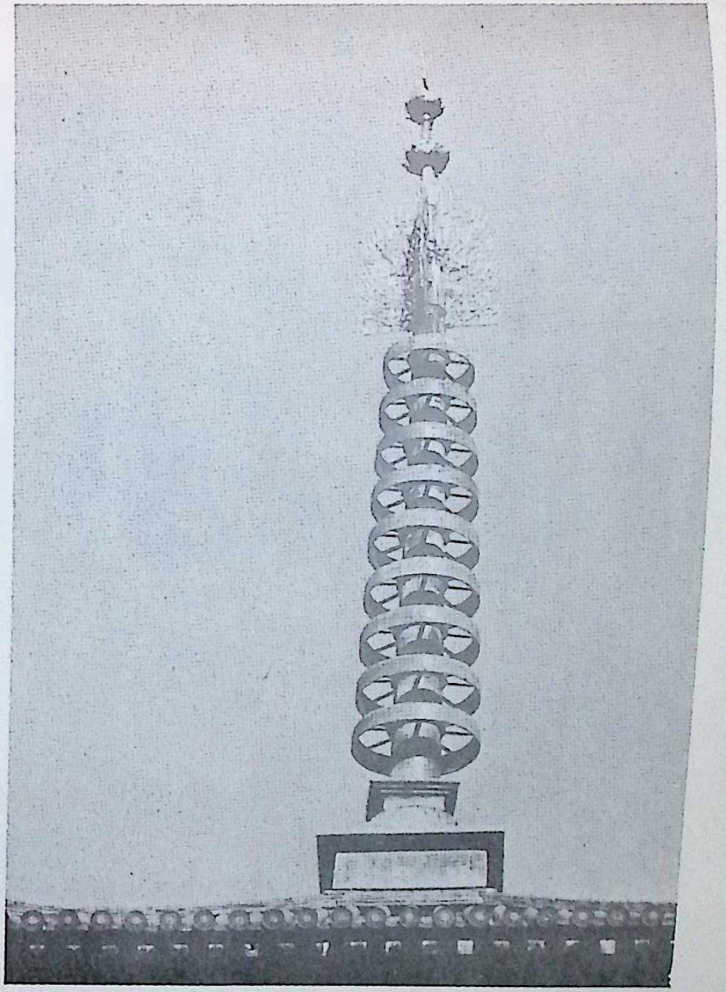
XIX/1



XIX/2



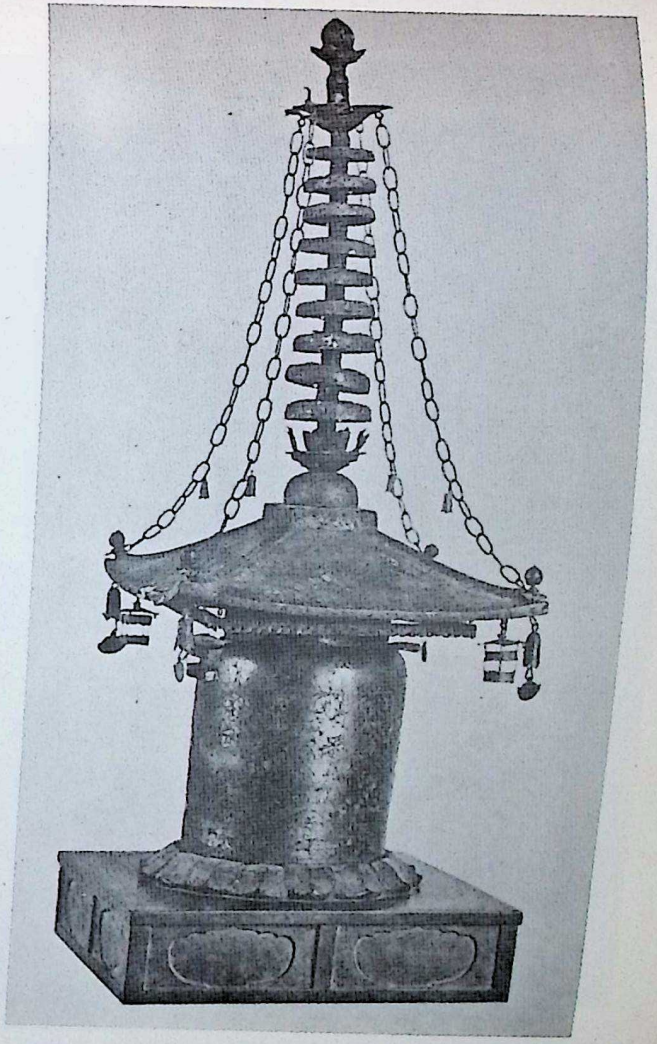
XIX/3



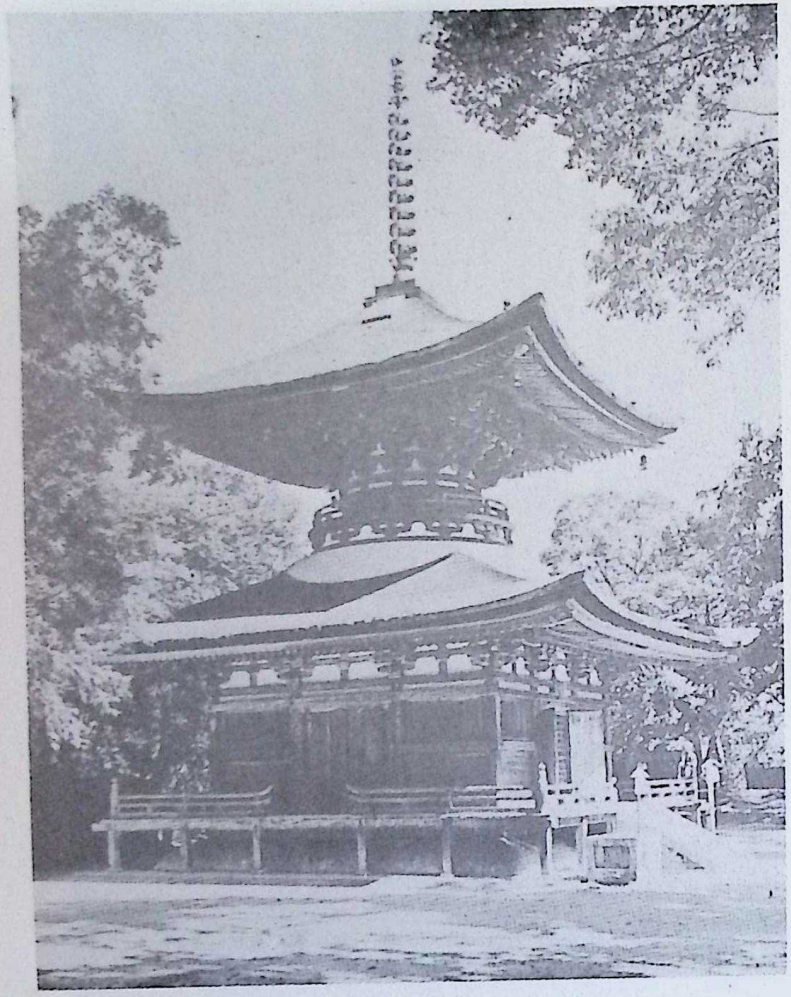
XIX/4

XIX/5

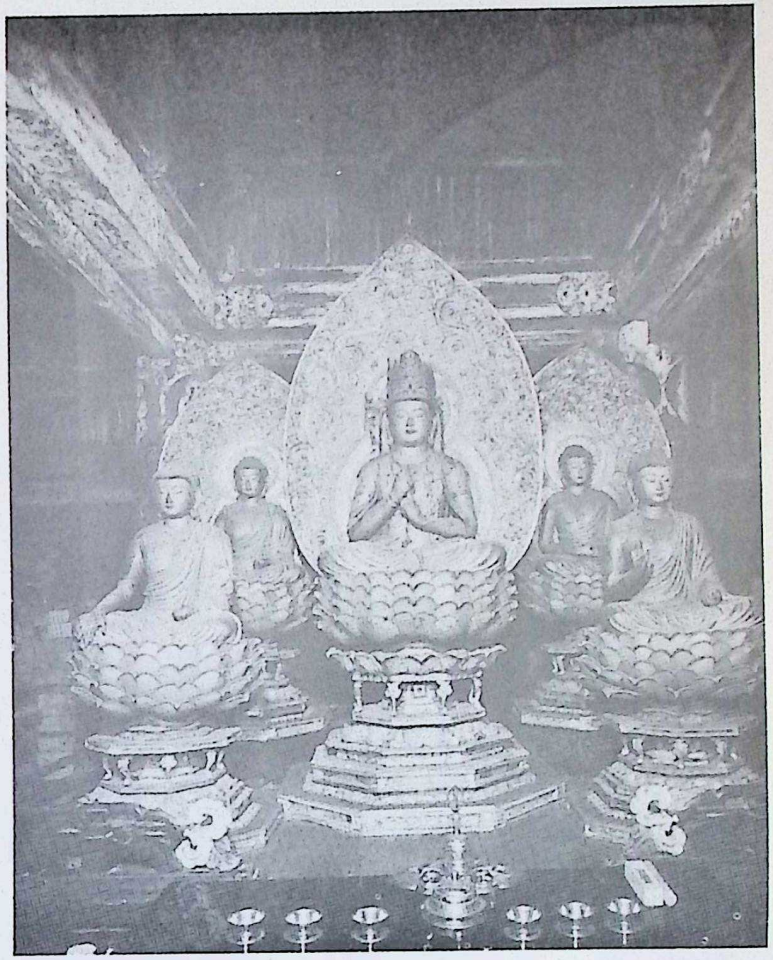
XIX/6



XIX/7

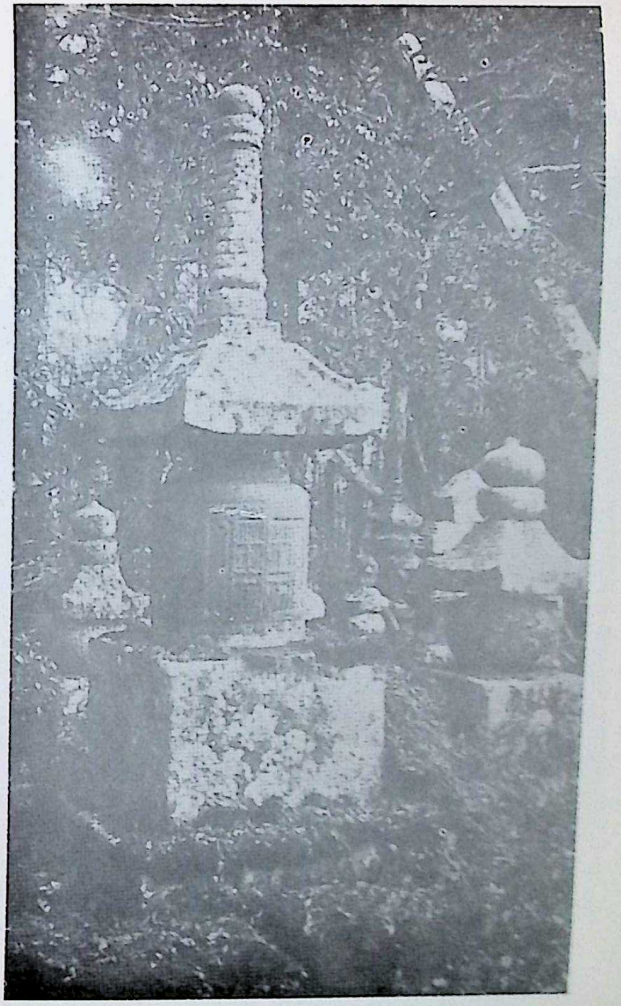


XIX/8



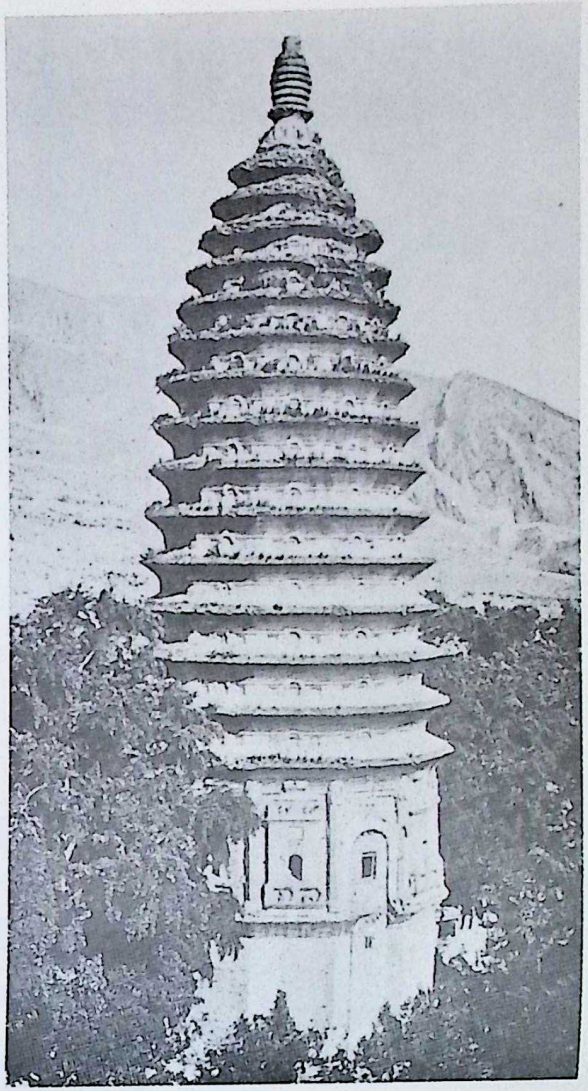
XIX/9

XIX/10



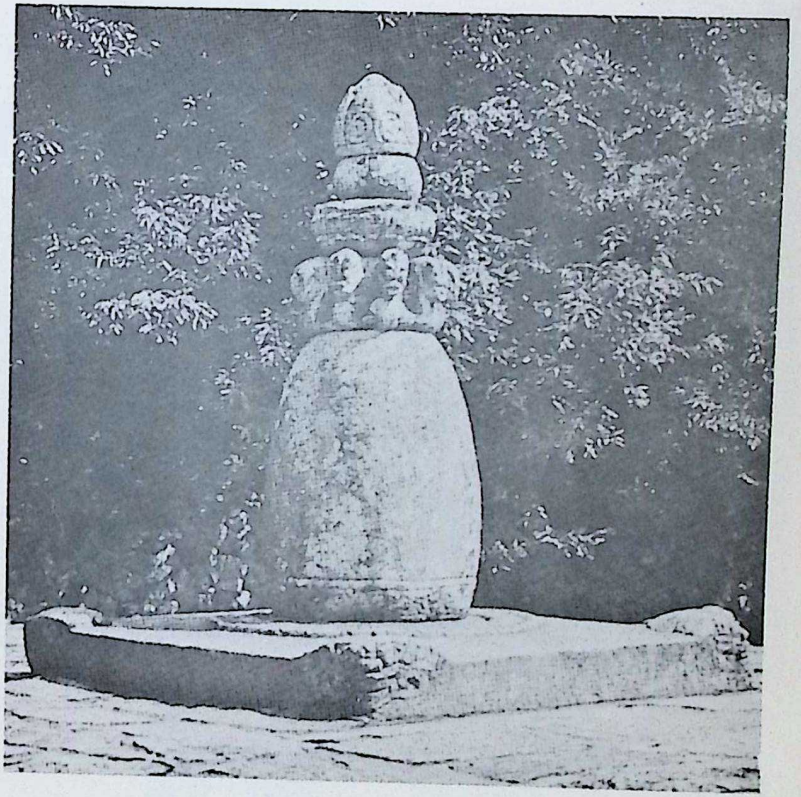
XIX/11

XIX/12

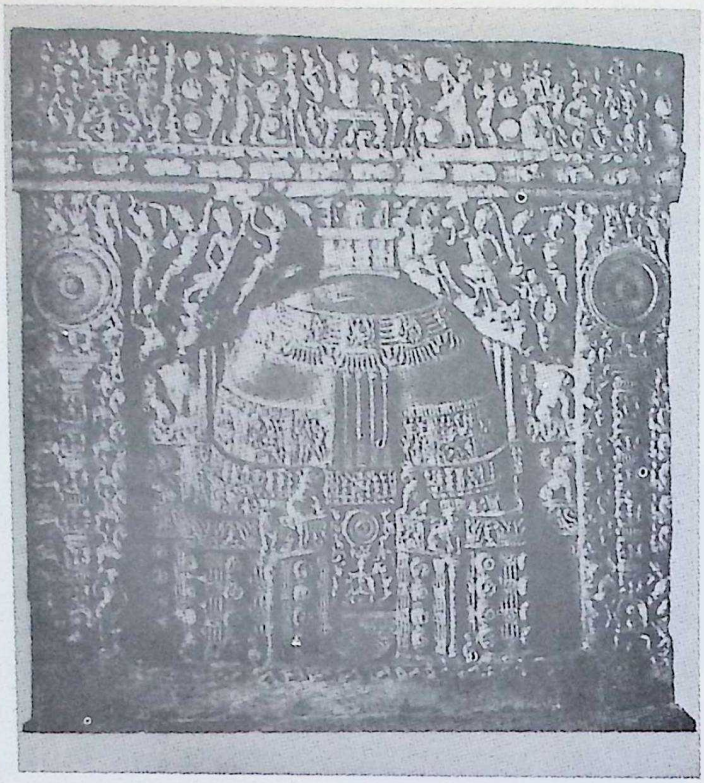


XIX/13

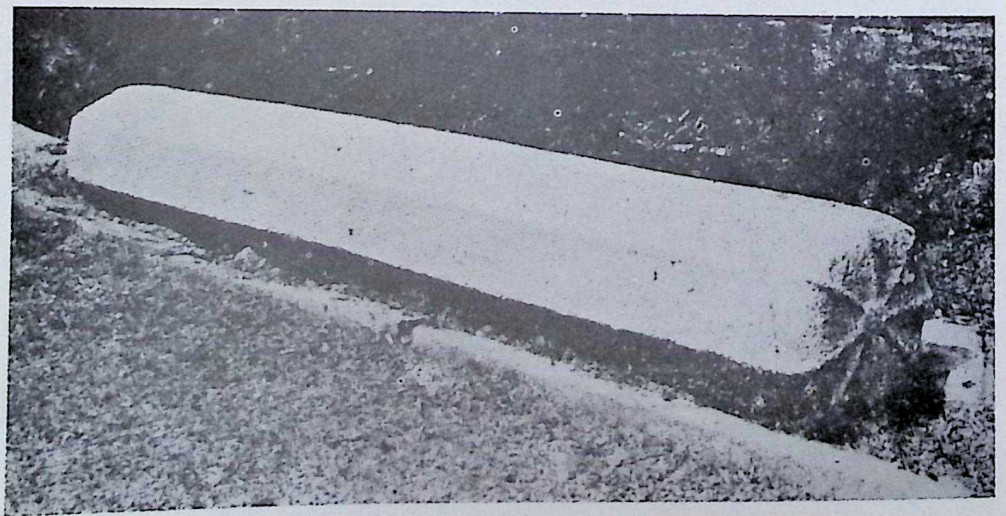
XIX/14



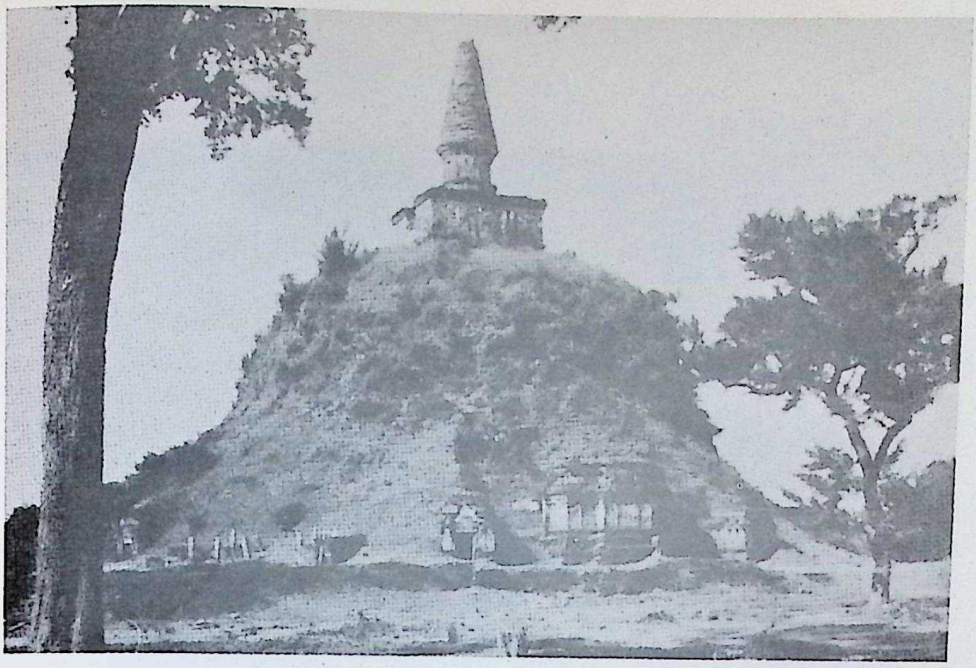
XIX/15



XX/1



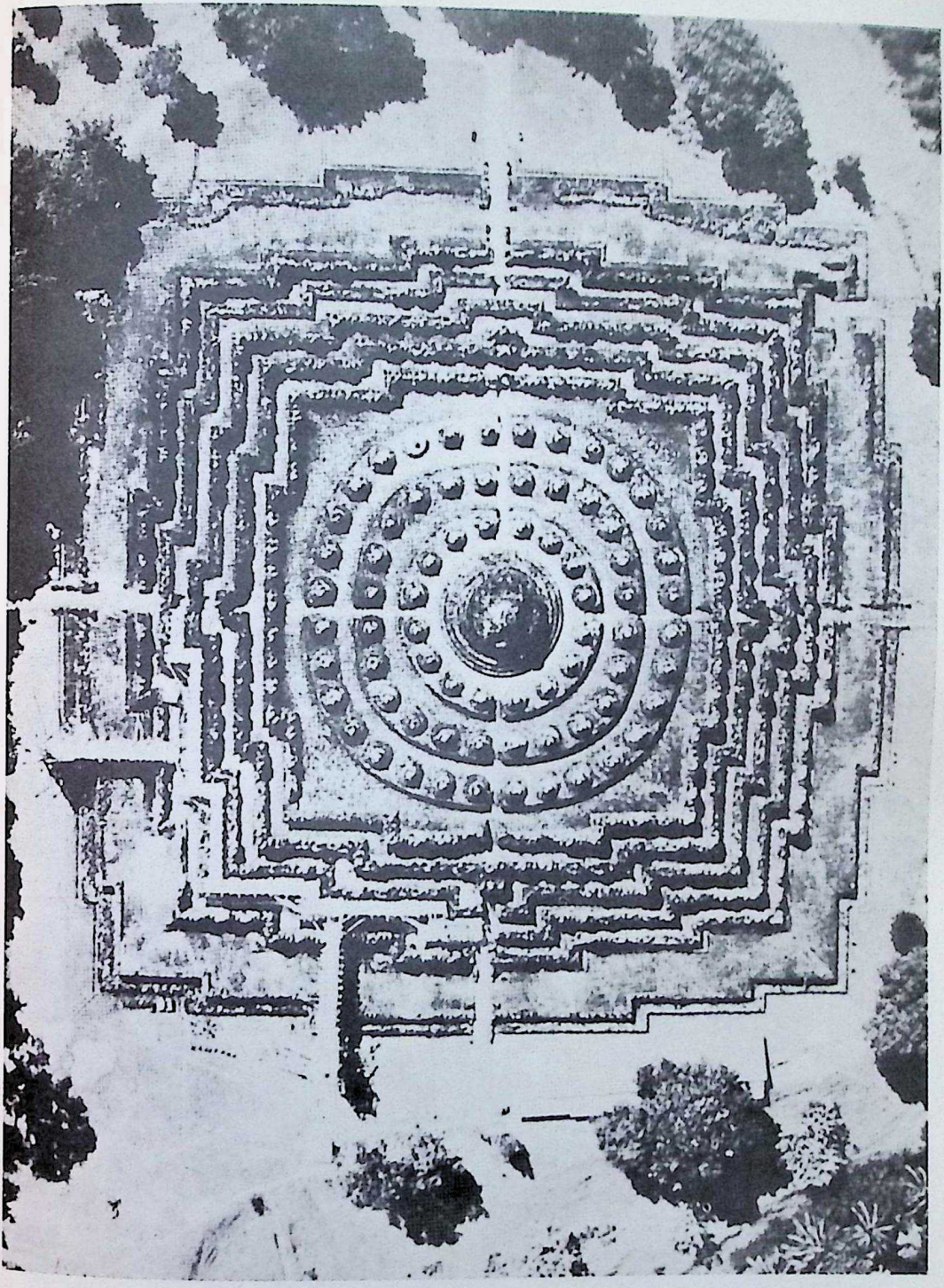
XX/2



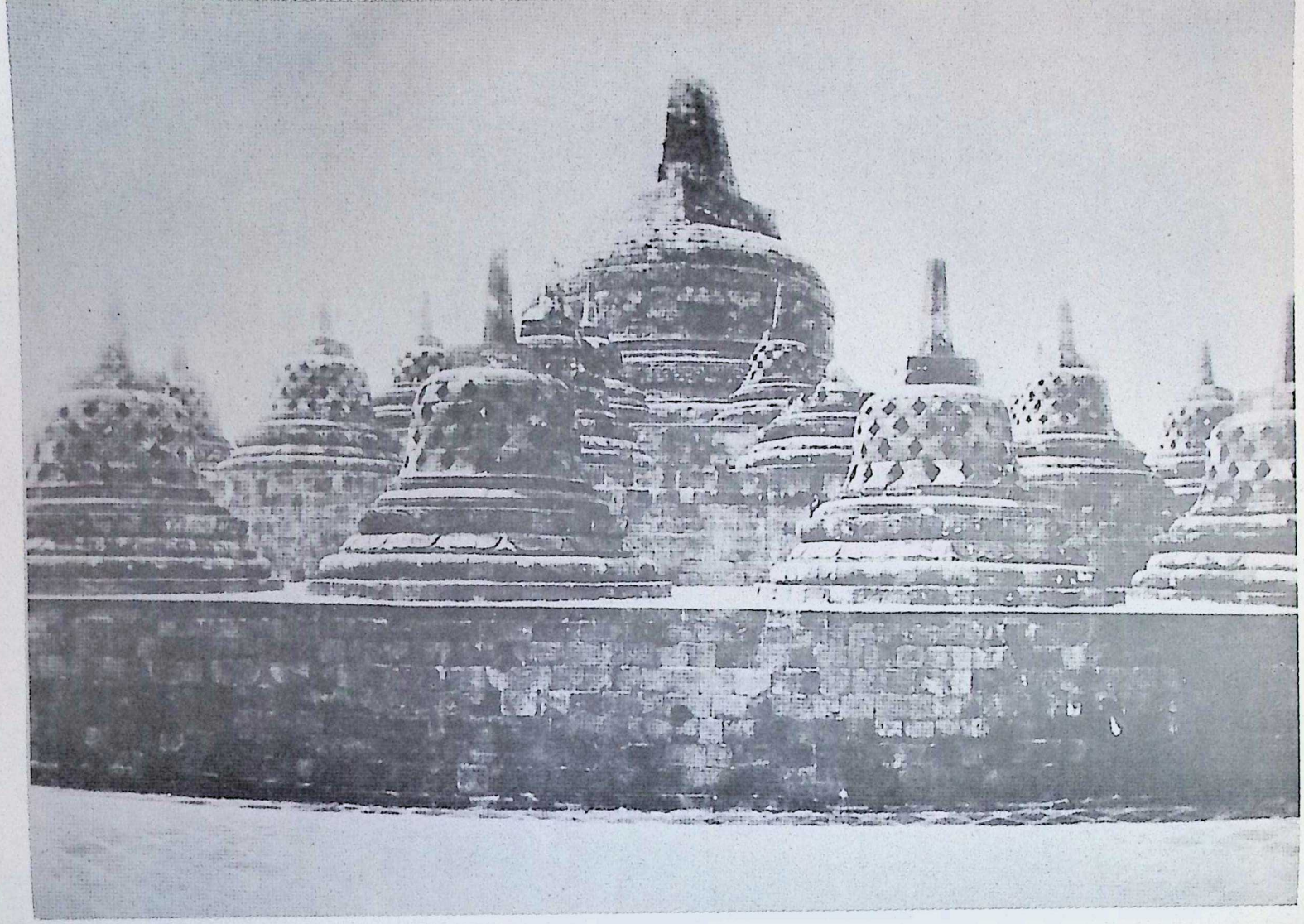
XX/3

XX/4

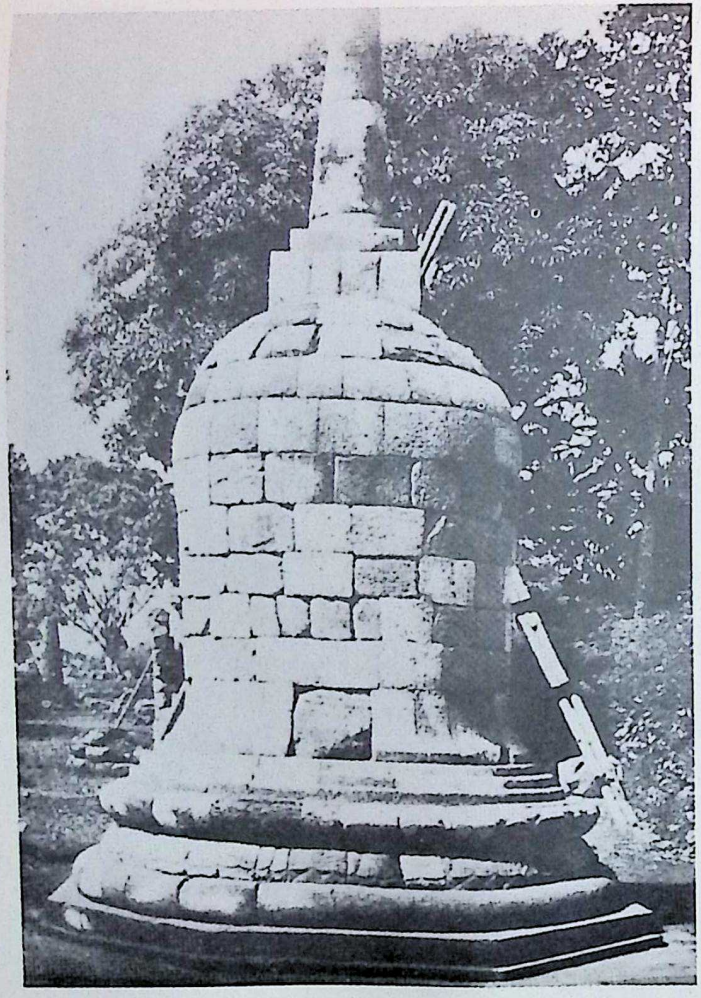
XX/5



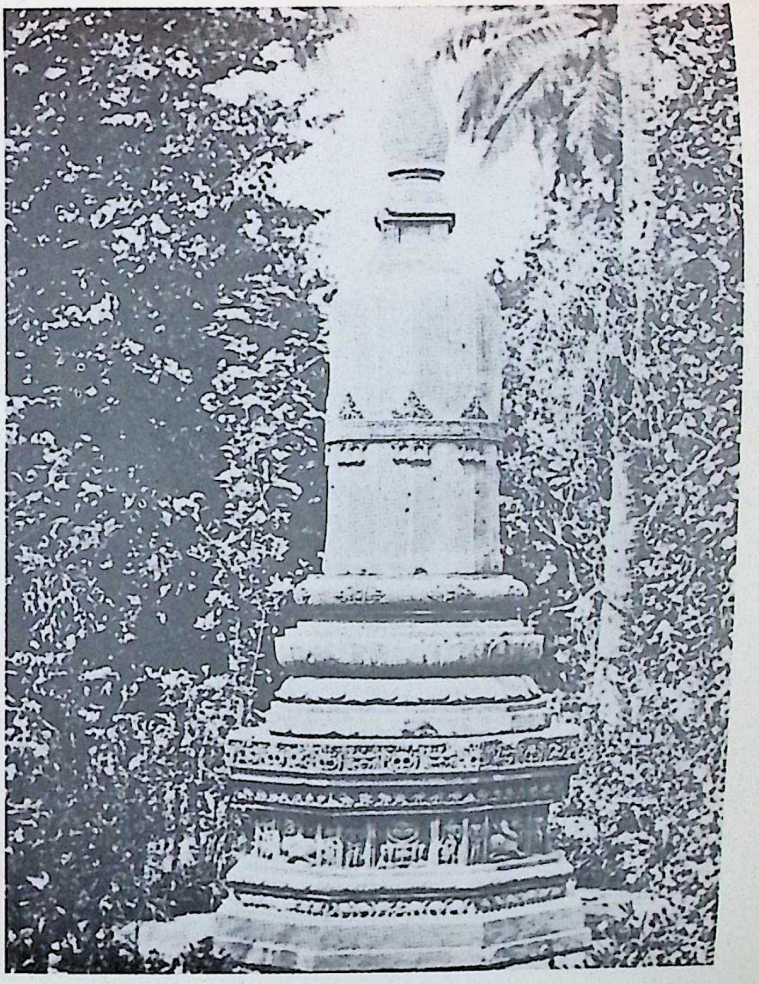
XXII/1



XXII/2

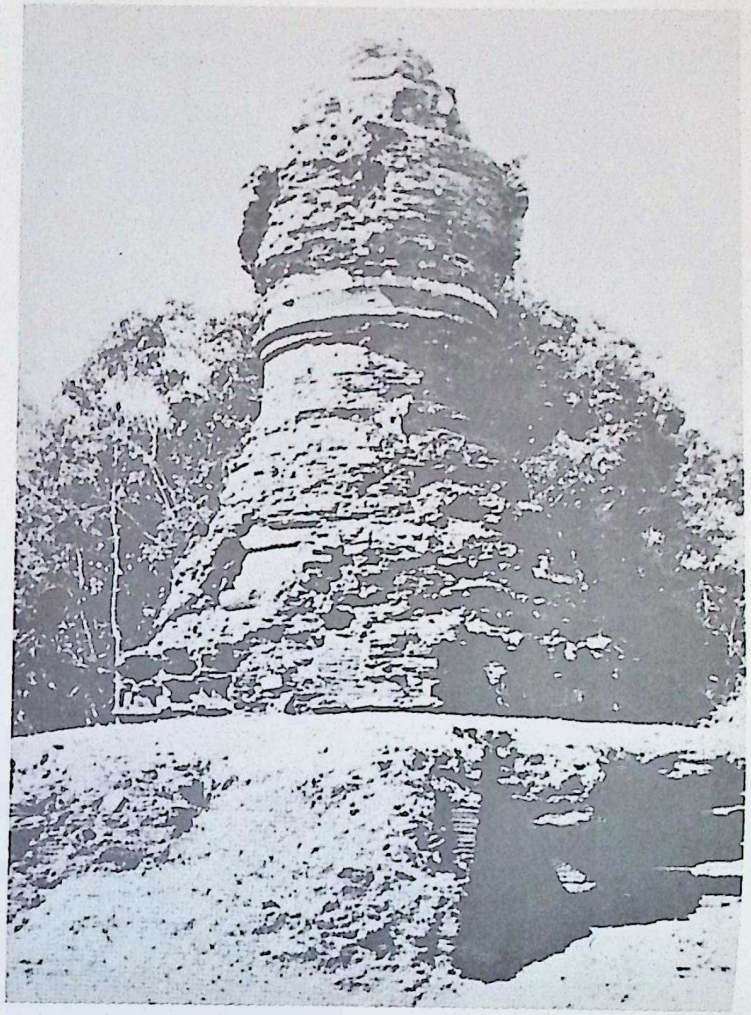


XXII/3

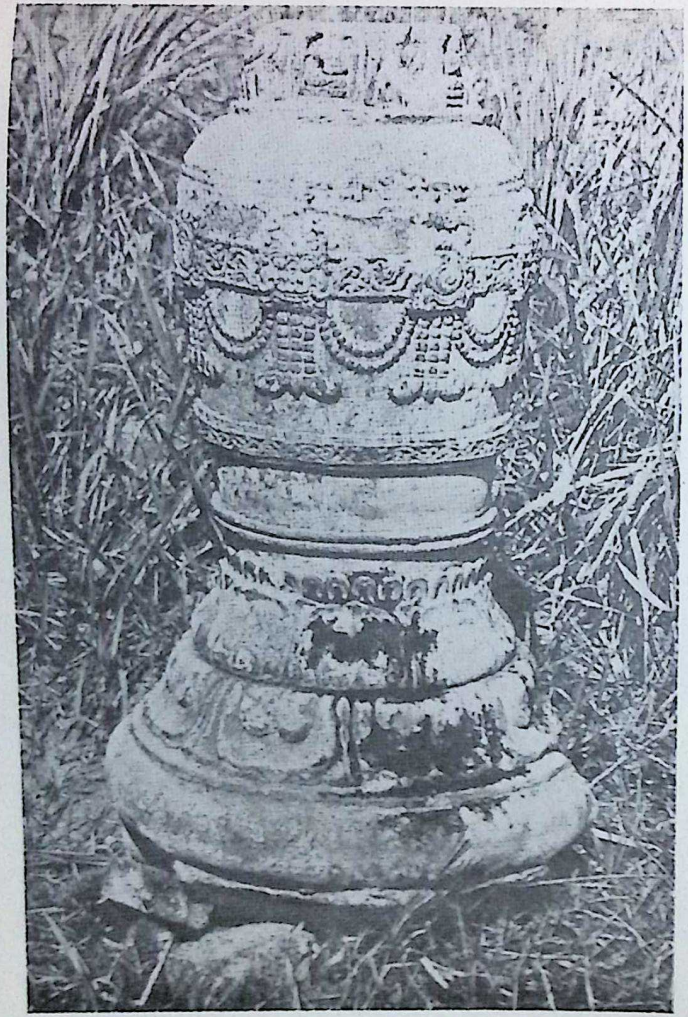


XXII/4

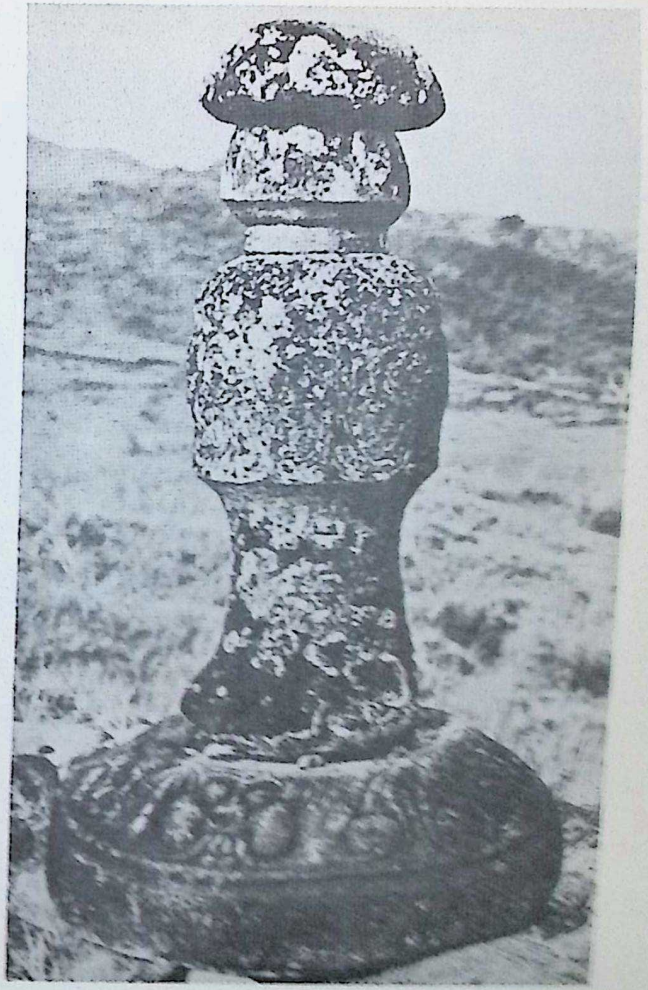
XXII/5



XXII/6

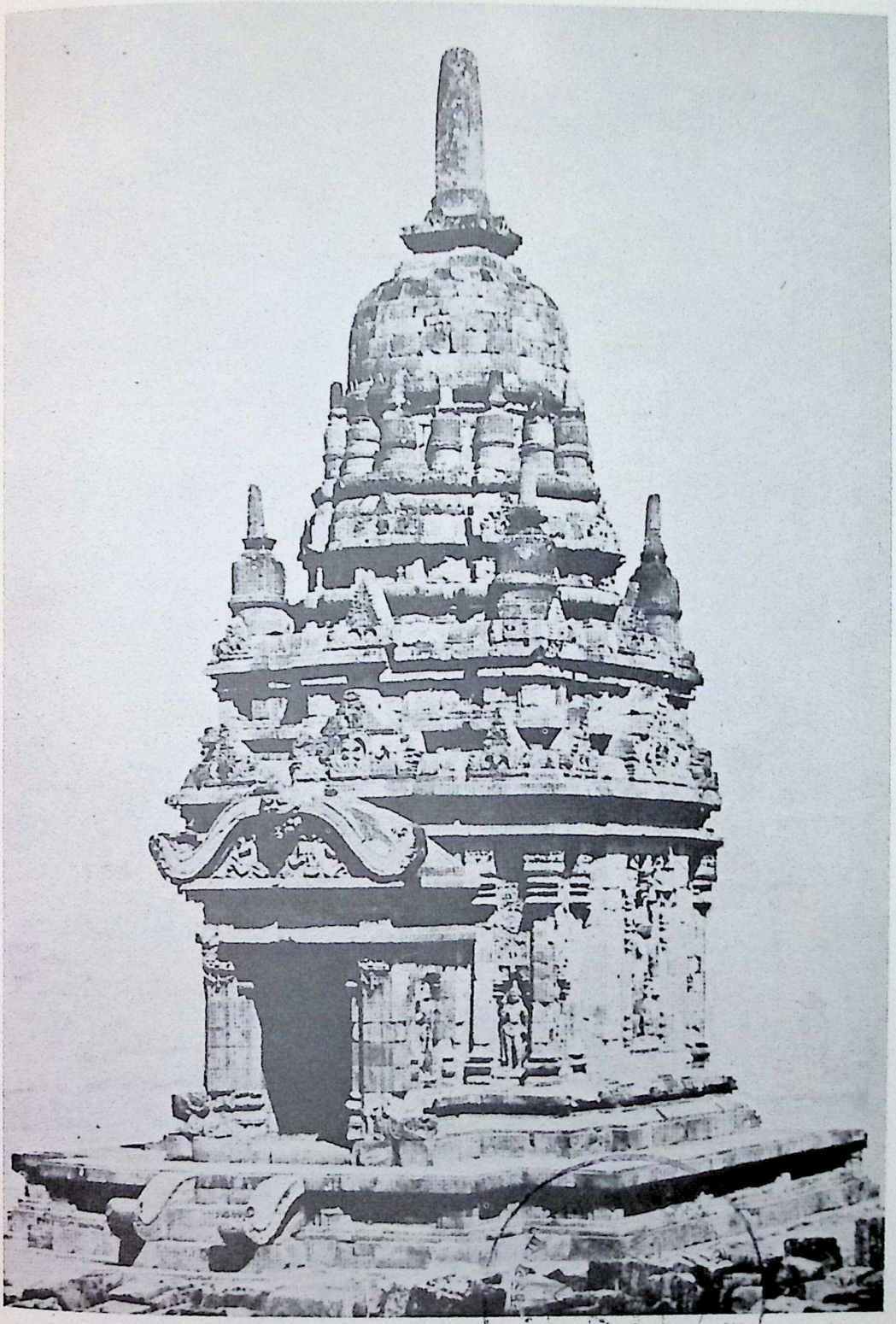


XXII/7



XXII/8

XXII/10



XXII/9

863